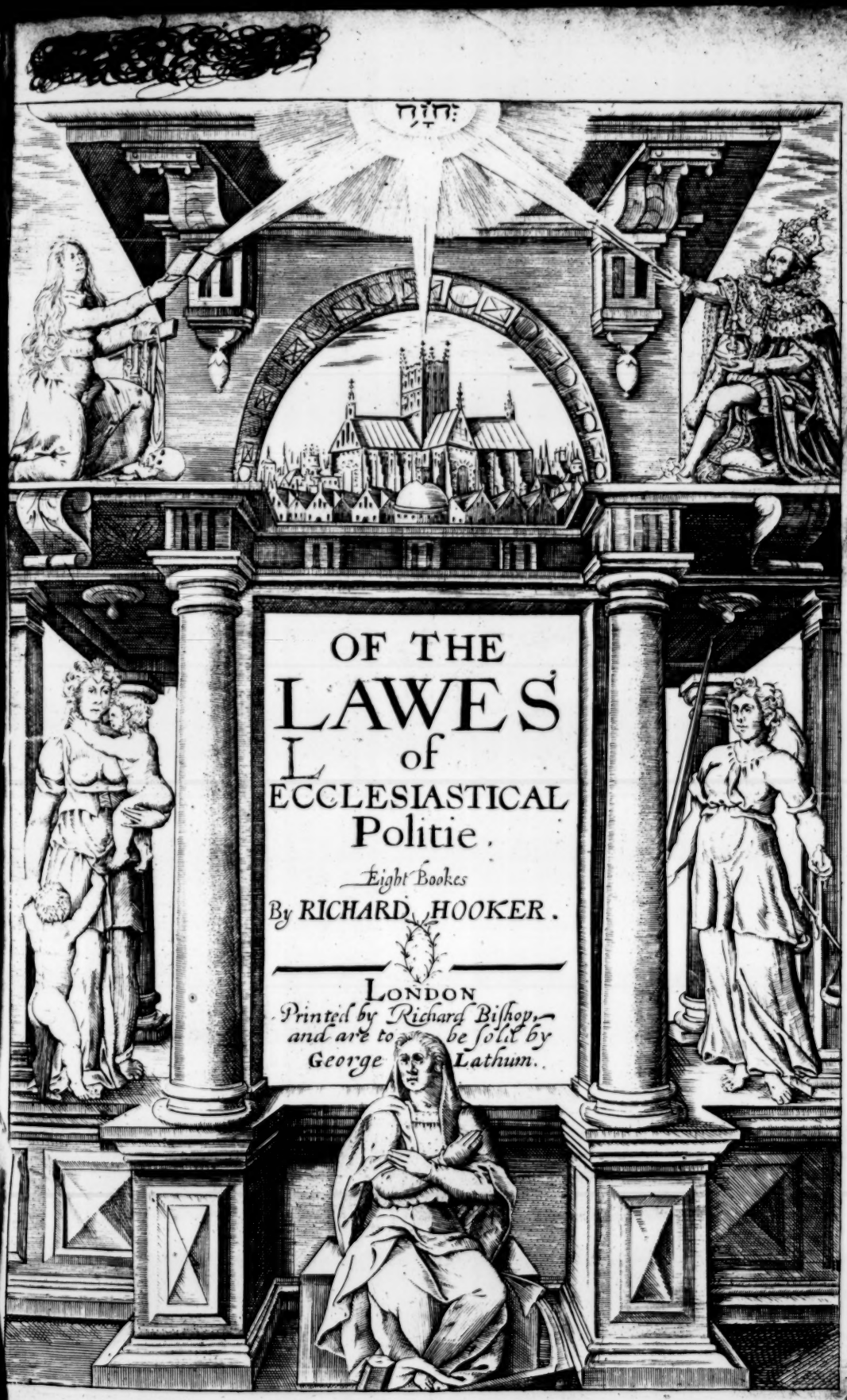

OF THE
LAWES
of
ECCLESIASTICAL
Politie.
Eight Bookes
By RICHARD HOOKER.
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To the Reader.



THis unhappy Controverſie, about the received Ceremonies and Diſcipline of the Church of England, which hath ſo long time withdrawn ſo many of her Miniſters from their principall work, and imployed their Studies in contentious Oppoſitions: hath by the unnaturall growth and dangerous fruits therof, made known to the World, that it never received bleſsing from the Father of Peace. For whoſe experience doth not find, what confuſion of Order, and breach of the ſacred Bond of Love hath ſprung from this Diſſention; how it hath rent the body of the Church into divers parts, and divided her people into divers Sects, how it hath taught the Sheep to deſpiſe their Paſtors, and alienated the Paſtors from the love of their Flocks: how it hath ſtrengthened the Irreligious in their Impieties, and hath raiſed the hopes of the ſacrilegious

 devourers

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devourers of the remaines of Christs Patrimonie; and given way to the common Adversary of Gods Truth, and our prosperity, to grow great in our Land without resistance; who seeth not how it hath distracted the minds of the multitude, and shaken their faith, and scandalized their weakenesse, and hath generally killed the very heart of true Pietie, and Religious Devotion, by changing our zeale towards Christs glorie, into the fire of Envie and Malice, and Heart-burning, and zeale to every mans private cause? This is the summe of all the gaines which the tedious contentions of so many yeeres have brought in, by the ruine of Christs Kingdome, the encrease of Satans, partly in Superstition and partly in Impietie. So much better were it in these our dwellings of Peace to endure any inconvenience whatsoever in the outward frame, then in desire of alteration, thus to set the whole house on fire. VVhich mooved the Religious heart of this learned VVriter, in zeale of Gods truth, and in compassion to his Church, the mother of us all, which gave us both the first breath of Spirituall Life, and from her Brests hath fed us unto this whatsoever measure of growth we have in Christ, to stand up and take upon him a generall defence both of her selfe, and of her established Lawes; and by force of demonstration, so farre as the nature of the present matter could beare, to make knowne to the VVorld, and these Oppugners of her, that all those bitter accusations laid to her charge, are not the faults of her Lawes and Orders, but

but either their owne miſtakes in the miſunderſtanding, or the abuſes of men in the ill execution of them. A VVork ſubject to manifold reprehenſions, and oppoſitions, and not ſutable to his ſoft and mild diſpoſition, deſirous of a quiet private life, wherein he might bring forth the fruits of Peace in Peace. But the love of God and of his Countrie, whoſe greateſt danger grew from this Diviſion, made his heart hot within him, and at length the fire kindled, and amongſt many other moſt Reverend and Learned men, hee alſo preſumed to ſpeake with his Pen. And the rather, becauſe hee ſaw that none of theſe ordinarie objections of partialities could elevate the authoritie of his writing, who alwaies affected a private State, and neither enjoyed, nor expected any the leaſt Dignitie in our Church. VVhat admirable height of Learning, and depth of iudgement dwelled within the lowly mind of this true humble Man, great in all wiſe mens eyes, except his owne; with what Gravitie and Maieſtie of ſpeech his tongue and Pen uttered heavenly Myſteries, whoſe eyes in the humilitie of his heart were alwayes caſt downe to the ground, how all things that proceeded from him were breathed, as from the ſpirit of Love, as if He like the Bird of the Holy Ghoſt, the Dove, had wanted Gall, let them that knew him not in his perſon, iudge by theſe living Images of his Soule, his writings. For out of theſe, even thoſe who otherwiſe agree not with him in Opinion, doe affoord him the teſtimonie of a milde and a loving Spirit: and of his Learning, what greater proofe can we

have

have than this, that his writings are moſt admired by thoſe who themſelves doe moſt excell in judicious Learning, and by them the more often they are read, the more highly they are extolled and deſired: which is the cauſe of this ſeventh Edition of his former books, and that without any addition or diminution whatſoever. For who will put a Pencill to ſuch a Work, from which ſuch a workman hath taken his? There is a purpoſe of ſetting forth the three laſt Books alſo, their fathers *Poſthumi*. For as in the great declining of his body ſpent with ſtudie, it was his ordinary Petition to Almighty God, that if hee might live to ſee the finiſhing of theſe bookes, then *Lord let thy ſervant depart in peace* (to uſe his own words,) ſo it pleaſed God to grant him his deſire: for he lived till he ſaw them perfected, and though like *Rachel* he died as it were in the travell of them, and haſtned death upon himſelfe, by haſtening to give them life, yet hee held out to behold with his eyes theſe *partus ingenii*, theſe *Benjamins*, Sonnes of his right hand, though to him they were *Benonies*, Sonnes of Paine and Sorrow. But ſome evill diſpoſed minds, whether of Malice or Covetouſneſſe, or wicked blind Zeale, it is uncertain, as if they had beene Egyptian Mid-wives, as ſoone as they were borne, and their Father dead, ſmothered them, and by conveying away the perfect Copies left unto us nothing, but certain old unperfect and mangled Draughts, diſmembred into pieces, and ſcattered like *Medeas Abſyrtus*: no favour, no grace, not the ſhadowes of themſelves almoſt remaining in them. Had

the

× There are three peices of the Sermons follow.

the Father lived to ſee them brought forth thus defaced, he might rightfully have named them *Benonies*, the Sonnes of Sorrow.

But ſeeing the importunities of many great and worthy perſons will not ſuffer them quietly to die and to be buried, it is intended that they ſhall ſee them as they are. The learned and judicious eye, will yet perhaps delight it ſelfe in beholding the goodly Lineaments of their well ſet Bodies, and in finding out ſome ſhadowes and reſemblances of their Fathers face. God grant, that as they were with their brethren dedicated to the Church for Meſſengers of Peace: ſo in the ſtrength of that little breath of life that remaineth in them, they may proſper in their work; and by ſatisfying the doubts of ſuch as are willing to learn, may help to give an end to the calamities of theſe our Civill VVarres.

J. S.

A PREFACE,

To them that ſeeke (as they terme it) the *Reformation of Lawes and Orders* Eccleſiaſticall, in the Church of ENGLAND.

THough for no other cauſe, yet for this, that poſteritie may know, wee have not looſely through ſilence permitted things to paſſe away as in a dreame, there ſhall bee for mens information extant thus much concerning the preſent ſtate of the Church of God eſtabliſhed among us, and their carefull endeavour which would have upheld the ſame. *At your hands, beloved in our Lord and Saviour Ieſus Chriſt (for in him the love which we beare unto all that would but ſeeme to be borne of him, it is not the ſea of your gall and bitterneſſe that ſhall ever drowne) I have no great cauſe to looke for other than the ſelfe-ſame portion and lot, which your manner hath been hitherto to lay on them that concurre not in Opinion and Sentence with you. But our hope is, that the God of peace ſhall (notwithſtanding mans nature, too impatient of contumelious malediction) enable us quietly, and even gladly to ſuffer all things, for that worke ſake which we covet to performe. The wonderfull zeale and fervour wherewith yee have withſtood the received orders of this Church, was the firſt thing which cauſed me to enter into conſideration, whether (as all your publiſhed Bookes and Writings peremptorily maintaine) eve-*

The cauſe and occaſion of handling theſe things: and what might be wiſhed in them, for whoſe ſakes ſo much paines is taken.

ry Christian man fearing God, stand bound to joyne with you for the furtherance of that which yee terme the Lords Discipline. *Wherein I must plainly confesse unto you, that before I examined your sundry declarations in that behalfe, it could not settle in my head to thinke, but that undoubtedly such numbers of otherwise right well affected and most religiously enclined minds, had some marvelous reasonable inducements which led them with so great earnestnesse that way. But when once, as neere as my slender abilitie would serve, I had with travell & care performed that part of the Apostles advice and counsell in such cases, whereby he willeth to* try all things; *and was come at the length so far, that there remained onely the other clause to be satisfied, wherein he concludeth, that* what good is must be held: *there was in my poore understanding no remedy but to set downe this as my finall resolute perswasion*; Surely the present forme of Church government which the Lawes of this Land have established, is such, as no Law of God, nor reason of man hath hitherto beene alleadged, of force sufficient to prove they doe ill, who to the uttermost of their power withstand the alteration thereof: *Contrariwise*; The other which instead of it wee are required to accept, is only by errour and misconceipt named the ordinance of Jesus Christ, no one proofe as yet brought forth, whereby it may cleerely appeare to be so in very deed. *The explication of which two things I have here thought good to offer into your owne hands: heartily beseeching you even by the meekenesse of Iesus Christ, whom I trust yee love, that, as ye tender the peace and quietnesse of this Church; if there be in you that gratious humilitie which hath ever beene the crowne and glory of a Christianly disposed minde; if your owne soules, hearts and consciences, (the sound integritie whereof can but hardly stand with the refusall of truth in personall respects) be, as I doubt not but they are, things most deare and precious unto you,* Let not the faith which ye have in our
Iam. 2. 1. Lord Jesus Christ, be blemished with partialities, *regard not who it is which speaketh, but weigh only what is spoken. Thinke not that ye reade the words of one, who bendeth himselfe as an Adversary against the Truth, which yee have alreadie imbraced; but the words of one who desireth even to imbrace together with you the selfe same truth, if it bee the truth; and for that cause (for no other, God hee knoweth) hath undertaken the burthensome labour of this painfull kind of conference. For the playner accesse whereunto, let it bee lawfull for me to*

rip

rip up to the very bottome how and by whom your Diſcipline was planted, at ſuch time as this age we live in began to make firſt triall thereof.

2 A Founder it had, whom, for mine own part, I think incomparably the wiſeſt man that ever the French Church did enjoy, ſince the houre it enjoyed him. His bringing up was in the ſtudy of the Civill Law. Divine knowledge he gathered not by hearing or reading ſo much, as by teaching others. For though thouſands were debters to him, as touching knowledge in that kinde; yet he to none, but only to God the Author of that moſt bleſſed Fountain the Book of Life, and of the admirable dexterity of wit, together with the helps of other learning which were his guides; till being occaſioned to leave France, he fell at the length upon Geneva: Which City, the Biſhop and Clergie thereof had a little before (as ſome do affirme) forſaken, being of likelyhood frighted with the peoples ſudden attempt for aboliſhment of Popiſh Religion; the event of which enterprize they thought it not ſafe for themſelves to wait for in that place. At the comming of Calvine thither, the form of their civill Regiment was popular, as it continueth at this day: neither King, nor Duke, nor Nobleman of any authority or power over them, but Officers choſen by the people yeerly out of themſelves, to order all things with publick conſent. For ſpirituall Government, they had no Lawes at all agreed upon; but did what the Paſtors of their ſouls by perſwaſion could win them unto. Calvine being admitted one of their Preachers and a Divinity-Reader amongſt them, conſidered how dangerous it was that the whole eſtate of that Church ſhould hang ſtill on ſo ſlender a thred, as the liking of an ignorant multitude is, if it have power to change whatſoever it ſelf liſteth. Wherefore taking unto him two of the other Miniſters, for more countenance of the action, (albeit the reſt were all againſt it) they moved, and in the end perſwaded with much adoe the People to binde themſelves by ſolemn Oath, firſt, never to admit the Papacy amongſt them again; And ſecondly, to live in obedience unto ſuch orders concerning the exerciſe of their Religion, and the form of their Eccleſiaſticall Government, as thoſe their true and faithfull Miniſters of Gods Word had agreeably to Scripture ſet down for that end and purpoſe. When theſe things began to be put in ure, the people alſo (what cauſes moving them thereunto themſelves beſt know) began to repent them of that they had done, and irefully to champe upon the bit they had taken into their mouths, the rather for that they grew

The firſt eſtabliſhment of new Diſcipline by M. *Calvines* induſtry, in the Church of *Geneva*: and the beginning of ſtrife about it amongſt our ſelves.

by means of this innovation into diſlike with ſome Churches neer about them, the benefit of whoſe good friendſhip their ſtate could not well lack: It was the manner of thoſe times (whether through mens deſire to enjoy alone the glory of their own enterprizes, or elſe becauſe the quickneſſe of their occaſions required preſent diſpatch,) ſo it was, that every particular Church did that within it ſelf, which ſome few of their own thought good, by whom the reſt were all directed. Such number of Churches then being, though free within themſelves, yet ſmall, common conference before-hand might have eaſed them of much after-trouble. But a greater inconvenience it bred, that every later endeavoured to be certain degrees more removed from conformity with the Church of Rome, than the reſt before had been: whereupon grew marvellous great diſſimilitudes, and by reaſon thereof, jealouſies, heart-burnings, jarres, and diſcords amongſt them. Which notwithſtanding might have eaſily been prevented, if the orders which each Church did think fit and convenient for it ſelf, had not ſo peremptorily been eſtabliſhed under that high commanding form, which tendered them unto the people, as things everlaſtingly required by the Law of that Lord of Lords, againſt whoſe ſtatutes there is no exception to be taken. For by this mean it came to paſſe, that one Church could not but accuſe and condemn another of diſobedience to the will of Chriſt, in thoſe things where manifeſt difference was between them: whereas the ſelf-ſame orders allowed, but yet eſtabliſhed in more wary and ſuſpence manner, as being to ſtand in force till God ſhould give the opportunity of ſome generall conference what might bee beſt for every of them afterwards to do; this, I ſay, had both prevented all occaſion of juſt diſlike which others might take, and reſerved a greater liberty unto the Authors themſelves of entring into farther conſultation afterwards. Which though never ſo neceſſary, they could not eaſily now admit, without ſome fear of derogation from their credit: and therefore that which once they had done, they became for ever after reſolute to maintain. Calvine therefore and the other two his Aſſociates, ſtiffely refuſing to adminiſter the holy Communion to ſuch as would not quietly without contradiction and murmure ſubmit themſelves unto the Orders which their ſolemn Oath had bound them to obey, were in that quarrell baniſhed the Town. A few years after (ſuch was the levity of that people) the places of one or two of their Miniſters being fallen void, they were not before ſo willing to be rid of their learned Paſtor, as now importunate to obtain him again from them who had given

him

him entertainment, and which were loth to part with him, had not unreſiſtable earneſtneſſe been uſed. One of the Town-Miniſters that ſaw in what manner the people were bent for the revocation of Calvine, *gave him notice of their affection in this ſort.* The Senate of two hundred being aſſembled, they all crave *Calvine*. The next day a generall Convocation. They cry in like ſort again all: We will have *Calvine* that good and learned man Chriſts Miniſter. This, *ſaith he*, when I underſtood, I could not chooſe but praiſe God, nor was I able to judge otherwiſe, than that this was the Lords doing, and that it was marvellous in our eyes, *And that* the ſtone which the builders refuſed, was now made the head of the corner. *The other two whom they had thrown out (together with* Calvine*) they were content ſhould enjoy their exile. Many cauſes might leade them to be more deſirous of him. Firſt, his yeelding unto them in one thing, might haply put them in hope, that time would breed the like eaſineſſe of condeſcending further unto them. For in his abſence he had perſwaded them, with whom he was able to prevaile, that albeit himſelf did better like of common bread to be uſed in the Euchariſt, yet the other they rather ſhould accept, than cauſe any trouble in the Church about it. Again, they ſaw that the name of* Calvine *waxed every day greater abroad, and that together with his fame, their infamy was ſpread, who had ſo raſhly and childiſhly ejected him. Beſides, it was not unlikely but that his credit in the World, might many wayes ſtand the poor Town in great ſtead: as the truth is, their Miniſters forreign eſtimation hitherto hath been the beſt ſtake in their hedge. But whatſoever ſecret reſpects were likely to move them, for contenting of their mindes,* Calvine *returned (as it had been another* Tully*) to his old Home. He ripely conſidered how groſſe a thing it were for men of his quality, wiſe and grave men, to live with ſuch a multitude, and to be Tenants at will under them, as their Miniſters, both himſelf and others, had been. For the remedy of which inconvenience, he gave them plainly to underſtand, that if he did become their Teacher again, they muſt be content to admit a compleat form of Diſcipline, which both they and alſo their Paſtors ſhould now be ſolemnly ſworn to obſerve for ever after; Of which diſcipline the main and principall parts were theſe: A ſtanding Eccleſiaſticall Court to be eſtabliſhed, perpetuall Iudges in that Court to be their Miniſters; others of the people annually choſen (twice ſo many in number as they) to be Iudges together with them in the ſame*

Epiſt. Cal. 24.

Luc. 20. 17.

Court: these two ſorts to have the care of all mens manners, power of determining of all kinde of Eccleſiaſticall cauſes, and authority to convent, to controll, to puniſh, as far as with Excommunication, whomſoever they ſhould think worthy, none either ſmall or great excepted. This device, I ſee not, how the wiſeſt at that time living could have bettered, if we duly conſider what the preſent eſtate of Geneva *did then require. For their Biſhop, and his Clergie being (as it is ſaid) departed from them by Moon-light, or howſoever, being departed; to chooſe in his roome any other Biſhop, had been a thing altogether impoſſible. And for their Miniſters to ſeek, that themſelves alone might have coercive power over the whole Church, would perhaps have been hardly conſtrued at that time. But when ſo frank an offer was made, that for every one Miniſter there ſhould be two of the people to ſit and give voice in the Eccleſiaſticall Conſiſtory, what inconvenience could they eaſily finde which themſelves might not be able alwayes to remedy? Howbeit (as evermore the ſimpler ſort are, even when they ſee no apparant cauſe, jealous notwithſtanding over the ſecret intents and purpoſes of wiſer men) this Propoſition of his did ſomewhat trouble them. Of the Miniſters themſelves which had ſtayed behinde in the City when* Calvine *was gone, ſome, upon knowledge of the peoples earneſt intent to recall him to his place again, had before-hand written their Letters of ſubmiſsion, and aſſured him of their allegeance for ever after, if it ſhould like him to hearken unto that publick ſuit. But yet miſdoubting what might happen, if this Diſcipline did go forward; they objected againſt it the example of other reformed Churches, living quietly and orderly without it. Some of the chiefeſt place and countenance amongſt the Laity profeſſed with greater ſtomack their judgements, that ſuch a Diſcipline was little better than Popiſh tyranny, diſguiſed and tendered unto them under a new form. This ſort, it may be, had ſome fear that the filling up of the ſeats in the Conſiſtory, with ſo great number of Lay-men, was but to pleaſe the mindes of the people, to the end they might think their own ſway ſomewhat; but when things came to triall of practice, their Paſtors learning would be at all times of force to over-perſwade ſimple men, who knowing the time of their own Preſidentſhip to be but ſhort, would alwayes ſtand in fear of their Miniſters perpetuall authority. And among the Miniſters themſelves, one being ſo far in eſtimation above the reſt, the voices of the reſt were likely to be given for the moſt part reſpectively with a kinde of ſecret dependency*

dency and awe: ſo that in a ſhew a marvellous indifferently compoſed Senate Eccleſiaſticall was to govern, but in effect one only man ſhould, as the Spirit and ſoul of the reſidue, do all in all. But what did theſe vain ſurmiſers boot? Brought they were now to ſo ſtraight an iſſue, that of two things they muſt chooſe one; Namely, whether they would to their endleſſe diſgrace, with ridiculous lightneſſe, diſmiſſe him, whoſe reſtitution they had in ſo impotent manner deſired, or elſe condeſcend unto that demand, wherein he was reſolute either to have it, or to leave them. They thought it better to be ſomewhat hardly An. Dom. 1541. *yoked at home, than for ever abroad diſcredited. Wherefore in the end thoſe orders were on all ſides aſſented unto, with no leſſe alacrity of minde, than Cities unable to hold out longer are wont to ſhew, when they take conditions ſuch as it liketh him to offer them which hath them in the narrow ſtreights of advantage. Not many yeers before overpaſſed, before theſe twice-ſworn men adventured to give their laſt and hotteſt aſſault to the Fortreſſe of the ſame Diſcipline, childiſhly granting by common conſent of their whole Senate, and that under their Town-Seal, a relaxation to one* Bertelier, *whom the Elderſhip had Excommunicated; further alſo decreeing, with ſtrange abſurdity, that to the ſame Senate it ſhould belong to give finall judgement in matter of Excommunication, and to abſolve whom it pleaſed them; clean contrary to their own former Deeds and Oathes. The report of which Decree being forthwith brought unto* Calvine; Before (*ſaith hee*) this Decree take place, either my bloud or baniſhment ſhall ſigne it. *Again, two dayes before the Communion ſhould be celebrated, this ſpeech was publickly to like effect,* Kill me, if ever this hand do reach forth the things that are Holy, to them whom *the Church* hath judged Deſpiſers. *Whereupon, for fear of tumult, the forenamed* Bertelier *was by his friends adviſed for that time not to uſe the liberty granted him by the Senate, nor to preſent himſelf in the Church, till they ſaw ſomewhat further what would enſue. After the Communion quietly miniſtred, and ſome likelyhood of peaceable ending of theſe troubles without any more adoe, that very day in the after-noone, beſides all mens expectation, concluding his ordinary Sermon, he telleth them, That becauſe he neither had learned nor taught to ſtrive with ſuch as are in authority, therefore* (*ſaith he*) the caſe ſo ſtanding as now it doth, let me uſe theſe words of the Apoſtle unto you; I commend you unto God

and the Word of his grace, *and ſo bad them heartily* Adieu. *It ſometimes commeth to paſſe, that the readieſt way which a wiſe man hath to conquer, is to flie. His voluntary and unexpected mention of ſudden departure, cauſed preſently the Senate (for according to their wonted manner they ſtill continued only conſtant in unconſtancy) to gather themſelves together, and for a time to ſuſpend their own Decree, leaving things to proceed as before, till they had heard the judgement of foure* Helvetian *Cities concerning the matter which was in ſtrife. This to have done at the firſt before they gave aſſent unto any order, had ſhewed ſome wit and diſcretion in them: but now to do it, was as much as to ſay in effect, that they would play their parts on a Stage.* Calvine *therefore diſpatcheth with all expedition his letters unto ſome principall Paſtors in every of thoſe Cities, craving earneſtly at their hands, to reſpect this cauſe as a thing whereupon the whole ſtate of Religion and Piety in that Church did ſo much depend, that God and all good men were now inevitably certain to be trampled under foot, unleſſe thoſe foure Cities by their good means might be brought to give ſentence with the Miniſters of* Geneva, *when the cauſe ſhould be brought before them; yea, ſo to give it, that two things it might effectually contain; the one abſolute approbation of the Diſcipline of* Geneva, *as conſonant unto the Word of God, without any cautions, qualifications, Ifs, or Ands; the other, an earneſt admonition not to innovate or change the ſame. His vehement requeſt herein as touching both points was ſatisfied. For albeit the ſame* Helvetian *Churches did never as yet obſerve that Diſcipline; nevertheleſſe the Senate of* Geneva *having required their judgement concerning theſe three queſtions: Firſt,* After what manner, by Gods commandement, according to the Scripture and unſpotted Religion, Excommunication is to be exerciſed: *Secondly,* Whether it may not be exerciſed ſome other way than by the Conſiſtory: *Thirdly,* What the uſe of their Churches was to do in this caſe? *Anſwer was returned from the ſaid Churches,* That they had heard already of thoſe Conſiſtoriall Lawes, and did acknowledge them to be *godly* Ordinances, *drawing towards* the preſcript of the Word of God, for which cauſe they did not think it good for *the Church of Geneva* by innovation to change the ſame, but rather to keep them as they were. *Which anſwer, although not anſwering unto the former demands, but reſpecting what Maſter* Calvine *had judged requiſite for*

Epiſt. 166.

them

them to answer, was notwithstanding accepted without any further reply: inasmuch as they plainly saw, that when stomack doth strive with wit, the match is not equall. And so the heat of the former contentions began to slake. The present inhabitants of Geneva, I hope, will not take it in evill part, that the faultinesse of their people heretofore, is by us so farforth laid open, as their own learned Guides and Pastors have thought necessary to discover it unto the World. For out of their Books and Writings it is that I have collected this whole narration, to the end it might thereby appear in what sort amongst them that Discipline was planted, for which so much contention is raised amongst our selves. The reasons which moved Calvine herein to be so earnest, was, as Beza himself testifieth, For that he saw how needfull these bridles were, to be put in the jawes of that City. That which by wisdome he saw to be requisite for that people, was by as great wisdome compassed. But wise men are men, and the truth is truth. That which Calvine did for establishment of his Discipline, seemeth more commendable, than that which he taught for the countenancing of it established. Nature worketh in us all a love to our own counsels. The contradiction of others is a Fan to inflame that love. Our love set on fire to maintain that which once we have done, sharpneth the wit to dispute, to argue, and by all means to reason for it. Wherefore a marvell it were, if a man of so great capacity, having such incitements to make him desirous of all kinde of furtherances unto his cause, could espie in the whole Scripture of God, nothing which might breed at the least a probable opinion of likelyhood, that divine authority it self was the same way somewhat inclineable. And all which the wit even of Calvine was able from thence to draw, by sifting the very utmost sentence and syllable, is no more than that certain speeches there are, which to him did seem to intimate, that all Christian Churches ought to have their Elderships endued with power of Excommunication, and that a part of those Elderships every where should be chosen out from among the Laity, after that form which himself had framed Geneva unto. But what argument are ye able to shew, whereby it was ever proved by Calvine, that any one sentence of Scripture doth necessarily inforce these things, or the rest wherein your opinion concurreth with his against the orders of your own Church? We should be injurious unto vertue it self, if we did derogate from them whom their industry hath made great. Two things of principall moment there are which have deservedly procured him honour throughout the World; the

Quod cum Urbem videret omnino his frœnis indigere.

the one his exceeding paines in compoſing the Inſtitutions of Chriſtian Religion; the other, his no leſſe induſtrious travails for expoſition of holy Scripture according unto the ſame Inſtitutions. In which two things whoſoever they were that after him beſtowed their labour, he gained the advantage of prejudice againſt them, if they gain-ſaid; and of glory above them, if they conſented. His writings publiſhed after the queſtion about that Diſcipline was once begun, omit not any the leaſt occaſion of extolling the uſe and ſingular neceſſity thereof. Of what account the Maſter of ſentences was in the Church of Rome, *the ſame and more amongſt the Preachers of reformed Churches* Calvine *had purchaſed: ſo that the perfecteſt Divines were judged, they which were skilfulleſt in* Calvines *writings. His Books almoſt the very Canon to judge both Doctrine and Diſcipline by. French Churches, both under others abroad, and at home in our own Countrey, all caſt according unto that mold which* Calvine *had made. The Church of* Scotland *in erecting the fabrick of their reformation, took the ſelf-ſame pattern. Till at length the Diſcipline, which was at the firſt ſo weak, that without the ſtaffe of their approbation, who were not ſubject unto it themſelves, it had not brought others under ſubjection, began now to challenge univerſall obedience, and to enter into open conflict with thoſe very Churches, which in deſperate extremity had been beleevers of it. To one of thoſe Churches which lived in moſt peaceable ſort, and abounded as well with men for their learning in other profeſſions ſingular, as alſo with Divines whoſe equals were not elſewhere to be found, a Church ordered by* Gualters *diſcipline, and not by that which* Geneva *adoreth: unto this Church, the Church of* Hidelberge, *there commeth one, who craving leave to diſpute publickly, defendeth with open diſdain of their government, that* to a Miniſter with his Elderſhip power is given by the Law of God to excommunicate whomſoever, yea, even Kings and Princes themſelves. *Here were the ſeeds ſown of that controverſie which ſprang up between* Beza *and* Eraſtus *about the matter of Excommunication, whether there ought to be in all Churches an Elderſhip having power to Excommunicate, and a part of that Elderſhip to be of neceſſity certain choſen out from amongſt the Laity for that purpoſe. In which diſputation they have, as to me it ſeemeth, divided very equally the truth between them;* Beza *moſt truly maintaining the neceſſity of Excommunication;* Eraſtus *as truly the non-neceſſity of Lay-elders to be Miniſters*

niſters thereof. Amongſt our ſelves, there was in King Edwards *dayes ſome queſtion moved by reaſon of a few mens ſcrupuloſity touching certain things. And beyond Seas, of them which fled in the dayes of Queen* Mary, *ſome contenting themſelves abroad with the uſe of their own Service-Book, at home authorized before their departure out of the Realm; others liking better the Common Prayer-Book of the Church of* Geneva *tranſlated, thoſe ſmaller contentions before begun were by this mean ſomewhat increaſed: Under the happy Reigne of her Majeſty which now is, the greateſt matter a while contended for, was the wearing of the Cap and Surpleſſe, till there came Admonitions directed unto the High Court of Parliament, by men, who concealing their names, thought it glory enough to diſcover their minds and affections, which now were univerſally bent even againſt all the Orders and Lawes wherein this Church is found unconformable to the platform of* Geneva. *Concerning the Defender of which Admonitions, all that I mean to ſay is but this*: There will come a time when three words uttered with charity and meekneſſe, ſhall receive a farre more bleſſed reward, than three thouſand Volumes written with diſdainfull ſharpneſſe of wit. *But the manner of mens writing muſt not alienate our hearts from the truth, if it appear they have the truth; as the followers of the ſame Defender do think he hath, and in that perſwaſion they follow him, no otherwiſe than himſelf doth* Calvine, Beza, *and others, with the like perſwaſion that they in this cauſe had the truth. We being as fully perſwaded otherwiſe, it reſteth that ſome kinde of triall be uſed to finde out which part is in error.*

3 *The firſt mean whereby Nature teacheth men to judge good from evill, aſwell in Lawes as in other things, is the force of their own diſcretion. Hereunto therefore S.* Paul *referreth oftentimes his own ſpeech to be conſidered of by them that heard him,* I ſpeak as to them which have underſtanding, judge ye what I ſay. *Again afterward,* Judge in your ſelves, is it comely that a woman pray uncovered? *The exerciſe of this kinde of judgement our Saviour requireth in the Jewes. In them of Berea the Scripture commendeth it. Finally, whatſoever we do, if our own ſecret judgement conſent not unto it as fit and good to be done; the doing of it to us is ſinne, although the thing it ſelf be allowable. Saint* Pauls *rule therefore generally is,* Let every man in his own minde be fully perſwaded of that thing which

By what means ſo many of the people are trained into the liking of that Diſcipline.

1 Cor. 10. 13
1 Cor. 11. 13
Luke 12. 56, 57.
Acts 17. 11.
Rom. 14. 5.

which he either alloweth or doth. *Some things are ſo familiar and plain, that truth from falſehood, and good from evill is moſt eaſily diſcerned in them, even by men of no deep capacity. And of that nature, for the moſt part, are things abſolutely unto all mens Salvation neceſſary, either to be held or denied, either to be done or avoided. For which cauſe S.* Auguſtine *acknowledgeth that they are not only ſet down, but alſo plainly ſet down in Scripture: ſo that he which heareth or readeth, may without any great difficulty underſtand. Other things alſo there are belonging (though in a lower degree of importance) unto the offices of Chriſtian men: which becauſe they are more obſcure, more intricate and hard to be judged of, therefore God hath appointed ſome to ſpend their whole time principally in the ſtudy of things divine, to the end that in theſe more doubtfull caſes, their underſtanding might be a light to direct others.* If the underſtanding power or faculty of the ſoul be (*ſaith the grand Phyſitian*) like unto bodily ſight, not of equall ſharpneſſe in all; what can be more convenient, than that, even as the dark-ſighted man is directed by the cleer about things viſible, ſo likewiſe in matters of deeper diſcourſe the wiſe in heart doth ſhew the ſimple where his way lyeth? *In our doubtfull caſes of Law, what man is there who ſeeth not how requiſite it is, that Profeſſors of skill in that faculty be our Directors? So it is in all other kindes of knowledge. And even in this kinde likewiſe, the Lord hath himſelf appointed, that* the Prieſts lips ſhould preſerve knowledge, and that other men would ſeek the truth at his mouth, *becauſe* he is the meſſenger of the Lord of Hoſts. Gregory Nazianzen, *offended at the peoples too great preſumption in controlling the judgement of them to whom in ſuch caſes they ſhould have rather ſubmitted their own, ſeeketh by earneſt entreaty to ſtay them within their bounds*: Preſume not ye that are ſheep, to make your ſelves guides of them that ſhould guide you, neither ſeek ye to over-skip the fold which they about you have pitched. It ſufficeth for your part, if ye can well frame your ſelves to be ordered. Take not upon you to judge your ſelves, nor to make them ſubject to your lawes who ſhould be a law to you; for God is not a God of ſedition and confuſion, but of order and of peace. *But ye will ſay, that the guides of the people be blind; the common ſort of men muſt not cloze up their own eyes and be led by the conduct of ſuch; if the Prieſt be partiall in the Law, the flock muſt not*

Galen. de opt. docen.

Gen.

Mal. 2. 7. Greg. Naz. Orat. qua ſe excuſat.

Mat. 10, 14.

therefore

therefore depart from the wayes of sincere truth, and in simplicity yeeld to be followers of him for his place sake and office over them. Which thing, though in it self most true, is in your defence notwithstanding weak: because the matter, wherein ye think that ye see and imagine that your wayes are sincere, is of far deeper consideration than any one amongst five hundred of you conceiveth. Let the vulgar sort amongst you know, that there is not the least branch of the cause wherein they are so resolute, but to the triall of it a great deal more appertaineth than their conceit doth reach unto. I write not this in disgrace of the simplest that way given; but I would gladly they knew the nature of that cause wherein they think themselves throughly instructed, and are not: by means whereof they daily runne themselves, without feeling their own hazzard, upon the dint of the Apostles sentence against evill speakers, as touching things wherein they are ignorant. If it be granted a thing unlawfull for private men, not called unto publick consultation, to dispute which is the best state of civill Policy (with a desire of bringing in some other kinde than that under which they already live, for of such disputes I take it, his meaning was) if it be a thing confest, that of such questions they cannot determine without rashnesse, inasmuch as a great part of them consisteth in speciall circumstances, and for one kinde as many reasons may be brought as for another; is there any reason in the World, why they should better judge what kinde of Regiment Ecclesiasticall is the fittest? For in the civill State more insight, and in those affairs more experience a great deale must needs be granted them, than in this they can possibly have. When they which write in defence of your Discipline, and commend it unto the Highest, not in the least cunning manner, are forced notwithstanding to acknowledge, that with whom the Truth is they know not, *they are not certain; what certainty or knowledge can the multitude have thereof? Weigh what doth move the common sort so much to favour this innovation, and it shall soon appear unto you, that the force of particular reasons which for your severall opinions are alleadged, is a thing whereof the multitude never did nor could so consider as to be therewith wholly carried; but certain generall inducements are used to make saleable your Cause in grosse: and when once men have cast a fancy towards it, any slight declaration of specialties will serve to leade forward mens inclinable and prepared mindes. The method of winning the peoples affection unto a generall liking of the Cause (for so ye term it) hath*

Mal. 2. 9.

Iude ver. 10. 2 Pet. 12.

Calvin. Inst. lib. 4. cap. 20. sect. 8.

The Author of the Petition directed to her Majesty. pag. 3.

hath been this. First, in the hearing of the multitude, the faults, especially of higher callings, are ripped up with marvellous exceeding severity and sharpnesse of reproof; which being oftentimes done, begetteth a great good opinion of integrity, zeal, and holinesse, to such constant Reprovers of sin, as by likelyhood would never be so much offended at that which is evill, unlesse themselves were singularly good. The next thing hereunto is to impute all faults and corruptions wherewith the world aboundeth, unto the kinde of Ecclesiasticall Government established. Wherein, as before by reproving faults, they purchased unto themselves with the multitude a name to be vertuous; so by finding out this kinde of cause, they obtain to be judged wise above others: whereas in truth unto the form even of Jewish Government, which the Lord himself (they all confesse) did establish, with like shew of reason they might impute those faults which the Prophets condemn in the Governours of that Common-wealth as to the English kind of Regiment Ecclesiasticall (whereof also God himself, though in other sort, is Author) the stains and blemishes found in our State; which springing from the root of humane frailty and corruption, not only are, but have been alwayes more or lesse, yea, and (for any thing we know to the contrary) will be till the worlds end complained of, what form of Government soever take place. Having gotten thus much sway in the hearts of men, a third step is to propose their own form of Church-government, as the only soveraigne remedy of all evils; and to adorn it with all the glorious titles that may be. And the nature, as of men that have sick bodies, so likewise of the people in the crazednesse of their minds possest with dislike and discontentment at things present, is to imagine that any thing (the vertue whereof they have heard commended) would help them; but that most, which they least have tried. The fourth degree of inducements, is, by fashioning the very notions and conceits of mens minds, in such sort that when they reade the Scripture, they may think that every thing soundeth towards the advancement of that Discipline, and to the utter disgrace of the contrary. Pythagoras, by bringing up his Schollers in speculative knowledge of numbers, made their conceits therein so strong, that when they came to the contemplation of things naturall, they imagined that in every particular thing they even beheld as it were with their eyes, how the Elements of number gave essence and being to the works of Nature; A thing in reason impossible: which notwithstanding through their misfashioned pre-conceit, appeared unto them

them no leſſe certain, than if Nature had written it in the very fore-heads of all the creatures of God. When they of the Family of Love *have it once in their heads, that Chriſt doth not ſignifie any one Perſon, but a quality wereof many are partakers; that to be raiſed is nothing elſe but to be regenerated or indued with the ſame quality; and that when ſeparation of them which have it, from them which have it not, is here made, this is judgement; how plainly do they imagine that the Scripture every where ſpeaketh in the favour of that Sect? And aſſuredly, the very cauſe which maketh the ſimple and ignorant to think they even ſee how the Word of God runneth currantly on your ſide, is, that their minds are foreſtalled and their conceits perverted before-hand, by being taught that an Elder doth ſignifie a Lay-man, admitted only to the office of Rule or Government in the Church; a Doctor, one which may only teach, and neither Preach nor adminiſter the Sacraments; a Deacon, one which hath charge of the Almes-box, and of nothing elſe: that the Scepter, the Rod, the Throne and Kingdome of Chriſt, are a form of Regiment, only by Paſtors, Elders, Doctors and Deacons: that by myſticall reſemblance, Mount* Sion *and* Jeruſalem *are the Churches which admit,* Samaria *and* Babylon *the Churches which oppugne the ſaid form of Regiment. And in like ſort they are taught to apply all things ſpoken of repairing the walles and decayed parts of the City and Temple of God by* Eſdras, Nehemias, *and the reſt: as if purpoſely the holy Ghoſt had therein meant to fore-ſignifie, what the Authors of admonitions to the Parliament, of ſupplications to the Councell, of Petitions to her Majeſty, and of ſuch other like Writs, ſhould either do or ſuffer in behalf of this their cauſe. From hence they proceed to an higher point, which is the perſwading of men credulous and over-capable of ſuch pleaſing errors, that it is the ſpeciall illumination of the holy Ghoſt, whereby they diſcern thoſe things in the Word, which others reading, yet diſcern them not.* Dearly beloved, *ſaith S.* John, 1 John 4.1. Give not credit unto every ſpirit. *There are but two wayes whereby the Spirit leadeth men into all truth: the one extraordinary, the other common; the one belonging but unto ſome few, the other extending it ſelf unto all that are of God; the one, that which we call by a ſpeciall divine excellency,* Revelation; *the other,* Reaſon. *If the Spirit by ſuch Revelation have diſcovered unto them the ſecrets of that Diſcipline out of Scripture, they muſt profeſſe themſelves to be all (even men, women, and children) Prophets. Or if Reaſon be the hand which the Spirit had led*

them by; forasmuch as perswasions grounded upon reason, are either weaker or stronger, according to the force of those reasons whereupon the same are grounded, they must every of them from the greatest to the least, be able for every severall Article, to shew some speciall reason as strong as their perswasion therein is earnest. Otherwise how can it be, but that some other sinewes there are from which that overplus of strength in perswasion doth arise? Most sure it is, that when mens affections do frame their opinions, they are in defence of errour more earnest a great deale, than (for the most part) sound Beleevers in the maintenance of Truth apprehended according to the nature of that evidence which Scripture yeeldeth: which being in some things plain, as in the principles of Christian Doctrine; in some things, as in these matters of Discipline, more dark and doubtfull; frameth correspondently that inward assent which Gods most gracious Spirit worketh by it as by his effectuall instrument. It is not therefore the fervent earnestnesse of their perswasion, but the soundnesse of those reasons whereupon the same is built, which must declare their opinions in these things to have been wrought by the
2 Thes. 2. 11. Holy Ghost, and not by the fraud of that evill spirit which even in his illusions is strong. After that the fancy of the common sort hath once thorowly apprehended the Spirit to be author of their perswasions concerning Discipline, then is instilled into their hearts, that the same Spirit leading men into this opinion, doth thereby seal them to be Gods children; and that as the state of the times now standeth, the most speciall token to know them that are Gods own from others, is, an earnest affection that way. This hath bred high terms of separation between such and the rest of the World; whereby the one sort are named The Brethren, The godly, and so forth; the other Worldlings, Time-servers, Pleasers of men, not of God, with such like: From hence they are easily drawn on to think it exceeding necessary, for fear of quenching that good Spirit, to use all means whereby the same may be both strengthened in themselves, and made manifest unto others. This maketh them diligent hearers of such as are known that way to incline; this maketh them eager to take and to seek all occasions of secret conference with such; this maketh them glad to use such as Councellors and Directors in all their dealings which are of waight, as Contracts, Testaments, and the like; this maketh them, through an unweariable desire of receiving instruction from the Masters of that company, to cast off the care of those very affairs which do most concern their estate, and to think that then they

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are like unto Mary, *commendable for making choice of the better part. Finally, this is it, which maketh them willing to charge, yea oftentimes even to over charge themselves, for such mens sustenance and relief, lest their zeale to the cause should any way be unwitnessed. For what is it which poore beguiled soules will not do through so powerfull incitements? In which respect it is also noted, that most labour hath been bestowed to winne and retain towards this cause them whose judgements are commonly weakest by reason of their Sex. And although not Women* loden with sins, *as the Apostle S.* Paul *speaketh,* 2 Tim. 3. 6. *but (as we verily esteem of them for the most part) Women propense and inclinable to holinesse, be otherwise edified in good things, rather than carried away as captives into any kinde of sinne and evill, by such as enter into their houses with purpose to plant there a zeale and a love towards this kinde of Discipline: yet some occasion is hereby ministred for men to think, that if the cause which is thus furthered, did gain by the soundnesse of proof whereupon it doth build it self, it would not most busily endeavour to prevaile where least ability of judgement is: and therefore that this so eminent industry in making Proselites, more of that sex than of the other, groweth, for that they are deemed apter to serve as instruments and helps in the cause. Apter they are through the eagernesse of their affection, that maketh them which way soever they take, diligent in drawing their husbands, children, servants, friends, and allies the same way; apter through that naturall inclination unto piety, which breedeth in them a greater readinesse than in men, to be bountiful towards their Preachers who suffer want; apter through sundry opportunities which they especially have, to procure encouragements for their brethren; finally, apter through a singular delight which they take in giving very large & particular intelligence, how all neer about them stand affected as concerning the same cause. But be they Women or be they Men, if once they have tasted of that cup, let any of contrary opinion open his mouth to perswade them, they close up their eares, his reasons they weigh not; all is answered with rehearsall of the words of* John, We are of God, he that knoweth God, heareth us; *vs for the* 1 John 3. 6. *rest, ye are of the World, for this Worlds pompe and vanity it is that ye speak, and the World whose ye are, heareth you. Which cloke sitteth no lesse fit on the back of their cause, than of the* Anabaptists, *when the dignity, authority and honour of Gods Magistrates is upheld against them. Shew these eagerly-affected men their inability to judge of such mat-*

1 Cor.1.27. Acts 26.24. Sap.5.4. We fooles thought his life madneſſe. *Marc. Triſ. ad Æſculap.* Οἱ μὲν γνώσει ὄντες ὔτε τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐφικτοὶ ὔτε οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτοῖς, μεμιμῆσθαι δὲ δοκοῦσι, γόητα ὀφλισκάνουσι. Vide Lactant. de Inſtit. l. 5. cap. 16. Auguſt. Ep. 50.

ters their anſwer is, God hath choſen the ſimple. *Convince them of folly, and that ſo plainly, that very children upbraid them with it, they have their bucklers of like defence.* Chriſts own Apoſtle was accounted mad; The beſt men overcome by the ſentence of the World have been judged to be out of their right mindes. *When inſtruction doth them no good, let them feel but the leaſt degree of moſt mercifully tempered ſeverity, they faſten on the head of the Lords Vicegerents hereon Earth whatſoever they any where finde uttered againſt the cruelty of blood-thirſty men; and to themſelves they draw all the ſentences which Scripture hath in the favour of innocency perſecuted for the truth: yea they are of their due and deſerved ſufferings no leſſe proud, than thoſe ancient diſturbers, to whom Saint* Auguſtine *writeth ſaying:* Martyrs rightly ſo named are they, not which ſuffer for their diſorder, and for the ungodly breach they have made of Chriſtian unity; but which for righteouſneſſe ſake are perſecuted. For *Hagar* alſo ſuffered Perſecution at the hands of *Sara*; wherein, ſhe which did impoſe was holy, and ſhe unrighteous which did bear the burthen. In like ſort, with the theeves was the Lord himſelf crucified, but they who were matcht in the pain which they ſuffered, were in the cauſe of their ſufferings diſ-joyned. If that muſt needs be the true Church which doth endure perſecution, and not that which perſecuteth, let them ask of the Apoſtle what Church *Sara* did repreſent, when ſhe held her Maid in affliction. For even our Mother which is free, the heavenly *Jeruſalem,* that is to ſay, the true Church of God, was, as he doth affirme; preſigured in that very Woman by whom the Bondmaid was ſo ſharply handled. Although if all things be throughly ſcanned, ſhe did in truth much more perſecute *Sara* by proud reſiſtance, than *Sara* her by ſeverity of puniſhment. *Theſe are the paths wherein ye have walked that are of the ordinary ſort of men; theſe are the very ſteps ye have trodden, and the manifeſt degrees whereby ye are of your guides and directors trained up in that School: a cuſtome of injuring your eares with reproof of faults eſpecially in your Governours, & Uſe to attribute thoſe faults to the kind of ſpirituall regiment under which ye live; boldneſſe in warranting the force of their diſcipline for the cure of all ſuch evils; a ſleight of framing your conceits to imagine that Scripture every where favoureth that diſcipline; perſwaſion*

that

that the cauſe, why ye finde it in Scripture is the illumination of the Spirit, that the ſame Spirit is a Seale unto you of your neerneſſe unto God, that ye are by all means to nouriſh and witneſſe it in your ſelves, and to ſtrengthen on every ſide your minds againſt whatſoever might be of force to withdraw you from it.

4 *Wherefore to come unto you whoſe judgement is a Lanthorn of direction for all the reſt, you that frame thus the peoples hearts, not altogether (as I willingly perſwade my ſelf) of a politick intent or purpoſe, but your ſelves being firſt overborn with the weight of greater mens judgements; on your ſhoulders is laid the burthen of upholding the cauſe by argument. For which purpoſe ſentences out of the word of God ye alleage divers: but ſo, that when the ſame are diſcuſt, thus it alwayes in a manner falleth out, that what things by vertue thereof ye urge upon us as altogether neceſſary, are found to be thence collected only by poore and marvelous ſlight conjectures. I need not give inſtance in any one ſentence ſo alledged, for that I think the inſtance in any alledged otherwiſe a thing not eaſie to be given. A very ſtrange thing ſure it were, that ſuch a Diſcipline as ye ſpeak of ſhould be taught by Chriſt, and his Apoſtles in the Word of God, and no Church ever have found it out, nor received it till this preſent time; contrariwiſe, the Government againſt which ye bend your ſelves, be obſerved every where throughout all generations and ages of the Chriſtian World, no Church ever perceiving the Word of God to be againſt it. We require you to finde out but one Church upon the face of the whole earth, that hath been ordered by your Diſcipline, or hath not been ordered by ours, that is to ſay, by Epiſcopall regiment, ſithence the time that the bleſſed Apoſtles were here converſant. Many things out of antiquitie ye bring, as if the pureſt times of the Church had obſerved the ſelf-ſame orders which you require; and as though your deſire were, that the Churches of old ſhould be patterns for us to follow, and even glaſſes wherein we might ſee the practice of that which by you is gathered out of Scripture. But the truth is, ye mean nothing leſſe. All this is done for faſhion ſake only; for ye complain of it as of an injurie, that men ſhould be willed to ſeek for examples and patterns of government in any of thoſe times that have been before. Ye plainly hold, that from the very Apoſtles times till this preſent age wherein your ſelves imagine ye have found out a right pattern of ſound Diſcipline, there never was any time ſafe to be followed. Which thing ye thus endevour to prove. Out of Egeſippus ye ſay that Euſebius writeth, how although as long as the*

What hath cauſed ſo many of the learneder ſort to approve the ſame diſcipline.

T.C. lib. 1. p. 9. 7.

Euſeb. 3. l. 32.

Apoſtles lived, the Church did remain a pure Virgin, yet after the death of the Apoſtles, and after they were once gone whom God vouchſafed to make Hearers of the divine Wiſdome with their own eares, the placing of wicked errours began to come into the Church. Clement *alſo in a certain place; to confirme that there was corruption of Doctrine immediately after the Apoſtles times, alleadgeth the proverb, that* there are few ſonnes like their Fathers. Socrates *ſaith of the Church of* Rome *and* Alexandria, *the moſt famous Churches in the Apoſtles times, that about the year* 430. *the Roman and Alexandrian Biſhops leaving the ſacred function, were degenerate to a ſecular rule or dominion. Hereupon ye conclude, that it is not ſafe to fetch our Government from any other than the Apoſtles times. Wherein by the way it may be noted, that in propoſing the Apoſtles times as a pattern for the Church to follow, though the deſire of you all be one, the drift and purpoſe of you all is not one. The chiefeſt thing which Lay-reformers yawn for, is, that the Clergie may through conformity in ſtate and condition be Apoſtolicall, poor as the Apoſtles of Chriſt were poor. In which one circumſtance if they imagine ſo great perfection, they muſt think that Church which hath ſuch ſtore of mendicant Friers, a Church in that reſpect moſt happy. Were it for the glory of God, and the good of his Church indeed, that the Clergie ſhould be left even as bare as the Apoſtles when they had neither ſtaffe nor ſcrip; that God, which ſhould lay upon them the condition of his Apoſtles, would, I hope, endue them with the ſelf-ſame affection which was in that holy Apoſtle, whoſe words concerning his own right-vertuous contentment of heart,* As well how to want, as how to abound, *are a moſt fit Epiſcopall empreſe. The Church of Chriſt is a body myſticall. A body cannot ſtand, unleſſe the parts thereof be proportionable. Let it therefore be required on both parts, at the hands of the Clergie, to be in meanneſſe of eſtate like the Apoſtles; at the hands of the Laity, to be as they were who lived under the Apoſtles: and in this reformation there will be, though little wiſdome, yet ſome indifferency. But your reformation which are of the Clergie (if yet it diſpleaſe you not that I ſhould ſay ye are of the Clergie) ſeemeth to aime at a broader mark. Ye think that he which will perfectly reform, muſt bring the form of Church-diſcipline unto the ſtate which then it was at. A thing neither poſſible, nor certain, nor abſolutely convenient. Concerning the firſt, what was uſed in the Apoſtles times, the Scripture fully declareth not; ſo that making their times the Rule*

Lib. Strom. Somewhat after the beginning.

Lib. 7. ca. 11.

Phil. 4. 12.

and

and Canon of Church-polity, ye make a rule which being not poſſible to be fully known, is as impoſſible to be kept. Again, ſith the later even of the Apoſtles own times, had that which in the former was not thought upon; in this generall propoſing of the Apoſtles times, there is no certainty which ſhould be followed, eſpecially ſeeing that ye give us great cauſe to doubt how farre ye allow thoſe times. For albeit the Tower of Antichriſtian building were not, ye ſay, as then ſet up; yet the foundations thereof were ſecretly and under the ground laid in the Apoſtles times: ſo that all other times ye plainly reject, and the Apoſtles own times ye approve with marvellous great ſuſpicion, leaving it intricate and doubtfull wherein we are to keep our ſelves unto the pattern of their times. Thirdly, whereas it is the errour of the common multitude, to conſider only what hath been of old, and if the ſame were well, to ſee whether ſtill it continue; if not, to condemn that preſently which is, and never to ſearch upon what ground or conſideration the change might grow: ſuch rudeneſſe cannot be in you ſo well born with, whom learning and judgement hath enabled much more ſoundly to diſcern how far the times of the Church, and the orders thereof may alter without offence. True it is, [a] the ancienter, the better ceremonies of Religion are; howbeit, not abſolutely true, and without exception, but true only ſo far-forth as thoſe different ages do agree in the ſtate of thoſe things, for which at the firſt thoſe rites, orders, and ceremonies, were inſtituted. In the Apoſtles times that was harmeleſſe, which being now revived would be ſcandalous; as their [b] oſcula ſancta. Thoſe [c] Feaſts of charity, which being inſtituted by the Apoſtles, were retained in the Church long after, are not now thought any where needfull. What man is there of underſtanding, unto whom it is not manifeſt, how the way of providing for the Clergie by Tithes, the device of Almes-houſes for the poor, the ſorting out of the people into their ſeverall Pariſhes, together with ſundry other things which the Apoſtles times could not have, (being now eſtabliſhed) are much more convenient and fit for the Church of Chriſt, than if the ſame ſhould be taken away for conformities ſake with the ancienteſt and firſt times? The orders therefore which were obſerved in the Apoſtles times, are not to be urged as a Rule univerſally, either ſufficient or neceſſary. If they be, nevertheleſſe on your part it ſtill remaineth to be better proved, that the form of Diſcipline which ye intitle Apoſtolicall, was in the Apoſtles time exerciſed. For of this very thing ye faile even touching that which

a *Antiquitas ceremoniis ait ſanis tantum ſanctitatis tribuere conſuevit, quantum adſtruxerit vetuſtatis.* Arn. pag. 745.

b Rom. 16. 16. 2 Cor. 13. 12. 1 Theſ. 5. 25. 1 Pet. 5. 14. In their meetings to ſerve God, their maner was in the end to ſalute one another with a kiſſe, uſing theſe words, Peace be with you; For which cauſe *Tertul.* doth call it *ſignaculli orationis*, the ſeal of praier, *l. de Ora.* c *Epiſt. Iud. verſe* 12. Concerning which feaſts S. *Chryſ.* ſaith, *Statis diebus menſas faciebant cõmunes, & peracta ſynaxi poſt ſacramentorum communionem inibant convivium, divitibus quidẽ cibos afferentibus, pauperibus autem & qui nihil habebant etiam vocatis; in* 1 Cor. 1. *Hom.* 27. of the ſame feaſts in like ſort, *Tertul. Cœna noſtra de nominationem ſui oſtendit. Vocatur enim agápe, id quod eſt penes Græcos dilectio; quanticunq́, ſumptibus conſtet, lucrũ eſt pietatis nomine facere ſumptum* Apolog. c. 39.

which ye make moſt account of, as being matter of ſubſtance in Diſcipline, I mean the power of your Lay-Elders, and the difference of your Doctors from the Paſtors in all Churches. So that in ſumme, we may be bold to conclude, that beſides theſe laſt times, which for inſolency, pride, and egregious contempt of all good order are the worſt, there are none wherein ye can truly affirme, that the complete form of your Diſcipline, or the ſubſtance thereof was practized. The evidence therefore of Antiquity failing you, ye flie to the Iudgements of ſuch Learned men, as ſeem by their Writings, to be of opinion that all Chriſtian Churches ſhould receive your Diſcipline, and abandon ours. Wherin, as ye heap up the names of a number of men not unworthy to be had in honour; ſo there are a number, whom when ye mention, although it ſerve you to purpoſe with the ignorant and vulgar ſort, who meaſure by tale and not by waight, yet ſurely they who know what quality and value the men are of, will think ye draw very neer the dregs. But were they all of as great account as the beſt and chiefeſt amongſt them, with us notwithſtanding neither are they, neither ought they to be of ſuch reckoning, that their opinion or conjecture ſhould cauſe the Lawes of the Church of England *to give place. Much leſſe when they neither do all agree in that opinion; and of them which are at agreement, the moſt part through a courteous inducement, have followed one man as their Guide; finally, that one therein not unlikely to have ſwarved. If any chance to ſay it is probable that in the Apoſtles times there were Lay-Elders, or not to miſlike the continuance of them in the Church; or to affirme that Biſhops at the firſt were a name, but not a power diſtinct from Presbyters; or to ſpeak any thing in praiſe of thoſe Churches which are without Epiſcopall Regiment; or to reprove the fault of ſuch as abuſe that Calling; all theſe ye regiſter for men perſwaded, as you are, that every Chriſtian Church ſtandeth bound by the Law of God to put down Biſhops, and in their rooms to erect an Elderſhip ſo authorized as you would have it for the Government of each Pariſh. Deceived greatly they are therefore, who think that all they whoſe names are cited amongſt the Favourers of this cauſe, are on any ſuch verdict agreed. Yet touching ſome materiall points of your Diſcipline, a kinde of agreement we grant there is amongſt many Divines of Reformed Churches abroad. For firſt, to do as the Church of* Geneva *did, the Learned in ſome other Churches muſt needs be the more willing, who having uſed in like manner not the ſlow & tedious help of proceeding by publick authori-*

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ty, but the peoples more quick endeavour for alteration; in such an exigent I see not how they could have stayed to deliberate about any other Regiment than that which already was devised to their hands, that which in like case had been taken, that which was easiest to be established without delay, that which was likeliest to content the people by reason of some kinde of sway which it giveth them. When therefore the example of one Church was thus at the first almost through a kinde of constraint or necessity followed by many, their concurrence in perswasion about some materiall points belonging to the same Politie is not strange. For we are not to marvell greatly, if they which have all done the same thing, do easily imbrace the same opinion as concerning their own doings. Besides, mark, I beseech you, that which Galen *in matter of Philosophy noteth; for the like falleth out even in questions of higher knowledge. It fareth many times with mens opinions, as with rumours and reports. That which a credible person telleth, is easily thought probable by such as are well perswaded of him. But if two, or three, or four, agree all in the same tale, they judge it then to be out of Controversie, and so are many times overtaken, for want of due consideration; either some common cause leading them all into errour; or one mans oversight deceiving many through their too much credulity and easinesse of belief. Though ten persons be brought to give testimony in any cause, yet if the knowledge they have of the thing whereunto they come as witnesses, appear to have grown from some one amongst them, and to have spread it self from hand to hand, they are in force but as one testimonie. Nor is it otherwise here, where the Daughter Churches do speak their Mothers Dialect; here where so many sing one Song, by reason that he is the Guide of the Quire, concerning whose deserved authoritie, amongst even the gravest Divines, we have already spoken at large. Will ye ask what should move those many Learned to be followers of one mans judgement, no necessity of argument forcing them thereunto? Your demand is answered by your selves. Loth ye are to think that they whom ye judge to have attained as sound knowledge in all points of Doctrine, as any since the Apostles times, should mistake in Discipline. Such is naturally our affection, that whom in great things we mightily admire; in them we are not perswaded willingly that any thing should be amisse. The reason whereof is, for that as dead Flies putrifie the ointment of the Apothecary, so a little Folly him that is in estimation for Wisdome. This in every profession hath too much authori-*

Galen. Clas. 2. lib. *De cujusq; anim. peccat. notitia atque medela.*

Petit. to the Q. M. Pag. 14.

Eccles. 10. 1.

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zed the judgement of a few. This with the Germans hath caused Luther, and with many other Churches Calvine, to prevaile in all things. Yet are we not able to define, whether the Wisdome of that God (who setteth before us in Holy Scripture so many admirable patterns of Vertue, and no one of them without somewhat noted wherein they were culpable, to the end that to him alone it might alwayes be acknowledged, Thou only art Holy, thou only art Just) might not permit those worthy Vessels of his Glory to be in somethings blemished with the stain of humane frailty, even for this cause, lest we should esteem of any man above that which behoveth.

Their calling for triall by Disputation.

5 Notwithstanding, as though you were able to say a great deale more than hitherto your Books have revealed to the World, earnest Challengers ye are of triall by some publick Disputation. Whereinif the thing ye crave be no more than only leave to dispute openly about those matters that are in question, the Schooles in Universities (for any thing I know) are open unto you: they have their yeerly Acts and Commencements, besides other Disputations both ordinary and upon occasion, wherein the severall parts of our own Ecclesiasticall Discipline are oftentimes offered unto that kinde of Examination; the Learnedest of you have been of late years noted seldome or never absent from thence at the time of those greater Assemblies; and the favour of proposing there in convenient sort whatsoever ye can object (which thing my self have known them to grant of Scholasticall courtesie unto Strangers) neither hath (as I think) nor ever will (I presume) be denied you. If your Suit be to have some great extraordinary confluence, in expectation whereof the Lawes that already are should sleep and have no power over you, till in the hearing of thousands ye all did acknowledge your errour, and renounce the further prosecution of your Cause; haply, they whose authority is required unto the satisfying of your demand, do think it both dangerous to admit such concourse of divided mindes, and unmeet that Lawes, which being once solemnly established are to exact obedience of all men, and to constrain thereunto, should so farre stoop, as to hold themselves in suspence from taking any effect upon you, till some Disputer can perswade you to be obedient. A Law is the deed of the whole Bodie Politick, whereof if ye judge your selves to be any part, then is the Law even your deed also. And were it reason in things of this qualitie, to give men audience, pleading for the overthrow of that which their own very deed hath ratified?

fied? Lawes that have been approved, may be (no man doubted) again repealed, and to that end alſo diſputed againſt, by the Authors thereof themſelves. But this is when the whole doth deliberate what Lawes each part ſhall obſerve, and not when a part refuſeth the Lawes which the whole hath orderly agreed upon. Notwithſtanding, for as much as the cauſe we maintain is (God be thanked) ſuch as needeth not to ſhun any triall, might it pleaſe them on whoſe approbation the matter dependeth, to condeſcend ſo far unto you in this behalf. I wiſh heartily that proof were made even by ſolemn conference in orderly and quiet ſort, whether you would your ſelves be ſatisfied, or elſe could by ſatisfying others, draw them to your peace. Provided alwayes, firſt, inaſmuch as ye go about to deſtroy a thing which is in force; and to draw in that which hath not as yet been received; to impoſe on us that which we think not our ſelves bound unto; and to overthrow thoſe things whereof we are poſſeſſed; that therefore ye are not to claim in any conference other than the Plaintifes or opponents part? which muſt conſiſt altogether in proof and confirmation of two things: the one, that our Orders by you condemned we ought to aboliſh; the other, that yours we are bound to accept in the ſtead thereof. Secondly, becauſe the queſtions in Controverſie between us are many, if once we deſcend unto particulars; that for the eaſier and more orderly proceeding therein, the moſt generall be firſt diſcuſſed, nor any queſtion left off, nor in each queſtion the proſecution of any one Argument given over and another taken in hand, till the iſſue whereunto by replyes and anſwers both parts are come, be collected, read and acknowledged, aſwell on the one ſide as on the other, to the plain concluſion which they are grown unto. Thirdly, for avoiding of the manifould inconveniences whereunto ordinarie and extemporall Diſputes are ſubject, as alſo becauſe if yee ſhould ſingly diſpute one by one as every mans owne wit did beſt ſerve, it might be conceived by the reſt, that haply ſome other would have done more: the chiefeſt of you doe all agree in this action, that whom ye ſhall then chooſe your ſpeaker, by him that which is publikely brought into diſputation, be acknowledged by all your conſents not to be his allegation, but yours, ſuch as ye all are agreed upon, and have required him to deliver in all your names: the true copie whereof being taken by a Notary, that a reaſonable time be allowed for return of anſwer unto you in the like form. Fourthly, whereas a number of conferences have been had in other cauſes with the leſſe effectuall ſucceſſe, by reaſon of partiall and

untrue

untrue reports, published afterwards unto the World, that to prevent this evill, there be at the first a solemn Declaration made on both parts of their agreement to have that very Book, and no other set abroad, wherein their present authorized Notaries do write those things fully and only, which being written and there read, are by their own open testimony acknowledged to be their own. Other circumstances hereunto belonging, whether for the choice of time, place, and language, or for prevention of impertinent and needlesse speech, or to any end and purpose else, they may be thought on, when occasion serveth. In this sort to broach my private conceit for the ordering of a publick action, I should be loth, (albeit I do it not otherwise than under correction of them whose gravity and wisdome ought in such cases to over-rule) but that so venturous boldnesse I see is a thing now generall, and am thereby of good hope that where all men are licenced to offend, no man will shew himself a sharp accuser.

No end of contention, without submission of both parts unto some definitive sentence.

6 What successe God may give unto any such kinde of Conference or Disputation, we cannot tell. But of this we are right sure, that Nature, Scripture, and Experience it self, have all taught the World to seek for the ending of contentions, by submitting it self unto some judiciall and definitive sentence, whereunto neither part that contendeth, may under any pretence or colour refuse to stand. This must needs be effectuall and strong. As for other means without this, they seldome prevaile. I would therefore know, whether for the ending of these irkesome strifes wherein you and your followers do stand thus formally divided against the authorized guides of this Church, and the rest of the people subject unto their charge; whether, I say, ye be content to referre your cause to any other higher judgement than your own, or else intend to persist and proceed as ye have begun, till your selves can be perswaded to condemn your selves? If your determination be this, we can be but sorry that ye should deserve to be reckoned with such, of whom God himself pronounceth, The way of peace they have not known. Wayes of peaceable conclusion there are but these two certain: the one, a sentence of judiciall decision given by authority thereto appointed within our selves; the other, the like kinde of sentence given by a more universall authority. The former of which two wayes God himself in the Law prescribeth, and his Spirit it was which directed the very first Christian Churches in the World to use the later. The ordinance of God in the Law was this. If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgement between

Rom. 3. 17.

Deut. 17. 8.

blood

blood and blood, between plea, &c. then ſhalt thou ariſe, and go up unto the place which the Lord thy God ſhall chooſe, and thou ſhalt come unto the Prieſts of the Levites, and unto the Judge that ſhall be in thoſe dayes, and ask, and they ſhall ſhew thee the ſentence of judgement, and thou ſhalt do according to that thing which they of that place which the Lord hath choſen ſhew thee; and thou ſhalt obſerve to do according to all that they enform thee, according to the Law which they ſhall teach thee, and according to the judgement which they ſhall tell thee ſhalt thou do; thou ſhalt not decline from the thing which they ſhall ſhew thee, to the right hand, nor to the left. And that man that will do preſumptuouſly, not harkning unto the Prieſt (that ſtandeth before the Lord thy God to miniſter there) or unto the Judge, that man ſhall die, and thou ſhalt take away evill from Iſrael? *When there grew in the Church of Chriſt a queſtion*, Whether the Gentiles beleeving might be ſaved, although they were not circumciſed after the manner of *Moſes*, nor did obſerve the reſt of thoſe legall Rites and Ceremonies whereunto the Jewes were bound? *After great diſſention and diſputation about it, their concluſion in the end was, to have it determined by ſentence at* Jeruſalem: *which was accordingly done in a Councell there aſſembled for the ſame purpoſe. Are ye able to alleadge any juſt and ſufficient cauſe wherefore abſolutely ye ſhould not condeſcend in this Controverſie, to have your judgements over-ruled by ſome ſuch definitive ſentence, whether it fall out to be given with or againſt you, that ſo theſe tedious contentions may ceaſe? Ye will perhaps make anſwer, That being perſwaded already as touching the truth of your cauſe, ye are not to hearken unto any ſentence, no not though Angels ſhould define otherwiſe, as the bleſſed Apoſtles own example teacheth: again, that Men, yea Councels, may erre; and that unleſſe the judgement given do ſatisfie your mindes, unleſſe it be ſuch as ye can by no further argument oppugne; in a word, unleſſe you perceive and acknowledge it your ſelves conſonant with Gods Word, to ſtand unto it not allowing it, were to ſinne againſt your own conſciences. But conſider, I beſeech you, firſt, as touching the Apoſtle, how that wherein he was ſo reſolute and peremptory, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt made manifeſt unto him, even by intuitive revelation, wherein there was no poſſibility of errour: That which you are perſwaded of, ye have it no* Acts 15.

otherwise than by your own only probable collection; and therefore such bold asseverations as in him were admirable, should in your mouthes but argue rashnesse. God was not ignorant that the Priests and Judges, whose sentence in matters of Controversie he ordained should stand, both might, and oftentimes would be deceived in their judgement. Howbeit, better it was in the eye of his understanding, that sometime an erroneous sentence definitive, should prevaile, till the same authority perceiving such oversight, might afterwards correct or reverse it, than that strifes should have respit to grow, and not come speedily unto some end. Neither wish we that men should do any thing which in their hearts they are perswaded they ought not to do, but this perswasion ought (we say) to be fully setled in their hearts, that in litigious and controversed causes of such quality, the will of God is to have them to do whatsoever the sentence of judiciall and finall decision shall determine; yea, though it seem in their private opinion to swarve utterly from that which is right: as no doubt many times the sentence amongst the Iewes did seem unto one part or other contending; and yet in this case God did then allow them to do that which in their private judgement it seemed (yea and perhaps truly seemed) that the Law did disallow. For if God be not the Author of confusion, but of peace; then can he not be the Author of our refusall, but of our contentment, to stand unto some definitive sentence; without which almost impossible it is, that either we should avoid confusion, or ever hope to attain peace. To small purpose had the councell of Jerusalem been assembled, if once their determination being set down, men might afterwards have defended their former opinions. When therefore they had given their definitive sentence, all controversie was at an end. Things were disputed before they came to be determined; men afterwards were not to dispute any longer, but to obey. The sentence of judgement finished their strife, which their disputes before judgement could not do. This was ground sufficient for any reasonable mans conscience to build the duty of obedience upon, whatsoever his own opinion were as touching the matter before in question. So full of wilfulnesse and self-liking is our nature, that without some definitive sentence, which being given may stand, and a necessity of silence on both sides afterward imposed; small hope there is that strifes thus far prosecuted, will in short time quickly end. Now it were in vain to ask you whether ye could be content that the sentence of any Court already erected, should be so far authorized, as

that

that among the Iewes eſtabliſhed by God himſelf, for the determining of all Controverſies: That man which will do preſumptuouſly, not harkning unto the Prieſt that ſtandeth before the Lord to miniſter there, nor unto the Judge, let him die. *Ye have given us already to underſtand, what your opinion is in part concerning her ſacred Majeſties Court of high Commiſsion, the nature whereof is the ſame with that amongſt the Iewes, albeit the power be not ſo great. The other way haply may like you better, becauſe Maſter* Beza *in his laſt Book ſave one written about theſe matters, profeſſeth himſelf to be now weary of ſuch combats and encounters, whether by word or writing, inaſmuch as he findeth that Controverſies thereby are made but Brawles; and therefore wiſheth* that in ſome common lawfull aſſembly of Churches, all theſe ſtrifes may at once be decided. *Shall there be then in the mean while no* doings? *yes, There are the waightier matters of the Law,* judgement, and mercy, and fidelity. *Theſe things we ought to do; and theſe things, while we contend about leſſe, we leave undone. Happier are they, whom the Lord, when hee commeth, ſhall find doing in theſe things, than diſputing about Doctors, Elders, and Deacons. Of if there be no remedy but ſomewhat needs ye muſt do which may tend to the ſetting forward of your Diſcipline; do that which wiſe men, who think ſome Statute of the Realme more fit to be repealed than to ſtand in force, are accuſtomed to do before they come to Parliament where the place of enacting is; that is to ſay, ſpend the time in re-examining more duly your cauſe, and in more throughly conſidering of that which ye labour to overthrow. As for the Orders which are eſtabliſhed, ſith equity and reaſon, the Law of nature, God and man, do all favour that which is in being, till orderly judgement of deciſion be given againſt it; it is but Iuſtice to exact of you, and perverſneſſe in you it ſhould be to deny thereunto your willing obedience. Not that I judge it a thing allowable for men to obſerve thoſe Lawes, which in their hearts they are ſtedfaſtly perſwaded to be againſt the Law of God: but your perſwaſion in this caſe ye are all bound for the time to ſuſpend, and in otherwiſe doing, ye offend againſt God, by troubling his Church without any juſt or neceſſary cauſe. Be it that there are ſome reaſons inducing you to think hardly of our lawes; are thoſe reaſons demonſtrative, are they neceſſarie, or but meer probabilities only? An argument neceſſarie and demonſtrative is ſuch, as being propoſed unto any man and underſtood, the minde cannot chooſe but inwardly aſſent.*

Præf. tract. de Excom. & Presbyt.

Mat. 23. 23.

Any one ſuch reaſon diſchargeth I grant the conſcience, and ſetteth it at full liberty. For the publick approbation given by the body of this whole Church unto thoſe things which are eſtabliſhed, doth make it but probable that they are good; and therefore unto a neceſſary proof that they are not good, it muſt give place. But if the skilfulleſt amongſt you can ſhew, that all the Books ye have hitherto written be able to afford any one argument of this nature, let the inſtance be given. As for probabilities, what thing was there ever ſet down ſo agreeable with ſound reaſon, but ſome probable ſhew againſt it might be made? Is it meet that when publickly things are received and have taken place, generall obedience thereunto ſhould ceaſe to be exacted, in caſe this or that private perſon led with ſome probable conceit, ſhould make open proteſtation, Peter or John diſſallow them, and pronounce them naught? *In which caſe your anſwer will be, that concerning the Lawes of our Church, they are not only condemned in the opinion of a* private man, but of thouſands, *yea and even* of thoſe amongſt which divers are in publick charge and authority. *As though when publick conſent of the whole hath eſtabliſhed any thing, every mans judgement being thereunto compared were not private, howſoever his calling be to ſome kinde of publick charge. So that of peace and quietneſſe there is not any way poſſible, unleſſe the probable voyce of every intire ſociety or body politick over-rule all private of like nature in the ſame body. Which thing effectually proveth, that God being Author of peace and not of confuſion in the Church, muſt needs be author of thoſe mens peaceable reſolutions who concerning theſe things, have determined with themſelves to think and do as the Church they are of decreeth, till they ſee neceſſary cauſe enforcing them to the contrary.*

T.C.l. 3. p.171.

The matter conteined in theſe eight Books.

7 *Nor is mine own intent any other in theſe ſeverall Books of diſcourſe, than to make it appear unto you; that for the Eccleſiaſticall Lawes of this Land, we are led by great reaſon to obſerve them, and ye by no neceſsity bound to oppugne them. It is no part of my ſecret meaning to draw you hereby into hatred, or to ſet upon the face of this cauſe any fairer gloſſe than the naked truth doth afford: but my whole endeavour is to reſolve the conſcience, and to ſhew as neer as I can what in this Controverſie the heart is to think, if it will follow the light of ſound and ſincere judgement, without either cloud of prejudice or miſt of paſſionate affection. Wherefore ſeeing that Lawes and Ordinances in particular, whether ſuch as we obſerve, or ſuch as your ſelves would*

have

have eſtabliſhed, when the minde doth ſift and examine them, it muſt needs have often recourſe to a number of doubts and queſtions about the nature, kinds, and qualities of Lawes in generall, whereof unleſſe it be throughly enformed, there will appear no certainty to ſtay our perſwaſion upon: I have for that cauſe ſet down in the firſt place an Introduction on both ſides needfull to be conſidered: Declaring therein what Law is, how different kinds of Lawes there are, and what force they are of according unto each kind. This done, becauſe ye ſuppoſe the Lawes for which ye ſtrive are found in Scripture, but thoſe not againſt which we ſtrive, and upon this ſurmiſe are drawn to hold it as the very main pillar of your whole cauſe, that Scripture ought to be the only rule of all our actions, *and conſequently that the Church orders which we obſerve being not commanded in Scripture, are offenſive and diſpleaſant unto God: I have ſpent the ſecond Book in ſifting of this point, which ſtandeth with you for the firſt and chiefeſt principle whereon ye build. Whereunto the next in degree is, that as God will have alwayes a Church upon Earth while the world doth continue, and that Church ſtand in need of Government, of which Government it behoveth himſelf to be both the Author and Teacher: ſo it cannot ſtand with duty, that man ſhould ever preſume in any wiſe to change and alter the ſame; and therefore,* That in Scripture there muſt of neceſſity be found ſome particular form of Eccleſiaſticall Polity, the Lawes whereof admit not any kinde of alteration. *The firſt three Books being thus ended, the fourth proceedeth from the generall grounds and foundations of your cauſe, unto your generall accuſations againſt us, as having in the Orders of our Church (for ſo you pretend)* corrupted the right form of Church-polity with manifold Popiſh Rites and Ceremonies, which certain reformed Churches have baniſhed from amongſt them, and have thereby given us ſuch example as (*you think*) we ought to follow. *This your aſſertion hath herein drawn us to make ſearch, whether theſe be juſt exceptions againſt the cuſtomes of our Church, when ye plead that they are the ſame which the Church of Rome hath, or that they are not the ſame which ſome other reformed Churches have deviſed. Of thoſe foure Books which remain, and are beſtowed about the ſpecialties of that cauſe which lyeth in Controverſie, the firſt examineth the cauſes by you alledged, wherefore the publick duties of Chriſtian Religion, as our Prayers, our Sacraments, and the reſt, ſhould not be ordered in ſuch*

ſort as with us they are; nor that power whereby the perſons of men are conſecrated unto the Miniſtery, be diſpoſed of in ſuch manner as the Lawes of this Church do allow; The ſecond and third are concerning the power of Juriſdiction: the one, whether Lay-men, ſuch as your governing Elders are, ought in all Congregations for ever to be inveſted with that power; the other, whether Biſhops may have that power over other Paſtors, and therewithall that honour which with us they have. And becauſe beſides the power of Order which all conſecrated perſons have, and the power of Juriſdiction, which neither they all, nor they only have, there is a third power, a power of Eccleſiaſticall dominion, communicable, as we think, unto perſons not Eccleſiaſticall, and moſt fit to be reſtrained unto the Prince our Soveraigne Commander over the whole body Politick. The eighth Book we have allotted unto this queſtion, and have ſifted therein your Objections againſt thoſe preeminences Royall which thereunto appertain. Thus have I laid before you the brief of theſe my Travails, and preſented under your view the limbs of that cauſe litigious between us: the whole entire body whereof being thus compact, it ſhall be no troubleſome thing for any man to finde each particular Controverſies reſting place, and the coherence it hath with thoſe things, either on which it dependeth, or which depend on it.

How juſt cauſe there is to fear the manifold dangerous events likely to enſue upon this intended reformation, if it did take place.

8 The caſe ſo ſtanding therefore, my brethren, as it doth, the wiſedome of Governours ye muſt not blame, in that they further alſo forecaſting the manifold ſtrange and dangerous innovations, which are more than likely to follow, if your Diſcipline ſhould take place, have for that cauſe thought it hitherto a part of their duty to withſtand your endeavours that way: The rather, for that they have ſeen already ſome ſmall beginnings of the fruits thereof, in them, who concurring with you in judgement about the neceſsity of that Diſcipline, have adventured without more adoe, to ſeparate themſelves from the reſt of the Church, and to put your ſpeculations in execution. Theſe mens haſtineſſe the warier ſort of you doth not commend; ye wiſh they had held themſelves longer in, and not ſo dangerouſly flown abroad before the feathers of the cauſe had been grown; their errour with mercifull termes ye reprove, naming them in great commiſeration of minde, your poor brethren. They on the contrary ſide more bitterly accuſe you as their falſe brethren, and againſt you they plead, ſaying: From your breſts it is, that we have ſucked thoſe things, which when ye delivered unto

1 Pet. 2. 2.

us,

us, ye termed that heavenly, sincere, and wholesome milk of Gods word, howsoever ye now abhorre as poyson that which the vertue thereof hath wrought and brought forth in us. Yea sometime our companions, guides, and familiars, with whom we have had most sweet consultations, are now become our professed adversaries, because we think the Statute-Congregations in England *to be no true Christian Churches; because we have severed our selves from them, and because without their leave or licence that are in Civill Authority, we have secretly framed our own Churches according to the platform of the Word of God. For of that point between you and us there is no controversie. Alas, what would ye have us to do? At such time as ye were content to accept us in the number of your own, your teachings we heard, we reade your Writings: and though we would, yet able we are not to forget with what zeale ye have ever profest, that in the English Congregations (for so many of them as be ordered according unto their own Lawes,) the very publick Service of God is fraught, as touching matter, with heaps of intolerable pollutions; and as concerning form, borrowed from the Shop of Antichrist; hatefull both wayes in the eyes of the most Holy: the kinde of their Government by Bishops and Archbishops, Antichristian; that Discipline which Christ hath essentially tyed, that is to say, so united unto his Church, that we cannot account it really to be his Church, which hath not in it the same Discipline, that very Discipline no lesse there despised, than in the highest throne of Antichrist; all such parts of the Word of God as do any way concern that Discipline, no lesse unsoundly taught and interpreted by all authorized English Pastors, than by Antichrists factors themselves; at Baptisme Crossing, at the Supper of the Lord kneeling, at both a number of other the most notorious badges of Antichristian recognisance usuall. Being moved with these and the like your effectuall discourses, whereunto we gave most attentive eare, till they entred even into our soules, and were as fire within our bosomes; we thought we might hereof be bold to conclude, that sith no such Antichristian Synagogue may be accounted a true Church of Christ, ye by accusing all Congregations ordered according to the Lawes of* England *as Antichristian, did mean to condemn those Congregations, as not being any of them worthy the name of a true Christian Church. Ye tell us now it is not your meaning. But what meant your often threatnings of them, who professing themselves the Inhabitants of Mount Sion,*

Psal. 55. 13.

Pref. against D. Bancr.

Sion, were too loth to depart wholly as they ſhould out of Babylon? Whereat our hearts being fearfully troubled, we durſt not, we durſt not continue longer ſo neer her confines, leſt her plagues might ſuddenly over take us, before we did ceaſe to be partakers with her ſinnes: for ſo we could not chooſe but acknowledge with grief, that, when they were doing evill, we by our preſence in their aſſemblies ſeemed to like thereof, or at leaſt wiſe not ſo earneſtly to diſlike, as became men heartily zealous of Gods glory. For aventuring to erect the Diſcipline of Chriſt without the leave of the Chriſtian Magiſtrate, haply ye may condemn us as fooles, in that we hazard thereby our eſtates and perſons further than you which are that way more wiſe think neceſſary: but of any offence or ſinne therein committed againſt God, with what conſcience can you accuſe us, when your own poſitions are, that the things we obſerve ſhould every of them be deerer unto us than ten thouſand lives; that they are the peremptory commandements of God; that no mortall man can diſpence with them, and that the Magiſtrate grievouſly ſinneth in not conſtraining thereunto? Will ye blame any man for doing that of his own accord, which all men ſhould be compelled to do that are not willing of themſelves? When God commandeth, ſhall we anſwer that we will obey, if ſo be Cæſar *will grant us leave? Is Diſcipline an Eccleſiaſticall matter or a Civill? If an Eccleſiaſticall, it muſt of neceſſity belong to the duty of the Miniſter. And the Miniſter (ye ſay) holdeth all his authority of doing whatſoever belongeth unto the Spirituall charge of the houſe of God, even immediately from God himſelf, without dependency upon any Magiſtrate. Whereupon it followeth, as we ſuppoſe, that the hearts of the people being willing to be under the Scepter of Chriſt, the Miniſter of God, into whoſe hands the Lord himſelf hath put that Scepter, is without all excuſe, if thereby he guide them not. Nor do we finde that hitherto greatly ye have diſliked thoſe Churches abroad where the people with direction of their godly Miniſters, have even againſt the will of the Magiſtrate, brought in either the doctrine or Diſcipline of Ieſus Chriſt. For which cauſe we muſt now think the very ſame thing of you, which our Saviour did ſometime utter concerning falſ-hearted Scribes and Phariſes,* They ſay & do not. *Thus the fooliſh Barrowiſt deriveth his ſciſme by way of concluſion, as to him it ſeemeth, directly and plainly out of your principles. Him therefore we leave to be ſatisfied by you from whom he hath ſprung. And if ſuch by your own acknowlegement be perſons dangerous, although as yet the alterations*

Matth. 23. 3.

which

which they have made are of ſmall and tender growth; the changes likely to enſue throughout all ſtates and vocations within this Land, in caſe your deſire ſhould take place, muſt be thought upon. First, concerning the ſupreme power of the higheſt, they are no ſmall prerogatives, which now therunto belonging the forme of your Diſcipline will conſtraine it to reſigne, as in the laſt Booke of this Treatiſe we have ſhewed at large. Again it may juſtly be feared, whether our Engliſh Nobilitie, when the matter comes in triall, would contentedly ſuffer themſelves to be alwaies at the call, and to ſtand to the ſentence of a number of meane perſons, aſſiſted with the preſence of their poore Teacher, a man (as ſometimes it happeneth) though better able to ſpeake, yet little or no whit apter to judge than the reſt; from whom, be their dealings never ſo abſurd (unleſſe it be by way of complaint to a Synod) no appeale may be made unto any one of higher power, in aſmuch as the order of your Diſcipline admitteth no ſtanding inequalitie of Courts, no ſpirituall Iudge to have any ordinarie ſuperiour on earth; but as many Supremacies as there are Pariſhes and ſeverall Congregations. Neither is it altogether without cauſe that ſo many do fear the overthrow of all learning, as a threatned ſequell of this your intended Diſcipline. For if the worlds preſervation *depend upon* the multitude of the wiſe; *and of that ſort the number hereafter be not likely to wax over-great,* when (*that wherewith the Sonne of* Syrach *profeſſeth himſelf* at the heart grieved) men of underſtanding are *already ſo* little ſet by: *how ſhould their minds, whom the love of ſo precious a Iewell filleth with ſecret jealouſie even in regard of the leaſt things, which may any way hinder the flouriſhing eſtate therof, chooſe but miſdoubt, leſt this Diſcipline, which alwayes you match with divine doctrine as her naturall and true ſiſter, be found unto all kinds of knowledge a ſtepmother; ſeeing that the greateſt worldly hopes, which are propoſed unto the chiefeſt kinde of learning, ye ſeek utterly to extirpate as weeds; and have grounded your platforme on ſuch propoſitions, as do after a ſort undermine thoſe moſt renowned habitations, where, through the goodneſſe of Almighty God, all commendable Arts and Sciences are with exceeding great induſtry hitherto (and ſo may they for ever continue) ſtudied, proceeded in & profeſt? To charg you as purpoſely bent to the overthrow of that wherein ſo many of you have attained no ſmall perfection, were injurious. Only therefore I wiſh that your ſelves did well conſider how oppoſite certain your poſitions are unto the ſtate of Collegiate ſocieties, whereon the two Univerſities*

Sap. 6. 24.

Eccl. 26. 29.

conſiſt

consist. Those degrees which their statutes bind them to take, are by your Lawes taken away; your selves who have sought them ye so excuse, as that ye would have men to think ye judge them not allowable, but tolerable only, and to be born with, for some help which ye finde in them unto the furtherance of your purposes, till the corrupt estate of the Church may be better reformed. Your lawes forbidding Ecclesiasticall persons utterly the exercise of Civill power, must needs deprive the Heads and Masters in the same Colledges of all such authority as now they exercise; either at home, by punishing the faults of those, who not as children to their parents by the law of nature, but altogether by Civill authoritie are subject unto them; or abroad, by keeping Courts amongst their Tenants: your lawes making permanent inequalitie amongst Ministers, a thing repugnant to the Word of God, enforce those Colledges, the Seniors whereof are all or any part of them Ministers under the government of a Master in the same vocation, to choose, as oft as they meet together, a new President. For if so ye judge it necessarie to do in Synods, for the avoiding of permanent inequalitie amongst Ministers, the same cause must needs even in these Collegiate assemblies enforce the like. Except peradventure ye mean to avoid all such absurdities, by dissolving those Corporations, and by bringing the Universities unto the form of the Schoole of Geneva. *Which thing men the rather are enclined to look for, inasmuch as the ministerie, whereinto their founders with singular providence have by the same Statutes appointed them necessarily to enter at a certain time, your Lawes binde them much more necessarily to forbear, till some Parish abroad call for them. Your opinion concerning the Law Civill, is, that the knowledge thereof might be spared as a thing which this Land doth not need. Professors in that kinde being few, ye are the bolder to spurn at them, and not to dissemble your minds as concerning their removall: in whose studies although my self have not much been conversant, nevertheless exceeding great cause I see there is to wish that thereunto more encouragement were given, as well for the singular treasures of wisdome therein contained, as also for the great use we have thereof both in decision of certain kinds of causes arising daily within our selves, and especially for commerce with Nations abroad, whereunto that knowledge is most requisite. The reasons wherewith ye would perswade that Scripture is the only rule to frame all our actions by, are in every respect as effectuall for proof that the same is the only Law whereby to determine all our Civill controversies.*

Humb. Mot. to the L. L. P. 50.

And

And then what doth let, but that as thoſe men may have their deſire, who frankly broach it already that the work of Reformation will never be perfect, till the Law of Jeſus Chriſt be received alone; ſo Pleaders and Councellors may bring their Books of the Common-Law, and beſtow them as the Students of curious and needleſſe Arts did theirs in the Apoſtles time? I leave them to ſcan how far theſe words of yours may reach, wherein ye declare that whereas now many houſes lye waſte through inordinate ſuits of Law, This one thing will ſhew the excellency of Diſcipline for the wealth of the Realme, and quiet of Subjects, that the Church is to cenſure ſuch a party who is apparantly troubleſome and contentious, and without *Reaſonable Cauſe*, upon a meer will and ſtomack doth vex and moleſt his Brother, and trouble the Countrey. *For mine own part, I do not ſee but that it might very well agree with your principles, if your diſcipline were fully planted, even to ſend out your Writs of Surceaſe unto all Courts of* England *beſides, for the moſt things handled in them. A great deale further I might proceed and deſcend lower. But forasmuch as againſt all theſe and the like difficulties, your anſwer is, That we ought to ſearch what things are conſonant to Gods will, not which be moſt for our own eaſe; and therefore that your diſcipline, being (for ſuch is your errour) the abſolute commandement of Almighty God, it muſt be received; although the World by receiving it ſhould be clean turned upſide-down; herein lieth the greateſt danger of all. For whereas the name of Divine Authority is uſed to countenance theſe things, which are not the Commandements of God, but your own erroneous collections; on him ye muſt father whatſoever ye ſhall afterwards be led either to do in withſtanding the Adverſaries of your cauſe, or to think in maintenance of your doings. And what this may be, God doth know. In ſuch kinds of error, the mind once imagining it ſelf, to ſeek the execution of Gods will, laboureth forthwith to remove both things and perſons, which any way hinder it from taking place; and in ſuch caſes if any ſtrange or new thing ſeem requiſite to be done, ſtrange and new opinion concerning the lawfulneſſe therof, is withall received and broached under countenance of divine authority. One example herein may ſerve for many, to ſhew that falſe opinions touching the will of God to have things done, are wont to bring forth mighty and violent practiſes againſt the hinderances of them; and thoſe practiſes new opinions more pernicious than the firſt, yea, moſt extreamly ſome-*

Acts 19.19.

Humb. Mot. Pag. 74.

Counterp. Pag. 108.

ſometimes oppoſite to that which the firſt did ſeem to intend. Where the people took upon them the reformation of the Church by caſting out Popiſh ſuperſtition, they having received from their Paſtors a gene-
Mat. 15.15. *rall inſtruction that whatſoever the heavenly Father hath not planted, muſt be rooted out, proceeded in ſome forrein places ſo far, that down went Oratories and the very Temples of God themſelves. For as they chanced to take the compaſſe of their commiſſion ſtricter or larger, ſo their dealings were accordingly more or leſſe moderate. Amongſt others there ſprang up preſently one kinde of men, with whoſe zeale and forwardneſſe the reſt being compared, were thought to be marvellous cold and dull. Theſe grounding themſelves on Rules more generall; that whatſoever the law of Chriſt commandeth not, thereof Antichriſt is the author; & that whatſoever Antichriſt or his adherents did in the world, the true profeſſors of Chriſt are to undo; found out many things more than others had done, the extirpation whereof was in their conceit as*
Guy de Bres contre Perreur des Anabaptiſtes. Pag. 4. *neceſſary as of any thing before removed. Hereupon they ſecretly made their dolefull complaints every where as they went, that albeit the world did begin to profeſſe ſome diſlike of that which was evill in the Kingdome of darkneſſe, yet fruits worthy of a true repentance were not ſeen; and that if men did repent as they ought, they muſt endeavour to purge the truth of all manner of evill, to the end there might follow a new world afterward, wherein righteouſneſſe only ſhould dwell. Pri-*
Pag. 5. *vate repentance, they ſaid, muſt appear by every mans faſhioning his own life contrary unto the cuſtome and orders of this preſent world both in greater things and in leſſe. To this purpoſe they had alwayes in their mouthes theſe greater things, Charity, Faith, the true fear of God, the Croſſe, the mortification of the fleſh. All their exhortations were, to ſet light of the things in this world, to count riches and honours vanity, and in token thereof not only to ſeek neither, but if men were poſſeſſors of both, even to caſt away the one & reſigne the other, that all men*
Pag. 6. Pag. 118. 119. *might ſee their unfeigned converſion unto Chriſt. They were ſolliciters of men to faſt, to often meditations of heavenly things, and as it were conferences in ſecret with God by prayers, not framed according to the frozen manner of the world, but expreſſing ſuch fervent deſires as might even force God to harken unto them. Where they found men in diet, atire, furniture of houſe, or any other way obſervers of civility & decent order*
120. *ſuch they reproved as being carnally and earthly minded. Every word o-*
Pag. 116. *therwiſe than ſeverely and ſadly uttered, ſeemed to pierce like a ſword*

thorow

thorow them. If any man were pleaſant, their manner was preſently with ſighes to repeat thoſe words of our Saviour Chriſt, Wo be to you which now laugh, for ye ſhall lament. So great was their delight to be alwayes in trouble, that ſuch as did quietly leade their lives, they judged of all other men to be in moſt dangerous caſe. They ſo much affected to croſſe the ordinary cuſtome in every thing, that when other mens uſe was to put on better attire, they would be ſure to ſhew themſelves openly abroad in worſe: the ordinary names of the dayes in the Week they thought it a kinde of profaneſſe to uſe, and therefore accuſtomed themſelves to make no other diſtinction than by numbers, The Firſt, Second, Third day. From this they proceeded unto publick Reformation, firſt, Eccleſiaſticall, and then Civill. Touching the former, they boldly avouched that themſelves only had the Truth, which thing upon perill of their lives they would at all times defend; and that ſince the Apoſtles lived, the ſame was never before in all points ſincerely taught. Wherefore, that things might again be brought to that ancient integrity which Jeſus Chriſt by his word requireth, they began to controlle the Miniſters of the Goſpell for attributing ſo much force and Vertue unto the Scriptures of God read, whereas the Truth was, that when the Word is ſaid to engender Faith in the heart, and to convert the Soul of man, or to work any ſuch ſpirituall Divine effect, theſe ſpeeches are not thereunto appliable as it is read or preached, but as it is ingrafted in us by the power of the Holy Ghoſt opening the eyes of our underſtanding, and ſo revealing the myſteries of God, according to that which Jeremy promiſed before ſhould be; ſaying, I will put my Law in their inward parts, and I will write it in their hearts. The Book of God they notwithſtanding for the moſt part ſo admired, that other diſputation againſt their opinions than only by allegation of Scripture they would not hear; beſides it, they thought no other Writings in the World ſhould be ſtudied; inſomuch as one of their great Prophets exhorting them to caſt away all reſpects unto humane Writings; ſo far to his motion they condeſcended, that as many as had any Books ſave the holy Bible in their cuſtody, they brought and ſet them publickly on fire. When they and their Bibles were alone together, what ſtrange fantaſticall opinion ſoever at any time entred into their heads, their uſe was to think the Spirit taught it them. Their phrenſies concerning our Saviours incarnation, the ſtate of ſouls departed and ſuch like, are things needleſſe to be rehearſed. And foraſ-

Pag. 124. Luke 6. 12.

Pag. 117.

Pag. 40.

Ier. 31. 34.

Pag. 29.

Pag. 27.

much as they were of the ſame Suit with thoſe of whom the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, ſaying, They are ſtill learning, but never attain to the know-
2 Tim. 3. 7. ledge of the Truth, *it was no marvell to ſee them every day broach ſome new thing, not heard of before. Which reſtleſſe levity they did interpret to be their growing in ſpirituall perfection, & a proceeding from*
Pag. 65. *faith to faith. The differences amongſt them grew by this mean*
Pag. 66. *in a manner infinite, ſo that ſcarcely was there found any one of them, the forge of whoſe brain was not poſſeſt with ſome ſpeciall myſtery.*
Pag. 134. *Whereupon although their mutuall contentions were moſt fiercely proſecuted amongſt themſelves: yet when they came to defend the cauſe common to them all againſt the Adverſaries of their Faction, they had wayes to lick one another whole, the ſounder in his own perſwaſion; ex-*
Pag. 25. *cuſing* The deer Brethren, *which were not ſo far enlightned, and*
Pag. 71. *profeſſing a charitable hope of the mercy of God towards them, notwithſtanding their ſwarving from him in ſome things. Their own Miniſters they highly magnified, as men whoſe Vocation was*
Pag. 124. *from God: the reſt their manner was to term diſdainfully* Scribes *and* Phariſees, *to account their Calling an humane creature, and to de-*
Pag. 764. *taine the people as much as might bee from hearing them. As touching Sacraments; Baptiſme adminiſtred in the Church of* Rome, *They Iudged to bee but an execrable Mockerie and no Baptiſme; both becauſe the Miniſters thereof in the Papacie are wicked Idolators, lewd Perſons, Theeves and Murderers, curſed Creatures, ignorant Beaſts; and alſo for that to baptize is a proper action belonging unto none but*
Pag. 748. *the Church of Chriſt, whereas Rome is Antichriſts Synagogue. The*
Pag. 512. *cuſtome of uſing God-fathers and God-mothers at Chriſtnings they ſcorned. Baptizing of Infants, although confeſt by themſelves to*
Pag. 518. *have been continued even ſithence the very Apoſtles own times, yet they altogether condemned: partly, becauſe ſundry errours are of no leſſe antiquity; and partly, for that there is no Commande-*
Pag. 722. *ment in the Goſpell of Chriſt, which ſaith,* Baptize Infants; *but he*
Pag. 726. *contrariwiſe in ſaying,* Go preach and baptize, *doth appoint that the Miniſter of Baptiſme ſhall in that action firſt adminiſter Doctrine, and then baptiſme; as alſo in ſaying,* Whoſoever doth beleeve and is
Pag. 688. baptized, *he appointeth that the party to whom Baptiſme is adminiſtred ſhall firſt beleeve, and then be baptized; to the end that beleeving may go before this Sacrament in the receiver, no otherwiſe than preaching in the Giver, ſith equally in both, the Law of Chriſt declareth not only*

what

what things are required, but also in what order they are required. The Eucharist they received (pretending our Lord and Saviours example) after Supper: and for avoiding all those impieties which have been grounded upon the mysticall words of Christ, This is my body, This is my blood; *they thought it not safe to mention either Body or Blood in that Sacrament, but rather to abrogate both, and to use no words but these,* Take, eat, declare the death of our Lord: Drink, shew forth our Lords death. *In Rites and Ceremonies their profession was hatred of all conformity with the Church of Rome, for which cause they would rather endure any torment than observe the solemn festivals which others did, inasmuch as Antichrist (they said) was the first inventer of them. The pretended end of their Civill reformation, was that Christ might have dominion over all, that all Crowns and Scepters might be thrown down at his feet, that no other might reigne over Christian men but he, no Regiment keep them in awe but his Discipline; amongst them no Sword at all be carried besides his, the Sword of spirituall Excommunication. For this cause they laboured with all their might in overturning the Seats of Magistracy, because Christ hath said,* Kings of Nations; *in abolishing the execution of Iustice, because Christ hath said,* Resist not evill; *in forbidding Oaths the necessary means of judiciall triall, because Christ hath said,* Swear not at all; *finally in bringing in community of goods, because Christ by his Apostles hath given the World such example, to the end that men might excell one another, not in wealth the Pillar of secular authority, but in vertue. These men at the first were only pitied in their errour, and not much withstood by any; the great Humility, Zeale, and Devotion, which appeared to be in them, was in all mens opinion a pledge of their harmelesse meaning. The hardest that men of sound understanding conceived of them, was but this,* O quàm honesta voluntate miseri erant? With how good a meaning these poore soules dò evill; Luther *made request unto* Frederick *Duke of* Saxonie, *that within his Dominion they might be favourably dealt with and spared, for that (their errour exempted) they seemed otherwise right good men. By means of which mercifull toleration they gathered strength, much more than was safe for the State of the Common-wealth wherein they lived. They had their secret corner-meetings and assemblies in the night, the people flocked unto them by thousands. The means whereby they both allured and retained so great multitudes,*

Pag. 38.

Pag. 122.

Pag. 841.

Pag. 833.

Pag. 849.

Pag. 40.

Lactan. de Instit. lib. 5. cap. 15. Pag. 6.

Pag. 420.

were most effectuall; first, a wonderfull shew of zeale towards God, wherewith they seemed to be even rapt in every thing they spake: se-
Pag. 55. condly, an hatred of sinne, and a singular love of integrity, which men did think to be much more than ordinary in them, by reason of the custome which they had to fill the eares of the people with Invectives against their authorized Guides as well Spirituall as Civill: thirdly, the bountifull relief wherewith they eased the broken estate of such needy Creatures, as were in that respect the more apt to be drawn away: fourthly, a tender compassion which they were thought to take upon the
Pag. 6. miseries of the common sort, over whose heads their manner was even to
Pag. 7. powre down showres of tears in complaining that no respect was had unto them, that their goods were devoured by wicked Cormorants, their persons had in contempt, all liberty both Temporall and Spirituall taken from them, that it was high time for God now to hear their grones, and to send them deliverance: lastly, a cunning sleight which they had to stroke and smooth up the mindes of their Followers, as well by appropriating unto them all the favourable Titles, the good words, and the gracious promises in Scripture; as also by casting the contrary alwayes
Pag. 7. on the heads of such as were severed from that retinue. Whereupon, the peoples common acclamation unto such deceivers was: These are verily the men of God, these are his true and sincere Prophets. If any such Prophet or Man of God did suffer by order of Law condigne and deserved punishment; were it for Felony, Rebellion, Murder, or what else: the people, (so strangely were their hearts inchanted) as though
Pag. 27. blessed Saint Stephen had been again martyred, did lament that God took away his most deer Servants from them. In all these things being fully perswaded, that what they did, it was obedience to the will of God, and that all men should do the like; there remained after speculation, practice, whereby the whole World thereunto (if it were possible) might be framed. This they saw could not be done, but with mighty opposi-
Pag. 6. tion and resistance: against which to strengthen themselves, they secretly entred into a League of Association. And peradventure considering, that although they were many, yet long Warres would in time waste them out; they began to think whether it might not be that God would have them do for their speedy and mighty increase, the same which sometime Gods own chosen people, the people of Israel did. Glad and fain they were to have it so: which very desire was it self apt to breed both an opinion of possibility and a willingnesse to gather Argu-

ments

ments of likelyhood, that ſo God himſelf would have it. Nothing more cleer unto their ſeeming, than that a new Jeruſalem being often ſpoken of in Scripture, they undoubtedly were themſelves that new Jeruſalem, and the old did by way of a certain figurative reſemblance ſignifie what they ſhould both be and do. Here they drew in a Sea of matter, by applying all things unto their own Company, which are any where ſpoken concerning divine favours and benefits beſtowed upon the old Common-wealth of Iſrael; concluding, that as Iſrael was delivered out of Egypt, ſo they ſpiritually out of the Egypt of this Worlds ſervile thraldome unto Sinne and Superſtition; as Iſrael was to root out the Idolatrous Nations, and to plant in ſtead of them a People which feared God; ſo the ſame Lords good will and pleaſure was now, that theſe new Iſraelites ſhould, under the conduct of other Ioſuaes, Samſons, and Gideons, perform a work no leſſe miraculous, in caſting out violently the wicked from the earth, and eſtabliſhing the Kingdome of Chriſt with perfect liberty: and therefore as the cauſe why the children of Iſrael took unto one man many wives, might be, leſt the caſualties of Warre ſhould any way hinder the promiſe of God concerning their multitude from taking effect in them; ſo it was not unlike that for the neceſſary propagation of Chriſts Kingdome under the Goſpell, the Lord was content to allow as much. Now whatſoever they did in ſuch ſort collect out of Scripture, when they came to juſtifie or perſwade it unto others, all was the heavenly Fathers appointment, his commandement, his will and charge. Which thing is the very point, in regard whereof I have gathered this declaration. For my purpoſe herein is to ſhew that when the mindes of men are once erroniouſly perſwaded, that it is the will of God to have thoſe things done which they fancy; their opinions are as Thornes in their ſides, never ſuffering them to take reſt till they have brought their ſpeculations into practice: the lets and impediments of which practice their reſtleſſe deſire and ſtudy to remove, leadeth them every day forth by the hand into other more dangerous opinions, ſometimes quite and clean contrary to their firſt pretended meanings: ſo as what will grow out of ſuch errors as go masked under the cloke of divine authority, impoſſible it is that ever the wit of man ſhould imagine, till time have brought forth the fruits of them: for which cauſe it behoveth Wiſdome to fear the ſequels thereof even beyond all apparant cauſe of feare. Theſe men, in whoſe mouths at the firſt ſounded nothing but only mortification of the fleſh, were

come at the length to think they might lawfully have their six or seven wives a peece; they which at the first thought Iudgement and Iustice it self to be mercilesse cruelty, accounted at the length their own hands sanctified with being imbrued in Christian blood: they who at the first were wont to beat down all Dominion, and to urge against poor Constables, Kings of Nations; *had at the length both Consuls and Kings of their own erection amongst themselves; finally, they which could not brook at the first that any man should seek, no not by Law, the recovery of goods injuriously taken or with-held from him; were grown at the last to think they could not offer unto God more acceptable sacri-*

Pag. 41. *fice, than by turning their Adversaries clean out of house and home, and by inriching themselves with all kinde of spoile and pillage; which thing being laid to their charge, they had in a readinesse their answer, that now the time was come, when according to our Saviours promise,*

Matth. 5. 5. The meek Ones must inherit the earth, *and that their title hereunto was the same which the righteous* Israelites *had unto the goods of the wicked* Egyptians. *Wherefore sith the World hath had in these*

Exod. 11. 2. *men so fresh experience, how dangerous such active errors are, it must not offend you, though touching the sequell of your present misperswasions much more be doubted, than your own intents and purposes do haply aime at. And yet your words already are somewhat, when ye affirme that your Pastors, Doctors, Elders, and Deacons, ought to be in this Church of* England, Whether her Majesty and our State will

Mart. in his 3. Libel, pag. 28. or no; *when for the animating of your Confederates, ye publish the musters which ye have made of your own Bands, and proclaime them to amount I know not to how many thousands; when ye threaten, that sith neither your suits to the Parliament, nor supplications to our Convocation-house, neither your defences by Writing, nor challenges of Disputation in behalf of that cause are able to prevaile, we must blame our selves if to bring in discipline, some such means hereafter be used as shall cause all our hearts to ake.* That things doubtfull are to be construed in

Demonstr. in the Pref. the better part, *is a principle not safe to be followed in matters concerning the publick State of a Common-weale. But howsoever these and the like speeches be accounted as arrowes idely shot at random, without either eye had to any mark, or regard to their lighting place: hath not your longing desire for the practice of your Discipline, brought the matter already unto this demurre amongst you, whether the People and their godly Pastors that way affected, ought not to make separation from*

the

the reſt, and to begin the exerciſe of Diſcipline without Licence of Civill Powers, which Licence they have ſought for, and are not heard? Vpon which queſtion, as ye have now divided your ſelves, the warier ſort of you taking the one part, and the forwarder in zeale the other, ſo in caſe theſe earneſt Ones ſhould prevaile, what other ſequell can any wiſe man imagine but this, that having firſt reſolved that attempts for Diſcipline without Superiors are lawfull, it will follow in the next place to be diſputed what may be attempted againſt Superiors, which will not have the Scepter of that Diſcipline to rule over them? Yea even by you which have ſtayed your ſelves from running headlong with the other ſort, ſomewhat notwithſtanding there hath been done without the leave or liking of your lawfull Superiours, for the exerciſe of a part of your Diſcipline amongſt the Clergie thereunto addicted. And leſt examination of principall parties therein ſhould bring thoſe things to light which might hinder and let your proceedings, behold for a barre againſt that impediment, one Opinion ye have newly added unto the reſt even upon this occaſion, an Opinion to exempt you from taking Oaths, which may turn to the moleſtation of your Bretbren in that cauſe. The next neighbour Opinion whereunto, when occaſion requireth, may follow for Diſpenſation with Oaths already taken, if they afterwards be found to import a neceſsity of detecting ought which may bring ſuch good men into trouble or dammage, whatſoever the cauſe be. O mercifull God, what mans wit is there able to found the depth of thoſe dangerous and fearfull evils, whereinto our weak and impotent nature is inclineable to ſink it ſelf, rather than to ſhew an acknowledgement of errour in that which once we have unadviſedly taken upon us to defend, againſt the ſtreame as it were of a contrary publick reſolution? Wherefore, if we any thing reſpect their errour, who being perſwaded even as ye are, have gone further upon that perſwaſion than ye allow; if we regard the preſent State of the higheſt Governour placed over us, if the quality and diſpoſition of our Nobles, if the Orders and Lawes of our famous Univerſities, if the profeſſion of the Civill, or the practice of the Common Law amongſt us; if the miſchiefs whereinto even before our eyes ſo many others have falne head-long from no leſſe plauſible and fair beginnings than yours are: there is in every of theſe conſiderations moſt juſt cauſe to fear, leſt our haſtineſſe to embrace a thing of ſo perilous conſequence, ſhould cauſe Poſterity to feel thoſe evils, which as yet are more eaſie for us to prevent, than they would be for them to remedy.

The concluſion of all.

9 *The beſt and ſafeſt way for you therefore my dear Brethren, is, to all your deeds paſt, a new reckoning; to re-examine the cauſe ye have taken in hand, and to try it even point by point, argument by argument, with all the diligent exactneſſe ye can; to lay aſide the gall of that bitterneſſe wherein your mindes have hitherto over-abounded, and with meekneſſe to ſearch the Truth. Think ye are men, deem it not impoſſible for you to erre: ſift unpartially your own hearts, whether it be force of reaſon, or vehemency of affection, which hath bred, and ſtill doth feed theſe opinions in you. If Truth do any where manifeſt it ſelf, ſeek not to ſmother it with glozing Deluſions, acknowledge the greatneſſe thereof, and think it your beſt victory when the ſame doth prevaile over you.*

That ye have been earneſt in ſpeaking or writing, again and again the contrary way, ſhould be no blemiſh or diſcredit at all unto you. Amongſt ſo many ſo huge Volumes, as the infinite pains of S. Auguſtine *have brought forth, what one hath gotten him greater love, commendation, and honour, than the Book wherein he carefully collected his own overſights, and ſincerely condemneth them? Many ſpeeches there are of* Jobs, *whereby his wiſdome and other vertues may appear: but the glory of an ingenuous minde he hath purchaſed by theſe words only,*

Iob 39.37. Behold I will lay mine hand on my mouth; I have ſpoken once, yet will I not therefore maintain Argument; yea twice, howbeit for that cauſe further I will not proceed. *Farre more comfort it were for us (ſo ſmall is the joy we take in theſe ſtrifes) to labour under the ſame yoke, as men that look for the ſame eternall reward of their Labours, to be joyned with you in bands of indiſſoluble love and amitie, to live as if our perſons being many, our Soules were but one, rather than in ſuch diſmembred ſort to ſpend our few and wretched dayes in a tedious proſecuting of weariſome contentions: the end whereof, if they have not ſome ſpeedy end, will be heavie even on both ſides. Brought already we are even to that eſtate which* Gregory Nazianzene *mournfully deſcribeth, ſaying,*

Greg. Naz. in Apol. My minde leadeth me (*ſith there is no remedy*) to flie and to conveigh my ſelf into ſome corner out of ſight, where I may ſcape from this cloudy tempeſt of maliciouſneſſe, whereby all parts are entred into a deadly warre amongſt themſelves, and that little remnant of love which was, is now conſumed to nothing. The onely goodneſſe we glory in, is to finde

out

out somewhat whereby we may judge others to be ungodly. Each others fault we observe, as matter of exprobration, and not of grief. By these means we are grown hatefull in the eyes of the Heathens themselvs; and (which woundeth us the more deeply) able we are not to deny but that we have deserved their hatred. With the better sort of our own, our fame and credit is clean lost. The lesse we are to marvell if they judge vilely of us, who although we did well, would hardly allow thereof. On our backs they also build that are lewd; and what we object one against another, the same they use to the utter scorn and disgrace of us all. This we have gained by our mutuall home-dissensions. This we are worthily rewarded with, which are more forward to strive, than becommeth men of vertuous and milde disposition. *But our trust in the Almighty is, that with us contentions are now at their highest float, and that the day will come (for what cause of despair is there?) when the passions of former enmity being allayed, we shall with ten times redoubled tokens of our unfeinedly reconciled love, shew our selves each towards other the same, which* Joseph *and the Brethren of* Joseph *were at the time of their enter-view in* Egypt. *Our comfortable expectation and most thirsty desire whereof what man soever amongst you shall any way help to satisfie, (as we truly hope there is no one amongst you but some way or other will) the blessings of the God of peace both in this World and in the World to come, be upon him more than the Stars of the Firmament in number.*

WHAT THINGS ARE HANDLED IN THE BOOKS FOLLOWING.

THe *first* Book, concerning Lawes in generall.

The *second*, Of the uſe of divine Law contained in Scripture, whether that be the only Law which ought to ſerve for our direction in all things without exception.

The *third*, Of Lawes concerning Eccleſiaſticall Polity; whether the form thereof be in Scripture ſo ſet down, that no addition or change is lawfull.

The *fourth*, Of generall exceptions taken againſt the Lawes of our Polity, as being Popiſh and baniſhed out of certain reformed Churches.

The *fifth*, Of our Lawes that concern the publick religious duties of the Church; and the manner of beſtowing that power of order, which inableth men

men in ſundry degrees and callings to execute the ſame.

The *ſixth*, Of the power of Iuriſdiction, which the reformed platform claimeth unto Lay-Elders, with others.

The *ſeventh*, Of the power of Iuriſdiction, and the honor which is annexed thereunto in Biſhops.

The *eighth*, Of the power of Eccleſiaſticall Dominion or ſupreme Authority, which with us the higheſt Governour or Prince hath, as well in regard of domeſticall Iuriſdictions, as of that other forrainly claimed by the Biſhop of *Rome*.

OF THE LAWES OF ECCLESIASTICALL POLITIE.

The first Book.

Concerning Lawes, and their severall kindes *in generall.*

The matter contained in this first Book.

1 THe cause of writing this generall discourse concerning lawes.
2 Of that law which God from before the beginning hath set for himselfe to do all things by.
3 The law which naturall agents observe, and their necessary manner of keeping it.
4 The law which the Angels of God obey.
5 The law whereby man is in his actions directed to the imitation of God.
6 Mens first beginning to understand that law.
7 Of mans will, which is the first thing that lawes of action are made to guide.
8 Of the naturall finding out of lawes by the light of reason to guide the will unto that which is good.
9 Of the benefit of keeping that law which reason teacheth.
10 How reason doth leade men unto the making of humane lawes whereby politick societies are governed, and to agreement about lawes whereby the fellowship or communion of independent societies standeth.
11 Wherefore God hath by Scripture further made known such supernaturall lawes as do serve for mens direction.
12 The cause why so many naturall or rationall laws are set down in holy Scripture.
13 The benefit of having divine lawes written.
14 The sufficiency of Scripture unto the end for which it was instituted.
15 Of lawes positive contained in Scripture, the mutability of certain of them, and the generall use of Scripture.
16 A conclusion, shewing how all this belongeth to the cause in question.

The cauſe of writing this generall diſcourſe.



HE that goeth about to perſwade a multitude, that they are not ſo well governed as they ought to be, ſhall never want attentive and favourable hearers; becauſe they know the manifold defects, whereunto every kinde of regiment is ſubject, but the ſecret lets and difficulties, which in publick proceedings are innumerable and inevitable; they have not ordinarily the judgement to conſider. And becauſe ſuch as openly reproove ſuppoſed diſorders of State are taken for principall friends to the common benefit of all, and for men that carry ſingular freedome of mind; under this fair and plauſible colour whatſoever they utter, paſſeth for good and currant. That which wanteth in the weight of their ſpeech, is ſupplied by the aptneſſe of mens minds to accept and beleeve it. Whereas on the other ſide, if we maintain things that are eſtabliſhed, we have not only to ſtrive with a number of heavie prejudices deeply rooted in the hearts of men, who think that herein we ſerve the time, and ſpeak in favour of the preſent State, becauſe thereby we either hold or ſeek preferment; but alſo to bear ſuch exceptions as mindes ſo averted before-hand uſually take againſt that which they are loath ſhould be powred into them. Albeit therefore much of that we are to ſpeak in this preſent cauſe, may ſeem to a number perhaps tedious, perhaps obſcure, dark and intricate, (for many talk of the truth, which never ſounded the depth from whence it ſpringeth, and therefore when they are led thereunto they are ſoon weary, as men drawn from thoſe beaten paths wherewith they have been injured:) yet this may not ſo farre prevaile, as to cut off that which the matter it ſelfe requireth, howſoever the nice humour of ſome be therewith pleaſed or no. They unto whom wee ſhall ſeem tedious, are in no wiſe injured by us, becauſe it is in their own hands to ſpare that labour which they are not willing to endure. And if any complain of obſcurity, they muſt conſider, that in theſe matters it commeth no otherwiſe to paſſe, than in ſundry the works both of Art and alſo of Nature; where that which hath greateſt force in the very things wee ſee, is notwithſtanding it ſelf oftentimes not ſeen. The ſtatelineſſe of Houſes, the goodlineſſe of Trees, when we behold them delighteth the eie, but that foundation which beareth up the one, that root which miniſtreth unto the other nouriſhment and life, is in the boſome of the earth concealed; & if there be at any time occaſion to ſearch into it, ſuch labour is then more neceſſary than pleaſant, both to them which undertake it, and for the lookers on. In like manner the uſe and benefit of good Lawes, all that live under them may enjoy with delight and comfort, albeit the grounds and firſt originall cauſes from whence they have ſprung be unknown, as to the greateſt part of men they are. But when they who withdraw their obedience, pretend that the lawes which they ſhould obey are corrupt and vicious; for better examination of their quality, it behoveth the very foundation and root, the higheſt well-ſpring and fountain of them to be diſcovered. Which becauſe we are not oftentimes accuſtomed to doe, when we do it, the paines we take are more needfull a great

great deale than acceptable, and the matters which we handle ſeem by reaſon of newneſſe, (till the minde grow better acquainted with them) dark, intricate, and unfamiliar. For as much help whereof as may be in this caſe, I have endeavoured throughout the body of this whole Diſcourſe; that every former part might give ſtrength unto all that follow, and every later bring ſome light unto all before. So that if the judgements of men do but hold themſelves in ſuſpence as touching theſe firſt more generall meditations, till in order they have peruſed the reſt that enſue: what may ſeem dark at the firſt will afterwards be found more plain, even as the later particular deciſions will appeare I doubt not more ſtrong, when the other have been read before. The Lawes of the Church, whereby for ſo many Ages together we have been guided in the exerciſe of Chriſtian Religion, and the ſervice of the true God, our Rites, Cuſtomes, and Orders, of Eccleſiaſticall Government, are called in queſtion; we are accuſed as men that will not have Chriſt Jeſus to rule over them; but have wilfully caſt his ſtatutes behinde their backs, hating to be reformed and made ſubject unto the ſcepter of his Diſcipline. Behold therefore we offer the Lawes whereby we live, unto the generall trial and judgement of the whole world; heartily beſeeching Almighty God, whom we deſire to ſerve according to his own will, that both we and others, (all kinde of partiall affection being clean laid aſide) may have eyes to ſee, and hearts to imbrace, the things that in his ſight are moſt acceptable. And becauſe the point about which we ſtrive is the quality of our Lawes, our firſt entrance hereinto cannot better be made, than with conſideration of the nature of Law in generall, and of that Law which giveth life unto all the reſt which are commendable, juſt, and good, namely the Law whereby the Eternall himſelf doth work. Proceeding from hence to the Law, firſt of Nature, then of Scripture, we ſhall have the eaſier acceſſe unto thoſe things which come after to be debated, concerning the particular cauſe and queſtion which we have in hand.

2 All things that are, have ſome operation not violent or caſuall. Neither doth any thing ever begin to exerciſe the ſame, without ſome foreconceived end for which it worketh. And the end which it worketh for is not obtained, unleſſe the work be alſo fit to obtain it by. For unto every end every operation will not ſerve. That which doth aſſigne unto each thing the kind, that which doth moderate the force and power, that which doth appoint the form and meaſure of working, the ſame we terme a *Law*. So that no certain end could ever be attained, unleſſe the actions whereby it is attained were regular, that is to ſay, made ſuteable, fit, and correſpondent unto their end, by ſome Canon, Rule or Law: Which thing doth firſt take place in the works even of God himſelf. All things therefore do work after a ſort according to Law: all other things according to a Law, whereof ſome Superiour unto whom they are ſubject is Author, only the works and operations of God, have him both their worker, and for the Law whereby they are wrought. The being of God, is a kinde of Law to his working: for that perfection which God is, giveth perfection to that he doth. Thoſe naturall, neceſſary, and internall operations of God, the *generation* of the Sonne, the *proceeding* of the Spirit, are without the compaſſe of my preſent intent: which is to touch only ſuch opera-

Of that Law which God from before the beginning hath ſet for himſelf to do all things by.

tions as have their beginning and being by a voluntary purpoſe, wherewith God hath eternally decreed when and how they ſhould be. Which eternall decree is that we tearm an eternall Law. Dangerous it were for the feeble brain of man to wade far into the doings of the moſt High; whō although to know be life, and joy to make mention of his Name; yet our ſoundeſt knowledge is, to know that we know him not as indeed he is, neither can know him; & our ſafeſt eloquence concerning him is our ſilence, when we confeſſe without confeſſion, that his glory is inexplicable, his greatneſſe above our capacity and reach. He is above, and we upon earth; therefore it behoveth our words to be wary and few. Our God is one, or rather very *Oneneſſe*, and meer unity, having nothing but it ſelf in it ſelf, and not conſiſting (as all things do beſides God) of many things. In which eſſentiall unity of God, a Trinity perſonall nevertheleſſe ſubſiſteth, after a manner far exceeding the poſſibility of mans conceit. The works which outwardly are of God, they are in ſuch ſort of him being one, that each perſon hath in them ſomewhat peculiar and proper. For being three, and they all ſubſiſting in the eſſence of one deity, from the Father, by the Son, through the Spirit, all things are. That which the Son doth heare of the Father, and which the Spirit doth receive of the Father and the Son, the ſame we have at the hands of the Spirit, as being the laſt, and therefore the neareſt unto us in order, although in power the ſame with the ſecond and the firſt. The wiſe and learned amongſt the very Heathens themſelves have all acknowledged ſome firſt cauſe, whereupon originally the being of all things dependeth. Neither have they otherwiſe ſpoken of that cauſe, than as an Agent, which knowing *what* and *why* it worketh, obſerveth in working a moſt exact *Order* or *Law*. Thus much is ſignified by that which *Homer* mentioneth, [a] Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή. Thus much acknowledged by *Mercurius Triſmegiſt*. [b] τὸν πάντα κόσμον ἐποίησεν ὁ δημιουργὸς οὐ χερσὶν, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ. Thus much confeſt by *Anaxagoras* and *Plato*, terming the maker of the world an *Intellectuall* worker. Finally the Stoiks, although imagining the firſt cauſe of all things to be fire, held nevertheleſſe that the ſame fire having art, did [c] ὁδῷ βαδίζειν ἐπὶ γενέσεις κόσμου. They all confeſſe therefore in the working of that firſt cauſe, that *Counſell* is uſed, *Reaſon* followed, a *Way* obſerved, that is to ſay, conſtant *Order* and *Law* is kept, whereof it ſelf muſt needs be author unto it ſelf. Otherwiſe it ſhould have ſome worthier & higher to direct it, & ſo could not it ſelf be the firſt, being the firſt it can have no other than it ſelf to be the author of that Law which it willingly worketh by. God therfore is a Law both to himſelf, & to al other things beſides. To himſelf he is a Law in al thoſe things wherof our Saviour ſpeakes, ſaying, *My Father worketh as yet, ſo I*. God worketh nothing without cauſe. All thoſe things which are done by him, have ſome end for which they are done: and the end for which they are done, is a reaſon of his will to do them. His will had not inclined to create woman, but that he ſaw it could not be well if ſhe were not created, *Non eſt bonum, It is not good man ſhould be alone*; therefore let us make an helper for him. That and nothing elſe is done by God, which to leave undone were not ſo good. If therefore it be demanded, why God having power and ability infinite, the effects notwithſtanding of that power are all ſo limited as we ſee they are: the reaſon hereof is, the end which he hath propoſed, and the Law whereby

Iob 38.13, 14, 15.

a *Iupiters* counſell was accompliſhed.

b The Creator made the whole world not with hāds, but by reaſon. *Stob. in eclog. phyſ.*

c Proceed by a certaine and a ſet way in the making of the world.

Ioh 5.17.

Gen. 2.18.

by his wiſdome hath ſtinted the effects of his power in ſuch ſort, that it doth not work infinitely, but correſpondently unto that end for which it worketh, even all things, χριτῶν, in moſt decent and comely ſort, all things in *meaſure, number, and weight*. The generall end of Gods externall working, is the exerciſe of his moſt glorious and moſt abundant vertue. Which abundance doth ſhew it ſelf in variety, and for that cauſe this variety is oftentimes in Scripture expreſt by the name of *riches*. *The Lord hath made all things for his own ſake*. Not that any thing is made to be beneficiall to him but all things for him to ſhew beneficence and grace in them. The particular drift of every act proceeding externally from God, we are not able to diſcern, and therefore cannot alwayes give the proper & certain reaſon of his works. Howbeit undoubtedly, a proper & certain reaſon there is of every finite work of God, in as much as there is a law impoſed upon it; which if there were not, it ſhould be infinite even as the Worker himſelf is. They err therefore who think that of the will of God to do this or that, there is no reaſon beſides his wil. Many times no reaſon known to us; but that there is no reaſon therof, I judge it moſt unreaſonable to imagine, inas much as he worketh al things, κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ, not only according to his own will, but *the counſell of his own will*. And whatſoever is done with counſell or wiſe reſolution, hath of neceſſity ſome reaſon why it ſhould be done, albeit that reaſon be to us in ſome things ſo ſecret, that it forceth the wit of man to ſtand, as the bleſſed Apoſtle himſelf doth, amazed thereat, *O the depth of the riches, both of the wiſdome and knowledge of God! How unſearchable are his judgements, &c.* That Law eternall which God himſelf hath made to himſelf, and thereby worketh all things whereof he is the cauſe & Author; that Law in the admirable frame whereof ſhineth with moſt perfect beauty the countenance of that wiſdome which hath teſtified concerning her ſelf, *The Lord poſſeſſed me in the beginning of his way, even before his works of old I was ſet up*; that Law which hath been the Pattern to make, and is the Card to guide the World by; that Law which hath been of God, & with God everlaſtingly; that Law the Author and Obſerver whereof is one only God to be bleſſed for ever; how ſhould either Men or Angels be able perfectly to behold? The Book of this Law we are neither able nor worthy to open and look into. That little thereof which we darkly apprehend we admire; the reſt with religious ignorance we humbly and meekly adore. Seeing therefore that according to this Law he worketh, *of whom, through whom, and for whom are all things*; although there ſeem unto us confuſion and diſorder in the affaires of this preſent world; *Tamen quoniam bonus mundum rector temperat, recte fieri cuncta ne dubites*, Let no man doubt but that every thing is well done, becauſe the World is ruled by ſo good a Guide, as tranſgreſſeth not his own Law, than which, nothing can be more abſolute, perfect, and juſt. The Law whereby he worketh, is eternall and therefore can have no ſhew or colour of mutability: for which cauſe a part of that Law being opened in the promiſes which God hath made, (becauſe his promiſes are nothing elſe but declarations what God will do for the good of men) touching thoſe promiſes the Apoſtle hath witneſſed, that God may as poſſibly deny himſelf & not be God, as fail to perform them. And concerning the counſell of God, he termeth it likewiſe a thing *unchangeable*;

Sap. 8.1. *Sap.* 11.17. *Epheſ.* 1.7. *Phil.* 4.19. *Col.* 1.3. *Prov.* 16.4. *Epheſ.* 1.11. *Rom.* 11.33. *Prov.* 8.13. *Rom.* 11.36. *Boet. Lib.* 4. *de Conſol. Philoſ.*

2 Tim. 2. 13. Heb. 6. 17.

changeable; the councell of God, that Law of God whereof now we speak being one. Nor is the freedome of the will of God any whit abated, let or hindered by means of this; because the imposition of this Law upon himself is his own free and voluntary act. This Law therefore we may name eternall, being *that order which God before all Ages hath set down with himself, for himself to do all things by.*

The law which naturall agents have given them to observe, and their necessary manner of keeping it.

3 I am not ignorant that by Law eternall the learned for the most part do understand the order, not which God hath eternally purposed himself in all his works to observe, but rather that which with himself he hath set down as expedient to be kept by all his creatures, according to the severall condition wherewith he hath endued them. They who thus are accustomed to speak, apply the name of *Law* unto that only rule of working which Superiour Authority imposeth; whereas we somewhat more enlarging the sense thereof, term any kind of Rule or Canon whereby actions are framed, a Law. Now that Law which as it is laid up in the bosome of God, they call *eternall*, receiveth according unto the different kinde of things which are subject unto it, different and sundry kinds of names. That part of it which ordereth naturall Agents, we call usually *Natures* Law: that which Angels do clearly behold, and without any swarving observe, is a Law *celestiall* and heavenly: the Law of *Reason*, that which bindeth creatures reasonable in this World, and with which by reason they may most plainly perceive themselves bound; that which bindeth them, and is not known but by speciall revelation from God, *divine* Law; *humane* Law, that which out of the Law either of reason or of God, men probably gathering to be expedient, they make it a law. All things therfore, which are as they ought to be, are conformed unto *this second Law eternall*; and even those things which to this *eternall* Law, are not coformable, are notwithstanding in some sort ordered by *the first eternall Law*. For what good or evill is there under the Sun, what action correspondent or repugnant unto the law which God hath imposed upon his creatures, but in or upon it God doth work according to the Law which himself hath eternally purposed to keep, that is to say, the *first Law eternall*? So that a twofold Law eternall being thus made, it is not hard to conceive how they both take place in [a] all things. Wherefore to come to the Law of nature, albeit thereby we sometimes mean that manner of working which God hath set for each created thing to keep: yet for as much as those things are termed most properly naturall Agents, which keep the Law of their kind unwittingly, as the Heavens and Elements of the World, which can do no otherwise than they do; and for as much as we give unto intellectuall natures the name of *voluntary* Agents, that so we may distinguish them from the other, expedient it will be, that we sever the Law of Nature observed by the one, from that which the other is tyed unto. Touching the former, their strict keeping of one Tenure, Statute, and Law is spoken of by all, but hath in it more than men have as yet attained to know, or perhaps ever shall attain, seeing the travell of wading herein is given of God to the sonnes of Men, that perceiving how much the least thing in

[a] Id omne quod in rebus creatis fit, est materia legis æternæ. *Th.* 1. 2. *q.* 23. *art.* 4, 5, 6. Nullo modo aliquid legibus summi creatoris ordinatisque subtrahitur, à quo pax universitatis administratur. *Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib.* 19. *c.* 22. *Immo & peccatum, quatenus à Deo justè permittitur, cadit in legem æternam. Etiam legi æternæ subjicitur peccatum; quatenus voluntaria legis transgressio pœnale quoddam incommodum animæ inserit, juxta illud Augustini,* Iussisti Domine & sic est, ut pœna sua sibi sit omnis animus inordinatus. *Confes. lib.* 1. *cap.* 12. *Nec malè scholastici*, Quemadmodum inquiunt videmus res naturales contingentes, hoc ipso quòd à fine particulari suo, atq; adeo à lege æternâ exorbitant, in eandem legem æternam incidere, quatenus consequuntur aliũ finem à lege etiã æternâ ipsis in casu particulari constitutum: sic verisimile est homines etiam cùm peccant & desciscunt à lege æternâ ut præcipiente, reincidere in ordinem æternæ legis ut punienti.

in the world hath in it more than the wiſeſt are able to reach unto, they may by this means learn humility. *Moſes*, in deſcribing the work of Creation, attributeth ſpeech unto God, *God ſaid, Let there be light: Let there be a Firmament: Let the waters under the Heaven be gathered together into one place: Let the Earth bring forth: Let there be Lights in the Firmament.* Was this only the intent of *Moſes* to ſignifie the infinite greatneſſe of Gods power, by the eaſineſſe of his accompliſhing ſuch effects, without travell, pain, or labour? Surely it ſeemeth that *Moſes* had herein, beſides this, a further purpoſe, namely, firſt, to teach that God did not work as a neceſſary, but a voluntary Agent, intending before-hand and decreeing with himſelf that which did outwardly proceed from him: Secondly, to ſhew that God did then inſtitute a Law naturall to be obſerved by creatures, and therefore according to the manner of Lawes, the Inſtitution thereof is deſcribed, as being eſtabliſhed by ſolemn injunction. His commanding thoſe things to be which are, and to be in ſuch ſort as they are, to keep that tenure & courſe which they do, importeth the eſtabliſhment of Natures Law. This worlds firſt Creation, and the preſervation ſince of things created, what is it, but only ſo farre forth a manifeſtation by execution, what the eternall Law of God is concerning things naturall? And as it commeth to paſſe in a kingdome rightly ordered, that after a Law is once publiſhed, it preſently takes effect far and wide, all States framing themſelves thereunto; even ſo let us think it fareth in the naturall courſe of the world: ſince the time that God did firſt proclaim the Edicts of his Law upon it, Heaven and earth have harkned unto his voice, and their labour hath been to do his will: *He made a Law for the Rain*, He gave his *Decree unto the Sea, that the waters ſhould not paſſe his commandement.* Now, if nature ſhould intermit her courſe, and leave altogether, though it were but for a while, the obſervation of her own Lawes: if thoſe principall and mother Elements of the world, whereof all things in this lower world are made, ſhould loſe the qualities which now they have; if the frame of that Heavenly Arch erected over our heads ſhould looſen and diſſolve it ſelf; if Celeſtiall Spheres ſhould forget their wonted motions, and by irrigular volubility turn themſelves any way as it might happen; if the Prince of the Lights of Heaven, which now as a Gyant doth run his unwearied courſe, ſhould as it were through a languiſhing faintneſſe begin to ſtand and to reſt himſelf; if the Moon ſhould wander from her beaten way, the times and ſeaſons of the yeer blend themſelves by diſordered & confuſed mixture, the winds breathe out their laſt gaſpe, the clouds yeeld no rain, the earth be defeated of heavenly influence, the fruits of the earth pine away as children at the witheredbreaſts of their mother, no longer able to yeeld them relief; what would become of Man himſelf, whom theſe things now do all ſerve? See we not plainly that obedience of creatures unto the Law of Nature is the ſtay of the whole world? Notwithſtanding, with nature it commeth ſometimes to paſſe as with art. Let *Phidias* have rude & obſtinate ſtuffe to carve, though his art do that it ſhould, his work will lack that beauty which otherwiſe in fitter matter it might have had. He that ſtriketh an Inſtrument with skill, may cauſe notwithſtanding a very pleaſant found, if the ſtring whereon he ſtriketh chance to be uncapable of harmony. In the matter whereof things naturall *Pſal. 9.5.*

turall consist, that of *Theophrastus* takes place, *Much of it is oftentimes such, as will by no meanes yeeld to receive that impression which were best and most perfect.* Which defect in the matter of things naturall, they who gave themselves unto the contemplation of nature amongst the Heathen, observed often: but the true originall cause thereof, divine malediction, laid for the sin of man upon these creatures which God hath made for the use of man, this being an article of that saving truth which God hath revealed unto his Church, was above the reach of their meerly natural capacity & understanding. But howsoever these swarvings are now and then incident into the course of nature, nevertheless so constantly the Lawes of nature are by naturall agents observed, that no man denieth but those things which nature worketh, are wrought either alwayes or for the most part after one & the same manner. If here it be demanded what that is which keepeth nature in obedience to her own law, we must have recourse to that higher Law whereof we have already spoken, and because all other Lawes do thereon depend, from thence we must borrow so much as shall need for brief resolution in this point. Although we are not of opinion therefore, as some are, that nature in working hath before her certain exemplary draughts or patterns, which subsisting in the bosome of the Highest, & being thence discovered, she fixeth her eye upon them, as Travellers by sea upon the Pole-starre of the world, and that according thereunto she guideth her hand to work by imitation: although we rather imbrace the Oracle of *Hyppocrates*, that *each thing both in small & in great fulfilleth the task which destiny hath set down:* and concerning the manner of executing & fulfilling the same, *What they do they know not, yet is it in shew and appearance, as though they did know what they do, & the truth is they do not discern the things which they look on:* nevertheless, for as much as the works of nature are no lesse exact, than if she did both behold and study how to expresse some absolute shape, or mirror alwayes present before her; yea, such her dexterity and skill appeareth, that no intellectual creature in the world were able by capacity to do that which nature doth without capacity & knowledge; it cannot be but nature hath some directer of infinit knowledge to guide her in all her wayes. Who the guide of nature, but only the God of nature? *In him we live, move, and are.* Those things which nature is said to do, are by divine Art performed, using nature as an instrument: nor is there any such Art or Knowledge divine in Nature her self working, but in the guide of Natures work. Whereas therefore things naturall, which are not in the number of voluntary Agents (for of such only we now speak & of no other) do so necessarily observe there certain Lawes, that as long as they keep those [a] forms which give them their being they cannot possibly be apt or inclinable to do otherwise than they do; seeing the kinds of their operations are both constantly and exactly framed according to the severall ends for wch they serve, they themselves in the mean while though doing that which is fit, yet knowing neither what they do, nor why: it followeth that all which they do in this sort, proceedeth originally from some such agent, as knoweth, appointeh, holdeth up, and even actually frameth the same. The manner of this divine efficiency being farre above us, we are no more able to conceive by our reason, than creatures unreasonable by their sense

Theophrast in Metaph. Πολὺ τὸ ὐχ ὑπεικτὸν ὅλως χάριν τοῦ.

Arist Rhet 1. cap. 39.

Τὴν πεπραμένην μοῖραν ἕκαστον ἐκπληροῖ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖον. ὃ πράσσουσιν, οὐκ οἶδασιν, οὐδὲ πράσσουσι δοκοῦσιν εἰδέναι καὶ τὰ μὲν ὁρῶσι καὶ πάσχουσι.

Acts 17. 28.

[a] Fortune in other creatures is a thing proportionable unto the soul in living creatures. Sensible it is not, nor, otherwise discernable, than only by effects. According to the diversity of inward forms, things of the world are distinguished into their kindes.

ſenſe are able to apprehend after what manner we diſpoſe and order the courſe of our affaires. Only thus much is diſcerned, that the naturall generation and proceſſe of all things receiveth order of proceeding from the ſetled ſtability of divine underſtanding. This appointeth unto them their kinds of working, the diſpoſition whereof in the purity of Gods own knowledge and will is rightly tearmed by the name of *Providence*. The ſame being referred unto the things themſelves here diſpoſed by it, was wont by the Ancient to be called *naturall deſtiny*. That Law the performance whereof we behold in things naturall, is as it were an authenticall, or an originall draught written in the boſome of God himſelf; whoſe ſpirit being to execute the ſame, uſeth every particular nature, every meer naturall agent, only as an inſtrument created at the beginning, and ever ſince the beginning uſed to work his own will and pleaſure withall. Nature therefore is nothing elſe but Gods inſtrument: in the courſe whereof *Dionyſius* perceiving ſome ſudden diſturbance, is ſaid to have cried out, *Aut Deus naturæ patitur, aut mundi machina diſſolvitur*, Either God doth ſuffer impediment, and is by a greater than himſelf hindred; or if that be impoſſible, then hath he determined to make a preſent diſſolution of the World, the execution of that law beginning now to ſtand ſtill, whithout which the world cannot ſtand. This workman whoſe ſervitor nature is, being in truth but only one, the Heathens imagining to be moe, gave him in the skie the name of *Iupiter*, in the ayre the name of *Iuno*, in the water the name of *Neptune*, in the earth the name of *Veſta*, and ſometimes of *Ceres*; the name of *Apollo* in the Sun, in the Moon the name of *Diana*, the name *Æolus*, and divers other in the winds; and to conclude, even ſo many guides of Nature they dreamd of, as they ſaw there were kinds of things natural in the world. Theſe they honoured, as having power to work or ceaſe according as men deſerved of them. But unto us there is one only guide of al agents naturall, & he both the creator and the worker of all in all, alone to be bleſſed, adored and honoured by all for ever. That which hitherto hath been ſpoken, concerneth naturall agents conſidered in themſelves. But we muſt further remember alſo (which thing to touch in a word ſhall ſuffice) that as in this reſpect they have their Law, which Law directeth them in the means wherby they tend to their own perfection: ſo likewiſe another Law there is, which toucheth them as they are ſociable parts united into one body; a Law which bindeth them each to ſerve unto others good, and all to prefer the good of the whole before whatſoever their own particular; as we plainly ſee they do, when things naturall in that regard forget their ordinary naturall wont, that which is heavie mounting ſometime upwards of its own accord, and forſaking the center of the earth, which to it ſelf is moſt naturall, even as if it did heare it ſelf commanded to let go the good it privately wiſheth, and to relieve the preſent diſtreſſe of Nature in common.

Vide Thom. in Cõpend. Theol. Cap. 3.
Omne quod movetur ab aliquo eſt quaſi inſtrumentum quoddam primi moventis.
Ridiculum eſt autem etiam apud indoctos ponere inſtrumentum moveri non ab alio principali agente.

4 But now that we may litt up our eyes (as it were) from the footſtool to the throne of God, & leaving theſe naturall, conſider a little the ſtate of heavenly and divine creatures; touching Angels which are Spirits immateriall & intellectuall, the glorious Inhabitants of thoſe ſacred Pallaces, where nothing but light & bleſſed immortality, no ſhadow of matter for tears, diſcontentments, griefs, and uncomfortable paſſions to work upon, but all joy, tranquillity, and

The law which Angels doe work by. *Pſal.* 104. 4. *Heb.* 1. 7. *Epheſ.* 3. 10.

and peace, even for ever and ever do well; as in number and order they are huge, mighty, and royall armies; so likewise in perfection of obedience unto that Law, which the Highest, whom they adore, love, and imitate, hath imposed upon thē; such obſervants they are thereof, that our Saviour himself being to ſet down the perfect *Idea* of that which we are to pray & wiſh for on earth, did not teach to pray or wiſh for more, than only that here it might be with us, as with them it is in Heaven. God which moveth meer naturall agents as an efficient only, doth otherwiſe move intellectuall creatures, and eſpecially his holy Angels. For beholding the face of God, in admiration of ſo great excellency they all adore him; and being rapt with the love of his beauty, they cleave inſeparably for ever unto him. Deſire to reſemble him in goodneſſe, maketh them unweariable, and even unſatiable in their longing to do by all means all manner of good to all the creatures of God, but eſpecially unto the children of men; in the countenance of whoſe nature looking downward they behold themſelves beneath themſelves, even as upward in God, beneath whom themſelves are, they ſee that character which is no where but in themſelves and us reſembled. Thus far even the Paynims have approched; thus far they have ſeen into the doings of the Angels of God; *Orpheus* confeſſing, that the fiery throne of God is attended on by thoſe moſt induſtrious Angels, carefull how all things are performed amongſt men; & the mirror of humane wiſdome plainly teaching; that God moveth Angels, even as that thing doth ſtirre mans heart, which is thereunto preſented amiable. Angelicall actions may therefore be reduced unto theſe three generall kinds; firſt, moſt delectable love, ariſing from the viſible apprehenſion of the purity, glory, and beauty of God, inviſible ſaving only unto Spirits that are pure; ſecondly, adoration, grounded upon the evidence of the greatneſſe of God, on whō they ſee how al things depend; thirdly, imitation, bred by the preſence of his exemplary goodnes, who ceaſeth not before them daily to fill Heaven and Earth with the rich treaſures of moſt free and undeſerved grace. Of Angels we are not to conſider only what they are, and do, in regard of their own being; but that alſo which concerneth them as they are lincked into a kinde of corporation amongſt themſelves, and of ſociety or fellowſhip with men. Conſider Angels each of them ſeverally in himſelf, & their Law is that which the Prophet *David* mentioneth, *All ye his Angels praiſe him.* Conſider the Angels of God aſſociated, and their Law is that which diſpoſeth them as an *Army*, one in order and degree above an other. Conſider finally the Angels as having with us that communion which the Apoſtle to the Hebrews noteth, & in regard wherof Angels have not diſdained to profeſſe themſelves our *fellow-ſervants*; from hence there ſpringeth up a third Law, which bindeth them to works of miniſteriall imployment. Every of which their ſeverall functions are by them performed with joy. A part of the Angels of God notwithſtanding (we know) have fallen, and that their fal hath been through the voluntary breach of that Law, which did require at their hands continuance in the exerciſe of their high & admirable vertue. Impoſſible it was that ever their will ſhould change or incline to remit any part of their duty, without ſome object having force to avert their conceit from God, and to draw it another way; and that before they attained that high perfection

of

Dan. 7. 10. *Matth.* 26. 53. *Heb.* 12. 22. *Luc.* 2. 13.

Matth. 6. 10. *Matth.* 18. 10.

Pſal. 91. 11, 12. *Luc.* 15. 7. *Heb.* 1. 14. *Acts* 10. 3. *Dan.* 9. 23. *Matth.* 18. 10. *Dan.* 4. 10.

Σὺ δὲ θρόνῳ πυρὸς εἰλεῖ παρεδρεύειν πολυμόχθοι Ἄγγελοι, οἷσι μέμιλε βροτοῖς ὡς πάντα τελεῖται.

Ariſt. Metaph. 12. cap. 7.

Iohn 38. 7. *Matth.* 18. 10. *Pſal.* 148. 2. *Heb* 1. 6. *Eſay* 6. 3.

This is intimated whereſoever we finde them termed the ſonnes of God: as *Iob* 1. 6. and 38. 7. 2 *Pet.* 2 4. *Ep. Iud. verſ.* 6. *Pſal.* 148. 2. *Luc.* 2. 13. *Matth.* 26. 53. *Pſal.* 148. 2. *Heb.* 12. 22. *Apoc.* 22. 9.

of bliſſe, wherein now the elect Angels are without poſſibility of falling. Of any thing more than of God they could not by any means like, as long as whatſoever they knew beſides God, they apprehended it not in it ſelf without dependancy upon God; becauſe ſo long God muſt needs ſeem infinitely better than any thing which they ſo could apprehend. Things beneath them could not in ſuch ſort be preſented unto their eyes, but that therein they muſt needs ſee alwayes how thoſe things did depend on God. It ſeemeth therefore that there was no other way for Angels to ſinne, but by reflex of their underſtanding upon themſelves; when being held with admiration of their own ſublimity and honour, the memory of their ſubordination unto God, and their dependancy on him was drowned in this conceipt; whereupon their adoration, love, and imitation of God, could not chuſe but be alſo interrupted. The fall of Angels therefore was pride. Since their fall, their practiſes have been the clean contrary unto thoſe before mentioned. For being diſperſed ſome in the aire, ſome on the earth, ſome in the water, ſome amongſt the minerals, dens, and caves, that are under the earth: they have by all means laboured to effect an univerſall rebellion againſt the lawes, and as farre as in them lieth, utter deſtruction of the works of God. Theſe wicked ſpirits the heathens honoured in ſtead of Gods, both generally under the name of *Dii inferi* Gods infernall; and particularly, ſome in Oracles, ſome in Idols, ſome as houſhold Gods, ſome as Nymphs; in a word, no foul and wicked ſpirit which was not one way or other honoured of men as God, till ſuch time as light appeared in the world, and diſſolved the works of the devill. Thus much therefore may ſuffice for Angels, the next unto whom in degree are men.

Io'n 8.44. 1 *Pet. 5.8.* *Apoc. 9.11.* *Gen. 3.15.* 1 *Chro. 21.1.* *Iob 1.7. & 2.5.* *Iohn 13.27.* *Acts 5.3.* *Apoc. 20.8.*

5 God alone excepted, who actually and everlaſtingly is whatſoever he may be, and which cannot hereafter be that which now he is not; all other things beſides are ſomewhat in poſſibility, which as yet they are not in act. And for this cauſe there is in all things an appetite or deſire, whereby they incline to ſomething which they may be: and when they are it, they ſhall be perfecter than now they are. All which perfections are contained under the generall name of *goodneſſe*. And becauſe there is not in the world any thing whereby another may not ſome way be made the perfecter, therefore all things that are, are good. Again, ſith there can be no goodneſſe deſired which proceedeth not from God himſelf, as from the ſupreme cauſe of all things: and every effect doth after a ſort contain, at leaſtwiſe reſemble the cauſe from which it proceedeth: all things in the world are ſaid in ſome ſort to ſeek the higheſt, & to covet more or leſſe the participation of God himſelf. Yet this doth no where ſo much appeare as it doth in man: becauſe there are ſo many kinds of perfections which man ſeeketh. The firſt degree of goodneſſe is that generall perfection which all things do ſeek, in deſiring the continuance of their being. All things therefore coveting, as much as may be, to be like unto God in being ever, that which cannot hereunto attain perſonally, doth ſeek to continue it ſelf another way, that is, by off-ſpring and propagation. The next degree of goodneſſe, is that which each thing coveteth by affecting reſemblance with God, in the conſtancy and excellency of thoſe operations which belong unto their kind. The immutability of God they ſtrive unto, by working either alwayes or for the moſt

The law whereby man is in his actions directed to the imitation of God.

Ariſt. de anim. lib. 2. cap. 4. Πάντα γὰρ ἐκείνου ὀρέγεται.

moſt part after one and the ſame manner; his abſolute exactneſſe they imitate by tending unto that which is moſt exquiſite in every particular. Hence have riſen a number of axiomes in Philoſophy, ſhewing how *the works of nature do alwayes aime at that which cannot be bettered.* Theſe two kinds of goodneſſe rehearſed, are ſo neerly united to the things themſelves which deſire them, that we ſcarcely perceive the appetite to ſtir in reaching forth her hand towards them. But the deſire of thoſe perfections which grow externally is more apparent; eſpecially of ſuch as are not expreſly deſired unleſſe they be firſt known, or ſuch as are not for any other cauſe than for knowledge it ſelf deſired. Concerning perfections in this kinde, that by proceeding in the knowledge of truth, and by growing in the exerciſe of vertue, man amongſt the creatures of this inferiour world, aſpireth to the greateſt conformity with God; this is not only known unto us, whom he himſelf hath ſo inſtructed, but even they do acknowledge, who amongſt men are not judged the neareſt unto him. With *Plato* what one thing more uſual, than to excite men unto the love of wiſdome by ſhewing how much wiſe men are thereby exalted above men; how knowledge doth raiſe them up into heaven; how it maketh them, though not Gods, yet as Gods, high, admirable, and divine? And *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus* ſpeaking of the vertues of a righteous ſoule, *Such ſpirits* (ſaith he) *are never cloyed with praiſing and ſpeaking well of all men, with doing good unto every one by word and deed, becauſe they ſtudy to frame themſelves according to* THE PATERNE *of the father of ſpirits.*

Εν τοῖς φύσει ἀεί τὸ βέλτιον ἐὰν ἐνδέχηται ὑπάρχειν μᾶλλον ἢ ζητεῖται ἀεὶ ποιεῖ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων τὸ βέλτιον. *Ariſt. 2. de cœl. cap 5.*

Matt. 5 48.

Sap. 7. 27.

ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη ψυχὴ κόρον ἐυσεβείας ἔχει ὑμνοῦσα ἐυφημοῦσά τε πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις πάντας ἐυσεβοῦσα, μιμουμένη αὐτῆς τὸν πατέρα.

6 In the matter of knowledge, there is between the Angels of God and the children of Men this difference. Angels already have full and complete knowledge in the higheſt degree that can be imparted unto them: men if we view them in their ſpring, are at the firſt without underſtanding or knowledge at all. Nevertheleſſe from this utter vacuity they grow by degrees, till they come at length to be even as the Angels themſelves are. That which agreeth to the one now, the other ſhall attain unto in the end; they are not ſo far disjoyned and ſevered, but that they come at length to meet. The ſoul of man being therefore at the firſt as a book, wherein nothing is, and yet all things may be imprinted; we are to ſearch by what ſteps and degrees it riſeth unto perfection of knowledge. Unto that which hath been already ſet down concerning naturall agents this we muſt adde, that albeit therin we have compriſed as well creatures living, as voide of life, if they be in degree of nature beneath men; nevertheleſſe a difference we muſt obſerve between thoſe naturall agents that work altogether, unwittingly, and thoſe which have though weak, yet ſome underſtanding what they do, as fiſhes, fowles, and beaſts have. Beaſts are in ſenſible capacity as ripe even as men themſelves, perhaps more ripe. For as ſtones though in dignity of nature inferiour unto plants; yet exceed them in firmeneſſe of ſtrength or durability of being; and plants though beneath the excellency of creatures indued with ſenſe, yet exceed them in the faculty of vegetation and of fertility: ſo beaſts though otherwiſe behinde men, may notwithſtanding in actions of ſenſe and phanſy go beyond them; becauſe the endevours of nature, when it hath an higher perfection to ſeek, are in lower the more remiſſe, nor eſteeming thereof ſo much as thoſe things do, wch have no better

Mens firſt beginning to grow to the knowledge of that law which they are to obſerve. *Vide Iſay 7. 10.*

propoſed

purpoſed unto them. The ſoule of man therefore being capable of a more divine perfection, hath (beſides the faculties of growing unto ſenſible knowledge which is common unto us with beaſts) a further ability, whereof in them there is no ſhew at all, the ability of reaching higher than unto ſenſible things. Till we grow to ſome ripeneſſe of yeares, the ſoule of man doth only ſtore it ſelfe with conceits of things of inferiour and more open quality, which afterwards do ſerve as Inſtruments unto that which is greater: in the meane while above the reach of meaner creatures it aſcendeth not. When once it comprehendeth any thing above this, as the differences of time, affirmations, negations, and contradictions in ſpeech; we then count it to have ſome uſe of naturall reaſon. Whereunto if afterwards there might bee added the right helpes of true Art and Learning, (which helpes I muſt plainly confeſſe, this age of the World, carrying the name of a learned Age, doth neither much know nor greatly regard) there would undoubtedly be almoſt as great difference in maturity of judgement between men therewith inured, and that which now men are, as between men that are now and Innocents. Which ſpeech if any condemne, as being over Hyperbolicall, let them conſider but this one thing. No Art is at the firſt finding out ſo perfect, as induſtry may after make it. Yet the very firſt man that to any purpoſe knew the way we ſpeake of and followed it, hath alone thereby performed more very neare in all parts of naturall knowledge, than ſithence in any one part thereof, the whole world beſides hath done. In the poverty of that other new-deviſed aid, two things there are notwithſtanding ſingular. Of marvailous quick diſpatch it is, and doth ſhew them that have it as much almoſt in three dayes, as if it dwell three-ſcore yeares with them. Again, becauſe the curioſity of mans wit doth many times with perill wade farther in the ſearch of things, than were convenient: the ſame is thereby reſtrained unto ſuch generalities, as every where offering themſelves, are apparent unto men of the weakeſt conceit that need be. So as following the Rules and Precepts thereof, we may find it to be an Art, which teacheth the way of ſpeedy Diſcourſe, and reſtraineth the mind of man that it may not waxe over wiſe. Education and Inſtruction are the meanes, the one by uſe, the other by Precept, to make our naturall faculty of reaſon, both the better and the ſooner able to judge rightly between Truth and Error, good and evill. But at what time a man may be ſaid to have attained ſo farre forth the uſe of reaſon, as ſufficeth to make him capable of thoſe Lawes, whereby he is then bound to guide his Actions; this is a great deale more eaſie for common ſenſe to diſcerne, than for any man by Skill and Learning to determine: even as it is not in Philoſophers, who beſt know the nature both of Fire & Gold, to teach what degree of the one will ſerve to purifie the other, ſo well as the Artizan (who doth this by Fire) diſcerneth by ſenſe, when the Fire hath that degree of heat which ſufficeth for his purpoſe.

ἃ δὲ ἀνθρωπος εἰς τὸν ὑπερνοῦν ἀναβαίνει, καὶ μέτρεῖ ἀυτὸν, καὶ ὅσα ποῖα μὲν ἐπὶ ναυτῷ ὑψηλὰ, ποῖα δ' ταπεινὰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἀκριβῶς μανθάνει. Καὶ τὸ πάντων μεῖζον, ἐδὲ τὸν γνῶ πάλαι πὼν ἀιὼν γενέσθαι. *Mercur. Triſm.* Ariſtotelicall demonſtration

Ramiſtry.

7. By reaſon man attaineth unto the knowledge of things that are, and are not ſenſible: it reſteth therefore that we ſearch how man attaineth unto the knowledge of ſuch things unſenſible, as are to be known that they may be done. Seeing then that nothing can move unleſſe there be ſome end, the deſire whereof provoketh unto motion; how ſhould that divine power of

Of mans will, which is the thing that laws of action are made to guide.

the Soule, that *Spirit of our mind*, as the Apoſtle termeth it, ever ſtir it ſelfe
Eph. cf. 4. 23. unto action, unleſſe it have alſo the like ſpur? The end for which we are moved to work, is ſometimes the goodneſſe which wee conceive of the very working it ſelf, without any further reſpect at all; and the cauſe that procureth action, is the meere deſire of action, no other good beſides being thereby intended. Of certain turbulent wits it is ſaid. *Illis quieta movere magna*
Saluſt. *merces videbatur*. They thought the very diſturbance of things eſtabliſhed, an hire ſufficient to ſet them on work. Somtimes that which we do is referred to a further end, without the deſire whereof we would leave the ſame un-
Mat. 6. 2. done, as in their actions that gave Almes to purchaſe thereby the prayſe of men. Man in perfection of nature being made according to the likeneſſe of his Maker, reſembleth him alſo in the manner of working; ſo that whatſoever we work as men; the ſame we do wittingly work and freely; neither are we according to the manner of naturall Agents any way ſo tyed, but that it is in our power to leave the things we do undone. The good which either is gotten by doing, or which conſiſteth in the very doing it ſelf, cauſeth not action, unleſſe apprehending it as good, we ſo like and deſire it. That we do unto any ſuch end, the ſame we chooſe and preferre before the leaving of it undone. Choyce there is not, unleſſe the thing which we take, be ſo in our power that we might have refuſed and left it. If fire conſume the ſtubble, it chooſeth not ſo to do, becauſe the nature thereof is ſuch that it can do no other. To chooſe, is to will one thing before another. And to will, is to bend our ſoules to the having or doing of that which they ſee to be good. Goodneſſe is ſeen with the eye of the underſtanding. And the light of that Eye, is Reaſon. So that two principall fountaines there are of
Deut. 30. 19. humane action, *Knowledge* and *Will*: which will in things tending towards any end, is termed *Choyce*. Concerning Knowledge, Behold, ſaith *Moſes*, *I have ſet before you this day good and evill, life and death*. Concerning Will, he addeth immediately, *Chooſe life*; that is to ſay, the things that tend unto life, them chooſe. But of one thing we muſt have ſpeciall care, as being a matter of no ſmall moment, and that is, how the will properly and ſtrictly taken, as it is of things which are referred unto the end that man deſireth, differeth greatly from that inferiour naturall deſire which we call appetite. The object of appetite is, whatſoever ſenſible good may be wiſhed for; the object of will is, that good which Reaſon doth lead us to ſeek. Affections, as joy, and griefe, and feare, and anger, with ſuch like, being as it were the ſundry faſhions and formes of appetite, can neither riſe at the conceit of a thing indifferent, nor yet chooſe but riſe at the ſight of ſome things. Wherfore it is not altogether in our power, whether we will be ſtirred with affections or no: whereas actions which iſſue from the diſpoſition of the will, are in the power thereof to be performed or ſtayed. Finally, appetite is the wils Sollicitor, and the will is appetites Controuler; what we covet according to the one, by the other we often reject: neither is any other deſire termed properly will, but that where reaſon and underſtanding, or the ſhew of reaſon, preſcribeth the thing deſired. It may be therefore a queſtion, whether thoſe operations of men are to be counted voluntary, wherin that good which is ſenſible provoketh appetite & appetite cauſeth action, Reaſon being never called to counſels, as when we eat or drink, or betake our ſelves un-

to

to reſt, and ſuch like. The truth is, that ſuch actions in men having attained to the uſe of reaſon are voluntary. For as the authority of higher powers hath force even in thoſe things which are done without their privity, & are of ſo meane reckoning, that to acquaint them therewith it needeth not: in like ſort voluntarily wee are ſaid to do that alſo, which the will if it liſted might hinder from being done, although about the doing therof we do not expreſly uſe our Reaſon or Vnderſtanding, and ſo immediately apply our wils thereunto. In caſes therefore of ſuch facility, the will doth yeeld her aſſent, as it were with a kind of ſilence, by not diſſenting; in which reſpect her force is not ſo apparant, as in expreſſe Mandates or Prohibitions, eſpecially upon advice and conſultation going before. Where underſtanding therefore needeth in thoſe things, Reaſon is the Director of mans will, by diſcovering in action what is good. For the Laws of wel-doing are the Dictates of right Reaſon. Children which are not as yet come unto thoſe yeeres whereat they may have; again, Innocents which are excluded by naturall defect from ever having: Thirdly mad men which for the preſent cannot poſſibly have the uſe of right Reaſon to guide themſelves, have for their guide the Reaſon that guideth other men, which are Tutors over them, to ſeek and to procure their good for them. In the reſt there is that light of Reaſon, whereby good may be known from evill, and which diſcovering the ſame, rightly is termed right. The will notwithſtanding doth not incline to have or do that which Reaſon teacheth to be good, unleſſe the ſame do alſo teach it to be poſſible. For albeit the appetite, being more generall, may wiſh any thing which ſeemeth good, be it never ſo impoſſible: yet for ſuch things the reaſonable will of man doth never ſeek. Let Reaſon teach impoſſibility in any thing, and the will of man doth let it go; a thing impoſſible it doth not affect, the impoſſibility thereof being manifeſt. There is in the will of man naturally that freedome, whereby it is apt to take or refuſe any particular object whatſoever being preſented unto it. Whereupon it followeth, that there is no particular object ſo good, but it may have the ſhew of ſome difficulty or unpleaſant quality annexed to it; in reſpect whereof the will may ſhrink and decline it: contrariwiſe (for ſo things are blended) there is no particular evill which hath not ſome appearance of goodneſſe whereby to inſinuate it ſelfe. For evill, as evill cannot be deſired: if that bee deſired which is evill, the cauſe is the goodneſſe which is or ſeemeth to be joyned with it. Goodneſſe doth not moove by being, but by being apparant; and therefore many things are neglected which are moſt precious, only becauſe the value of them lyeth hid. Senſible goodneſſe is moſt apparant, neere, and preſent; which cauſeth the appetite to bee therewith ſtrongly provoked. Now purſuit and refuſall in the will do follow, the one the affirmation, the other the negation of goodneſſe; which the underſtanding apprehendeth, grounding it ſelfe upon ſenſe, unleſſe ſome higher reaſon do chance to teach the contrary. And if reaſon have taught it rightly to be good, yet not ſo apparantly that the mind receiveth it with utter impoſſibility of being otherwiſe; ſtill there is place left for the will to take or leave. Whereas therefore amongſt ſo many things as are to be done, there are ſo few, the goodneſſe whereof reaſon in ſuch ſort doth or eaſily can diſcover; we are not to marvaile at the choyce of evill, even then when the contrary is probably

O mihi præteritos referat ſi Iuppiter annos!

Alcin. de dogmat. Plat. Εἰ δέ τις ἐπὶ κακίαν ὁρμᾷ πρῶτον μὲν ἐχ ὡς ἐπὶ κακίαν αὐτῷ ὁρμήσῃ ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθόν. *Paulo poſt.* Ἀδύνατον γὰρ ὅρμην ἐπὶ κακὰ ϛυλόμενον ἔχειν αὐτὰ ἕτε ἑλων. δι ἀγαθῶ ἐπιφόβω μείζονες κακῶ.

bably known. Hereby it commeth to paſſe, that cuſtome inuring the mind by long practice, and ſo leaving there a ſenſible impreſſion, prevaileth more than reaſonable perſwaſion what way ſoever. Reaſon therefore may rightly diſcerne the thing which is good, and yet the will of man not incline it ſelf thereunto, as oft as the prejudice of ſenſible experience doth overſway. Nor let any man think that this doth make any thing for the juſt excuſe of iniquity. For there was never ſin committed, wherein a leſſe good was not preferred before a greater, and that wilfully; which cannot be done without the ſingular diſgrace of nature, and the utter diſturbance of that divine Order, wherby the preeminence of chiefeſt acceptation is by the beſt things worthily challenged. There is not that good which concerneth us, but it hath evidence enough for it ſelf, if reaſon were diligent to ſearch it out. Through neglect thereof, abuſed we are with the ſhew of that which is not; ſomtimes the ſubtility of Satan inveagling us, as it did [a] *Eve*; ſomtimes the haſtineſſe of our wils preventing the more conſiderate advice of ſound reaſon, as in [b] the Apoſtles, when they no ſooner ſaw what they liked not, but they forthwith were deſirous of fire from Heaven; ſomtimes the very cuſtom of evill, making the heart obdurate againſt whatſoever inſtructions to the contrary, as in them over whom our Saviour ſpake weeping, *O Ieruſalem, how often, and thou wouldſt not?* Still therefore that wherewith we ſtand blameable, and can no way excuſe it, is, In doing evill, we preferre a leſſe good before a greater, the greatneſſe whereof is by reaſon inveſtigable and may bee known. The ſearch of knowledge is a thing painfull; and the painfulneſſe of knowledge is that which maketh the will ſo hardly inclinable thereunto. The root hereof, divine malediction; wherby [c] the inſtruments being weakned wherewithall the ſoule (eſpecially in reaſoning) doth work, it preferreth reſt in ignorance, before wearifom labour to know. For a ſpurre of diligence therfore we have a naturall thirſt after knowledge, ingrafted in us. But by reaſon of that originall weakneſſe in the inſtruments, without which the underſtanding part is not able in this World by diſcourſe to work, the very conceit of painfulneſſe is as a bridle to ſtay us. For which cauſe the Apoſtle who knew right well, that the wearineſſe of the fleſh is an heavy clog to the will, ſtriketh mightily upon this Key, *Awake, thou that ſleepeſt, Caſt off all which preſſeth down, Watch, labor, ſtrive to go forward and to grow in knowledge.*

a 2 *Cor.* 11. 3.
b *Luke* 9. 51.
c *Mat.* 23. 37.
d *Sap.* 9. 15. A corruptible body is heavy unto the ſoule & the earthly Manſion keepeth down the mind that is ful of cares. And hardly can we diſcerne the things that are upon Earth, and with great labour find we out the things which are before us. Who can then ſeeke out the things that are in Heaven?
Epheſ. 5. 14.
Heb. 12. 1, 2.
1 *Cor.* 16. 15.
Pro. 2. 4.
Luke 13. 24.

Of the natural way of finding out Laws by reaſon, to guide the will unto that which is good.

8 Wherefore to returne to our former intent in diſcovering the naturall way, whereby Rules have been found out concerning that goodneſſe wherewith the will of man ought to be moved in humane actions; As every thing naturally and neceſſarily doth deſire the utmoſt good and greateſt perfection whereof Nature hath made it capable, even ſo man. Our felicity therefore being the object and accompliſhment of our deſire, we cannot chooſe but wiſh and covet it. All particular things which are ſubject unto action, the will doth ſo far forth incline unto, as reaſon judgeth them the better for us, and conſequently the more availeable to our bliſſe. If reaſon erre, we fall into evill, & are ſo far forth deprived of the generall perfection we ſeek. Seeing therefore that for the framing of mens actions, the knowledge of good from evill is neceſſary; it only reſteth that wee ſearch how this may be had. Neither muſt we ſuppoſe that there needeth one rule to know the good, and another the evill by. For he that knoweth what

what is ſtraight, doth even thereby diſcerne what is crooked, becauſe the abſence of ſtraightneſſe in bodies capable thereof is crookedneſſe. Goodneſſe in actions is like unto ſtraitneſſe; wherfore that which is done well we terme right. For as the ſtraight way is moſt acceptable to him that travaileth, becauſe by it he commeth ſooneſt to his journeys end: ſo in action, that which doth lye the eveneſt between us, and the end we deſire, muſt needs be the fitteſt for our uſe. Beſides which fitneſſe for uſe, there is alſo in rectitude, beauty; as contrariwiſe in obliquity, deformity. And that which is good in the actions of men, doth not only delight as profitable, but as amiable alſo. In which conſideration the Grecians moſt divinely have given to the active perfection of men, a name expreſſing both beauty and goodneſſe, becauſe goodneſſe in ordinary ſpeech is for the moſt part applyed only to that which is beneficiall. But we in the name of goodneſſe, do here imply both. And of diſcerning goodneſſe there are but theſe two wayes; the one the knowledge of the cauſe whereby it is made ſuch; the other the obſervation of thoſe ſignes and tokens, which being annexed alwayes unto goodneſſe, argue that where they are found, there alſo goodneſſe is, although we know not the cauſe by force whereof it is there. The former of theſe is the moſt ſure and infallible way, but ſo hard that all ſhun it, and had rather walke as men do in the dark by hap-hazard, then tread ſo long and intricate Mazes for knowledge ſake. As therefore Phyſicians are many times forced to leave ſuch Methods of curing as themſelves know to be the fitteſt, and being over-ruled by their Patients impatiency are faine to try the beſt they can, in taking that way of cure, which the cured will yeeld unto: in like ſort, conſidering how the caſe doth ſtand with this preſent age full of tongue and weake of braine, behold we yeeld to the ſtreame thereof; into the cauſes of goodneſſe we will not make any curious or deepe inquiry; to touch them now and then it ſhall be ſufficient, when they are ſo neere at hand that eaſily they may be conceived without any farre removed diſcourſe: that way we are contented to prove, which being the worſe in it ſelfe, is notwithſtanding now by reaſon of common imbecillity the fitter and likelier to be brookt. Signes and tokens to know good by, are of ſundry kindes: ſome more certaine, and ſome leſſe. The moſt certaine token of evident goodneſſe is, if the generall perſwaſion of all men do ſo account it. And therefore a common received error is never utterly overthrowne, till ſuch times as we go from ſignes unto cauſes, and ſhew ſome manifeſt root or fountaine thereof common unto all, whereby it may cleerly appeare how it hath come to paſſe that ſo many have been over-ſeene. In which caſe ſurmiſes and ſleight probabilities will not ſerve; becauſe the univerſall conſent of men is the perfecteſt and ſtrongeſt in this kind which comprehendeth only the ſignes and tokens of goodneſſe. Things caſuall do vary, and that which a man doth but chance to think well of, cannot ſtill have the like hap. Wherefore although we know not the cauſe, yet thus much we may know, that ſome neceſſary cauſe there is, whenſoever the judgements of all men generally, or for the moſt part, run one and the ſame way, eſpecially in matters of naturall diſcourſe. For of things neceſſarily and naturally done there is no more affirmed but this, [a] *They keep either alwayes or for the moſt part one tenure.* The generall and perpetuall voyce of men is as the ſentence of God himſelfe.

Τῷ ἰυθεῖ ἡδὺ τὸ καμπύλον γιινώσκομεν. Κρίσις γὰρ ἀμφοῖν ὁ κανών. *Ariſt. dean. l. 1.*

Καλοκἀγαθία.

[a] ἢ ἀεὶ ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀποβαίνει.

[a] For

[a] For that which all men have at all times learned, Nature her ſelfe muſt needs have taught; and God being the Author of Nature, her voyce is but his inſtrument. By her from him we receive what ſoever in ſuch ſort we learn. Infinite duties there are, the goodneſſe whereof is by this rule ſufficiently manifeſted, although we had no other warrant beſides to approve them. The Apoſtle S. *Paul* having ſpeech concerning the heathen, ſaith of them, [b] *They are a law unto themſelves.* His meaning is, that by force of the light of reaſon, wherewith God illuminateth every one which commeth into the World, men being inabled to know Truth from falſhood, and good from evill, do thereby learne in many things what the Will of God is; which will himſelf not revealing by any extraordinary means unto them, but they by naturall diſcourſe attaining the knowledge thereof, ſeem the makers of thoſe Lawes which indeed are his, and they but only the finders of them out. A Law therfore generally taken, is a directive rule unto goodneſſe of operation. The rule of divine operations outward, is the definitive appointment of Gods own Wiſdom ſet down within himſelf. The rule of naturall agents that work by ſimple neceſſity, is the determination of the Wiſdome of God, known to God himſelfe the principall director of them, but not unto them that are directed to execute the ſame. The rule of naturall agents which work after a ſort of their own accord, as the beaſts do, is the judgement of common ſenſe or fancy concerning the ſenſible goodneſſe of thoſe objects wherewith they are moved. The rule of ghoſtly or immateriall natures, as Spirits and Angels, is their intuitive intellectuall judgement concerning the amiable beauty & high goodnes of that object, which with unſpeakable joy and delight doth ſet them on work. The rule of voluntary agents on earth, is the ſentence that reaſon giveth concerning the goodnes of thoſe things which they are to do. And the ſentences which reaſon giveth, are ſome more, ſome leſſe generall, before it come to define into particular actions what is good. The main principles of reaſon are in themſelves apparent. For to make nothing evident of it ſelfe unto mans underſtanding, were to take away all poſſibility of knowing any thing. And herein that of *Theophraſtus* is true, *They that ſeek a reaſon of al things do utterly overthrow reaſon.* In every kind of knowledge ſome ſuch grounds there are, as that being propoſed, the mind doth preſently imbrace them as free from all poſſibility of error, cleere & manifeſt without proofe. In which kind, axiomes or principles more general are ſuch as this, *That the greater good is to be choſen before the leſſe.* If therfore it ſhould be demanded, what reaſon there is why the wil of man, which doth neceſſarily ſhun harme, & covet what ſoever is pleaſant & ſweet, ſhould be commanded to count the pleaſures of ſin, gall, and notwithſtanding the bitter accidents wherewith vertuous actions are compaſt, yet ſtill to rejoyce and delight in them; ſurely this could never ſtand with reaſon: but that wiſdome thus preſcribing, groundeth her Laws upon an infallible rule of compariſon, which is, that ſmall difficulties, when exceeding great, good is ſure to enſue; and on the other ſide momentany benefits, when the hurt which they draw after them is unſpeakeable, are not at all to be reſpected. This rule is the ground whereupon the Wiſdome of the Apoſtle buildeth a Law, injoyning patience unto himſelfe; *The preſent lightneſſe of our affliction worketh unto us even with abundance upon abundance, an eternall*

waight

a *Non poteſt error contingere, ubi omnes idem opinantur,* Monticat. *in* 1. *Polit. Quicquid in omnibus individuis unius ſpeciei cõmuniter ineſt, id caſum communem habeat oportet, quæ eſt eorũ indiuiduorũ ſpecies & natura.* Idem. *Quod à tota aliqua ſpecie ſit, univerſalis particulariſq; naturæ ſit inſtinctu.* Ficin. *de Chriſt. relig. Si proficere cupis, primò firmè id verum puta quod ſana mens omnium hominum atteſtatur.* Cuſa. *in compend. cap.* 1. *Non licet naturale univerſaleque hominum judicium falſum vanumque exiſtimare.* Teleſ. Οὐ γὰρ πάσι δοκεῖ, τοῦτο εἶναι φάμεν ὃ δὲ ἀναίρων λόγων τὴν πίστιν, οὐ πάντων πισότερα ἐρεῖ, Ariſt. *Eth.* 10. *cap.* 2.

b *Rom.* 2. 14.

Ἀπάντων ξυτοῦντες λόγον, ἀναιρεῖ λόγον Theoph. *in Metaph.*

2 *Cor.* 4 17.

waight of glory, while we looke not on the things which are ſeene, but on the things which are not ſeen. For the things which are ſeen are temporall, but the things which are not ſeen eternall. Therefore Chriſtianity to be embraced, whatſoever calamities in thoſe times it was accompanied withall. Vpon the ſame ground our Saviour proveth the law moſt reaſonable, that doth forbid thoſe crimes which men for gaines-ſake fall into. For a man to win the World, if it be with the loſſe of his ſoule, what benefit or good is it? Axiomes leſſe generall, yet ſo manifeſt that they need no further proofe, are ſuch as theſe; *God to bee worſhipped, Parents to be honoured, Others to be uſed by us as wee our ſelves would by them.* Sueh things, aſſoon as they are alledged, all men acknowledge to be good; they require no proof or farther diſcourſe to be aſſured of their goodneſſe. Notwihſtanding, whatſoever ſuch principle there is, it was at the firſt found out by diſcourſe, and drawn from out of the very bowels of Heaven and Earth. For we are to note, that things in the World are to us diſcernable, not only ſo far forth as ſerveth for our vitall preſervation, but farther alſo in a two-fold higher reſpect. For firſt if all other uſes were utterly taken away; yet the mind of man being by nature ſpeculative and delighted with contemplation in it ſelfe, they were to be known even for meere knowledge and underſtanding ſake. Yea farther beſides this, the knowledge of every the leaſt thing in the World, hath in it a ſecond peculiar benefit unto us, in as much as it ſerveth to miniſter Rules, Canons, and Laws for men to direct thoſe actions by, which we properly terme humane. This did the very Heathen themſelves obſcurely inſinuate, by making *Themis* which we call *Ius* or Right, to be the Daughter of Heaven and Earth. We know things either as they are in themſelves, or as they are in mutuall relation one to another. The knowledge of that which man is in reference unto himſelfe, and other things in relation unto man, I may juſtly terme the Mother of all thoſe principles, which are as it were edicts, ſtatutes, and decrees in that law of nature, wherby humane actions are framed. Firſt therfore having obſerved that the beſt things, where they are not hindered, do ſtill produce the beſt operations; (for which cauſe where many things are to concurre unto one effect, the beſt is in all congruity of reaſon to guide the reſidue, that it prevailing moſt, the work principally done by it may have greateſt perfection:) when hereupon we come to obſerve in our ſelves, of what excellency our ſoules are in compariſon of our bodies, and the diviner part in relation unto the baſer of our ſoules; ſeeing that all theſe concurre in producing humane actions, it cannot be well unleſſe the chiefeſt do command and direct the reſt. The ſoule then ought to conduct the body, and the ſpirit of our minds the ſoule. This is therfore the firſt Law, wherby the higheſt power of the mind requireth generall obedience at the hands of all the reſt concurring with it unto action. Touching the ſeveral grand Mandates, which being impoſed by the underſtanding faculty of the mind, muſt be obeyed by the will of man, they are by the ſame method found out, whether they import our duty toward God or towards man. Touching the one, I may not here ſtand to open, by what degrees of diſcourſe the minds even of meere naturall men, have attained to know, not only that there is a God, but alſo what power, force, wiſdome and other properties that God hath, and how all things depend on him. This being therefore preſuppoſed, from that knowne

Math. 16. 26.

Ariſt. polit. l. 1. cap. 5.

relation

relation which God hath unto us [a] as unto children, & unto all good things as unto effects, whereof himselfe is the [b] principall cause, these axiomes and Laws natural concerning our duty have arisen; [c] *That in all things we go about, his aid is by prayer to be craved*; [d] *That he cannot have sufficient honor done unto him, but the uttermost of that we can do to honour him we must*; which is in effect the same that we read, [e] *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soule, and with all thy mind.* Which Law our Saviour doth terme the [f] *First and the great Cõmandement.* Touching the next, which as our Saviour addeth, is like unto this (he meaneth in amplitude and largenesse, in as much as it is the root out of which al laws of duty to men-ward have grown, as out of the former all offices of religion towards God) the like naturall inducement hath brought men to know, that it is their duty no lesse to love others than themselves. For seeing those things wch are equall, must needs all have one measure: if I cannot but wish to receive all good, even as much at every mans hand as any man can wish unto his own soul; how should I look to have any part of my desire herein satisfied, unlesse my self be carefull to satisfie the like desire, which is undoubtedly in other men, we all being of one and the same nature? To have any thing offered them repugnant to this desire, must needs in all respects grieve them as much as me: so that if I do harm, I must look to suffer; there being no reason that others should shew greater measure of love to me, then they have by me shewed unto them. My desire therefore to be loved of my equals in nature as much as possible may be, imposeth upon me a naturall duty of bearing to them-ward fully the like affection. From which relation of equality between our selves and them that are as our selves, what severall rules and Canons naturall reason hath drawn for direction of life, no man is ignorant; as namely, [g] *That because we would take no harme, we must therefore do none*; *That sith we would not be in any thing extremely dealt with, we must our selves avoid all extremity in our dealings*; *That from all violence and wrong we are utterly to abstain*, with such like; which further to wade in would be tedious, and to our present purpose not altogether so necessary, seeing that on these two generall heads already mentioned, all other specialties are dependent. Wherefore the naturall measure whereby to judge our doings, is the sentence of reason, determining and setting down what is good to be done. Which sentence is either mandatory, shewing what must be done; or else permissive, declaring only what may be done; or thirdly admonitory, opening what is the most convenient for us to do. The first taketh place, where the comparison doth stand altogether between doing & not doing of one thing which in it self is absolutely good or evill; as it had been for *Ioseph* to yeeld or not to yeeld to the impotent desire of his lewd mistresse, the one evill, the other good simply. The second is, when of diverse things evill, all being not evitable, we are permitted to take one; which one saving onely in case of so great urgency were not otherwise to be taken; as in the matter of divorce amongst the Iewes. The last, when of divers things good, one is principall and most eminent; as in their act who sold their possessions and layd the price at the Apostles feet, which possessions they might have retained unto themselves without sin; again in the Apostle S. *Pauls* own choice to maintain himself by his own labour, whereas in

living

a Οὐδεὶς θεὸς οὕτως ἀνθρώποις. *Plat. in Theet.*
b Ὁ τέ γὰρ θεὸς δοκεῖ τὸ αἴτιον πᾶσιν εἶναι ἀγαθῶν. *Arist. Metap. lib. 1. cap. 2.*
c Ἀλλ' ὦ Σώκρατες τοῦτο γε δὴ πάντες ὅσοι καλῶς πράττουσι σωφροσύνης μετέχουσιν, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὁρμῶ καὶ μικρῷ καὶ μεγάλῳ πράγματι θεὸν αἰεὶ παρακαλοῦσι. *Plat. in Tim.*
d *Arist. Et ic. lib. 8. cap. ult.*
e *Deut. 6. 5.*
f *Mat. 22. 38.*
g *Quod quis in se approbat, in alio reprobare non possit. l. in arenam C. de inoff. test. Quod quisque juris in alium statuerit, ipsum quoque eodem uti debere. l. quod quisque Ab omni penitus injuriâ atq; vi abstinendum. l. 1. §. 2. quod vi, aut cla.*
Mat. 22. 40 On these two Commandements hang the whole law.
Gen. 39. 9.
Marke 10 4.
Acts 4. 37.
Acts 5. 4.
2 *Thes. 3. 8.*

living by the Churches maintenance, as others did, there had been no offence committed. In goodneſſe therefore there is a latitude or extent, whereby it commeth to paſſe that even of good actions ſome are better than other ſome; whereas otherwiſe one man could not excell another, but all ſhould bee either abſolutly good, as hitting jump that indiviſible point or center wherein goodneſſe conſiſteth; or elſe miſſing it, they ſhould be excluded out of the number of weldoers. Degrees of wel-doing there could be none except perhaps in the ſeldomneſſe and ofttenneſſe of doing well. But the nature of goodneſſe being thus ample, a Law is properly that which reaſon in ſuch ſort defineth to be good that it muſt be done. And the Law of Reaſon or Humane Nature is that which men by diſcourſe of naturall Reaſon have rightly found out themſelves to be all for ever bound unto in their actions. Laws of Reaſon have theſe marks to be known by. Such as keepe them, reſemble moſt lively in their voluntary actions, that very manner of working which Nature her ſelf doth neceſſarily obſerve in the courſe of the whole World. The works of Nature are all behovefull, beautifull, without ſuperfluity or defect: even ſo theirs, if they be ſo framed according to that which the Law of Reaſon teacheth. Secondly, thoſe laws are inveſtigable by reaſon, without the help of revelation ſupernaturall and divine. Finally, in ſuch ſort they are inveſtigable, that the knowledge of them is generall, the World hath always been acquainted with them; according to that which one in *Sophocles* obſerveth concerning a branch of this Law, *It is no child of two dayes or yeſterdayes birth, but hath been no man knoweth how long ſithence.* It is not agreed upon by one, or two, or few, but by all: which we may not ſo underſtand, as if every particular man in the whole World did know and confeſſe whatſoever the Law of Reaſon doth contain; but this law is ſuch, that being propoſed, no man can reject it as unreaſonable and unjuſt. Again, there is nothing in it, but any man (having naturall perfection of wit, and ripeneſſe of judgement) may by labour and travaile find out. And to conclude, the generall principles thereof are ſuch, as it is not eaſie to find men ignorant of them. Law Rationall therfore, which men commonly uſe to cal the Law of Nature, meaning thereby the Law which humane Nature knoweth it ſelf in reaſon univerſally bound unto, which alſo for that cauſe may be termed moſt fitly the Law of reaſon: this Law, I ſay, comprehendeth all thoſe things which men by the light of their naturall underſtanding evidently know, or at leaſt wiſe may know, to be beſeeming or unbeſeeming, vertuous or vicious, good or evill for them to do. Now, although it be true, which ſome have ſaid, that whatſoever is done amiſſe the Law of Nature & Reaſon therby is tranſgreſt; becauſe even thoſe offences which are by their ſpeciall qualities breaches of ſupernaturall Laws, do alſo, for that they are generally evill, violate in generall that principle of Reaſon, which willeth univerſally to fly from evill: yet do we not therefore ſo far extend the Law of Reaſon, as to contain in it all maner Laws wherunto reaſonable creatures are bound; but (as hath been ſhewed) wee reſtrain it to thoſe only duties, which all men by force of naturall wit either do or might underſtand to be ſuch duties as concerne all men. *Certain halfe-waking men there are* (as St. *Auguſtine* noteth) *who neither altogether aſleep in folly, nor yet thorowly awake in the light of true underſtanding, have thought that there is not at all any thing juſt and righteous in it ſelfe: but looke wherewith Nations are inured, the*

ὑγιὲς τι πῶϛ τὸ κἀχθὲς ἀλλ' ἀεί τοτ' ἔσται. Σὴ τῦ τοῦ' ἐδεὶς ὅθεν ἔφυ.

Th. 1, 2 q. 94. ar. 3. Omni peccata ſunt in univerſum contra rationem & naturæ legem, Aug. de Civit. Dei. lib. 12. cap. 1. *Omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac proinde contra naturam eſt.* De Doct. Chriſt. lib. 3. cap. 14.

the ſame they take to be right and juſt. Whereupon their Concluſion is, that ſeeing each ſort of people hath a different kind of right from other, and that which is right of it own nature, muſt be every where one and the ſame, therefore in it ſelfe there is nothing right. Theſe good folke (ſaith he, *that I may not trouble their wits with rehearſall of too many things*) *have not looked ſo farre into the world as to perceive, that,* Doe as thou wouldeſt be done unto, *is a ſentence which all Nations under Heaven are agreed upon. Refer this ſentence to the love of God, and it extinguiſheth all hainous crimes: Refer it to the love of thy Neighbour, and all grievous wrongs it baniſheth out of the world.* Wherefore, as touching the Law of Reaſon, this was (it ſeemeth) Saint *Auguſtines* judgement, namely, that there are in it ſome things which ſtand as Principles univerſally agreed upon: and that out of thoſe Principles, which are in themſelves evident, the greateſt morall duties we owe towards God or Man, may without any great difficulty be concluded. If then it be here demanded, by what meanes it ſhould come to paſſe (the greateſt part of the Law morall being ſo eaſie for all men to know) that ſo many thouſands of men notwithſtanding have been ignorant even of principall morall duties, not imagining the breach of them to be ſin: I deny not, but lewd and wicked cuſtome, beginning perhaps at the firſt amongſt few, afterwards ſpreading into greater multitudes, and ſo continuing from time to time, may bee of force even in plaine things to ſmother the light of naturall underſtanding, becauſe men will not bend their wits to examine, whether things wherwith they have been accuſtomed, be good or evill. For examples ſake, that groſſer kind of Heatheniſh Idolatry, whereby they worſhipped the very works of their own hands, was an abſurdity to reaſon ſo palpable, that the Prophet *David* comparing Idols and Idolaters together, maketh almoſt no oddes between them, but the one in a manner as much without wit and ſenſe as the other. *They that make them are like unto them, and ſo are all that truſt in them.* That wherein an Idolater doth ſeeme ſo abſurd and fooliſh, is by the Wiſeman thus expreſt, *He is not aſhamed to ſpeake unto that which hath no life: He calleth on him that is weake, for health; He prayeth for life unto him, which is dead; Of him, which hath no experience, he requireth helpe; For his journey he ſueth to him, which is not able to go; For gaine, and work, and ſucceſſe in his affaires, he ſeeketh furtherance of him that hath no manner of power.* The cauſe of which ſenſeleſſe ſtupidity is afterwards imputed to cuſtome, *When a father mourned grieuouſly for his ſonne that was taken away ſuddenly, he made an Image for him that was once dead, whom now he worſhiped as a God, ordayning to his ſervants ceremonies and ſacrifices. Thus by proceſſe of time this wicked cuſtome prevailed, and was kept as a Law*; the authority of Rulers, the ambition of Craſts-men, and ſuch like meanes thruſting forwards the ignorant, and increaſing their ſuperſtition. Vnto this which the Wiſeman hath ſpoken, ſomewhat beſides may be added. For whatſoever we have hitherto taught, or ſhall hereafter, concerning the force of mans naturall underſtanding, this we alwayes deſire withall to be underſtood, that there is no kind of faculty or power in man or any other creature, which can rightly performe the functions allotted to it, without perpetuall ayde and concurrence of that ſupreme cauſe of all things. The benefit whereof as oft as wee cauſe God in his juſtice to with-draw, there can no other things follow then that which the Apoſtle noteth, even men indued with

Pſal. 115. 18.

Wiſd. 13. 17.

Wiſd. 14. 12.

with the light of Reaſon to walke notwithſtanding *in the vanity of their mind, having their cogitations darkned, and being ſtrangers from the life of God through the ignorance which is in them, becauſe of the hardneſſe of their hearts.* And this cauſe is mentioned by the Prophet *Eſay*, ſpeaking of the ignorance of Idolaters, who ſee not how the manifeſt Law of Reaſon condemneth their groſſe iniquity and ſin. They have not in them, ſaith he, ſo much wit as to think, *Shall I bow to the ſtock of a tree? All Knowledge and Vnderſtanding is taken from them. For God hath ſhut their eyes that they cannot ſee.* That which we ſay in this cauſe of Idolatry, ſerveth for all other things, wherein the like kind of generall blindneſſe hath prevailed againſt the manifeſt Lawes of Reaſon. Within the compaſſe of which Lawes we do not only comprehend whatſoever may bee eaſily known to belong to the duty of all men; but even whatſoever may poſſibly be known to bee of that quality, ſo that the ſame be by *neceſſary* conſequence deduced out of cleere and manifeſt principles: For if once we deſcend unto probable collections what is convenient for men, we are then in the Territory where free and arbitrary determinations, the Territory where humane Laws take place, which Laws are after to be conſidered.

Epheſ. 4. 17.

Eſa. 44. 18, 19.

9 Now the due obſervation of this Law which Reaſon teacheth us, cannot but be effectuall unto their great good that obſerve the ſame. For we ſee the whole World and each part thereof ſo compacted, that as long as each thing performeth only that work which is naturall unto it, it thereby preſerveth both other things, and alſo it ſelfe. Contrariwiſe, let any principall thing, as the Sun, the Moon, any of the Heavens or Elements, but once ceaſe or faile, or ſwarve; and who doth not eaſily conceive that the ſequell therof would be ruine both to it ſelfe, and whatſoever dependeth on it? And is it poſſible that man, being not only the nobleſt Creature in the World, but even a very World in himſelfe, his tranſgreſſing the Law of his Nature ſhould draw no manner of harme after it? Yes, *tribulations, and anguiſh unto every ſoule that doth evill.* Good doth follow unto all things by obſerving the the courſe of their nature, and on the contrary ſide evill by not obſerving it: but not unto naturall Agents that good which we call *Reward*, not that evill which we properly terme *Puniſhment*. The reaſon wherof is, becauſe amongſt creatures in this world, only mans obſervation of the Law of his Nature is *Righteouſneſſe*, only mans tranſgreſſion *Sin*. And the reaſon of this is, the difference in his maner of obſerving or tranſgreſſing the Law of his nature. He doth not otherwiſe then voluntarily the one or the other. What we do againſt our wils, or conſtrainedly, we are not properly ſaid to do it; becauſe the motive cauſe of doing it is not in our ſelves, but carrieth us, as if the wind ſhould drive a Feather in the Aire, we no whit furthering that whereby we are driven. In ſuch caſes therefore the evill which is done, mooveth compaſſion; men are pitied for it, as being rather miſerable in ſuch reſpect than culpable. Some things are likewiſe done by man, though not through outward force and impulſion, though not againſt, yet without their wils; as in alienation of mind, or any the like inevitable utter abſence of wit and judgement. For which cauſe, no man did ever think the hurtfull actions of furious Men and Innocents to bee puniſhable. Again, ſome things we do neither againſt nor without, and yet not ſimply and meerely

The benefit of keeping that law which reaſon teacheth.

with

with our wils but with our wils in such sort moved, that albeit there bee no impossibility but that we might, nevertheless we are not so easily able to do otherwise. In this consideration one evill deed is made more pardonable than another. Finally, that which we do being evill, is notwithstanding by so much more pardonable, by how much the exigence of so doing, or the difficulty of doing otherwise is greater; unless this necessity or difficulty have originally risen from our selves. It is no excuse therefore unto him, who being drunk committeth incest, and alleageth that his wits were not his own; in as much as himselfe might have chosen whether his wits should by that meane have been taken from him. Now rewards and punishments do alwayes presuppose some thing willingly done well or ill; without which respect though we may sometimes receive good or harme, yet then the one is only a benefit, and not a reward; the other simply an hurt, not a punishment. From the sundry dispositions of mans will, which is the root of all his actions, there groweth variety in the sequell of rewards and punishments, which are by these and the like rules measured: *Take away the will, and all acts are equall: That which wee doe not and would doe, is commonly accepted as done.* By these and the like Rules mens actions are determined of and judged, whether they be in their own nature rewardable or punishable. Rewards and punishments are not received, but at the hands of such as being above us, have power to examine and judge our deeds. How men come to have this authority one over another in externall actions, we shall more diligently examine in that which followeth. But for this present, so much all do acknowledge, that sith every mans heart and conscience doth in good or evill, even secretly committed and known to none but it selfe, either like or disallow it selfe, and accordingly either rejoyce, very nature exulting as it were in certain hope of reward, or else grieve as it were in a sense of future punishment; neither of which can in this case be looked for from any other, saving only from him, who discerneth and judgeth the very secrets of all hearts: therefore he is the only Rewarder and Revenger of all such actions, although not of such actions only, but of all whereby the Law of nature is broken, whereof himselfe is Author. For which cause, the Roman Laws, called the Laws of the twelve Tables, requiring offices of inward affection, which the eye of man cannot reach unto, threaten the Neglecters of them with none but divine punishment.

10 That which hitherto wee have set downe, is (I hope) sufficient to shew their brutishnesse, which imagine that Religion and Vertue are only as men will account of them; that we might make as much account, if we would, of the contrary, without any harme unto our selves, and that in nature they are as indifferent one as the other. Wee see then how nature it selfe teacheth Laws and Statutes to live by. The Laws which have been hitherto mentioned, do bind men absolutly, even as they are men, although they have never any setled fellowship, never any solemne agreement amongst themselves what to do or not to do? But forasmuch as we are not by our selves sufficient to furnish our selves with competent store of things needfull for such a life as our nature doth desire, a life fit for the dignity of man: therefore to supply those defects and imperfections which are in us living single and solely by our selves, we are naturally induced

to

Voluntate sublatâ, omnem sanctum putem esse. Cic. de Adult. Bonam voluntatem plerumque pro facto reputari l. si quis in Testamento.

Divos casse adcunto, pietatem ad ibento. Quis secus faxit, Deus ipse vindex erit. How Reason doth lead men unto the making of humane Laws, whereby politike societies are governed, and to agreement about Lawes, whereby the Fellowship or Communion of independent society standeth.

Εστι γαρ ὁμαγετυοσυνη πάντες φυσει κοινὸν δίκαιον ἐᾶν δικαιον καν μηδεμια κοινωνια πρὸς ἀλλήλους μηδὲ συνθήκη Arist. Rhet. 1.

to ſeek communion and fellowſhip with others. This was the cauſe of mens uniting themſelves at the firſt in politick ſocieties, which ſocieties could not be without government, nor government without a diſtinct kind of law from that which hath been already declared. Two foundations there are which bear up publick ſocieties; the one, a naturall inclination, whereby all men deſire ſociable life and fellowſhip; the other, an order expreſly or ſecretly agreed upon, touching the manner of their union in living together. The later is that which we call the law of a Common-weale, the very ſoul of a politick body, the parts whereof are by law animated, held together, & ſet on work in ſuch actions as the common good requireth. Lawes politick, ordained for externall order & regiment amongſt men, are never framed as they ſhould be, unleſſe preſuming the will of man to be inwardly obſtinate, rebellious, & averſe, from all obedience unto the ſacred lawes of his nature; in a word, unleſſe preſuming man to be in regard of his depraved minde, little better than a wilde beaſt, they do accordingly provide notwithſtanding ſo to frame his outward actions, that they be no hinderance unto the common good for which ſocieties are inſtituted: unleſſe they do this, they are not perfect. It reſteth therfore that we conſider how nature findeth out ſuch lawes of government, as ſerve to direct even nature depraved to a right end. All men deſire to lead in this world a happy life. The life is led moſt happily, wherein all vertue is exerciſed without impediment or let. The Apoſtle in exhorting men to cõtentment, although they have in this world no more than very bare food and raiment, giveth us thereby to underſtand, that thoſe are even the loweſt of things neceſſary, that if we ſhould be ſtripped of all thoſe things without which we might poſſibly be, yet theſe muſt be left; that deſtitution in theſe is ſuch an impediment, as till it be removed, ſuffereth not the minde of man to admit any other care. For this cauſe firſt God aſſigned *Adam* maintenance of life, and then appointed him a law to obſerve. For this cauſe after men began to grow to a number, the firſt thing we reade they gave themſelves unto, was the tilling of the earth, and the feeding of cattell. Having by this mean whereon to live, the principall actions of their life afterward are noted by the exerciſe of their religion. True it is, that the Kingdome of God muſt be the firſt thing in our purpoſes and deſires. But in as much as righteous life preſuppoſeth life, in as much as to live vertuouſly it is impoſſible except we live; therefore the firſt impediment, which naturally we endeavour to remove, is penury & want of things without wch we cannot live. Vnto life many implements are neceſſary; moe, if we ſeek (as al men naturally do) ſuch a life as hath in it joy, comfort, delight, & pleaſure. To this end we ſee how quickly ſundry Arts Mechanicall were found out in the very prime of the world. As things of greateſt neceſſity are alwayes firſt provided for, ſo things of greateſt dignity are moſt accounted of by all ſuch as judge rightly. Although therefore riches be a thing which every man wiſheth; yet no man of judgement can eſteeme it better to be rich, than wiſe, vertuous, and religious. If we be both or either of theſe, it is not becauſe we are ſo born. For in the world we come as empty of the one as of the other, as naked in mind as we are in body. Both which neceſſities of man had at the firſt no other helps and ſupplies, than an only domeſticall; ſuch as that which the Prophet implyeth, ſaying, *Can a mother forget*

1 *Tim.* 6. 8.

Gen. 1. 29.
Gen. 2. 17.
Gen. 4. 2.
Gen. 4. 26.
Matth. 6. 33.

Gen 4. 20, 21, 22

Eſay 49. 15.

1 Tim. 5. 8. *her childe?* Such as that which the Apostle mentioneth, saying; *He that careth not for his own is worse than an infidell*; such as that concerning *Abraham*, Gen. 18. 19. *Abraham will command his sons and his household after him, that they keep the way of the Lord.* But neither that which we learn of our selves, nor that which others teach us can prevaile, where wickednesse and malice have taken deep Gen. 4. 8. root. If therfore when there was but as yet one only family in the world, no means of instruction humane or divine, could prevent effusion of blood: how could it be chosen but that when families, were multiplied and increased upon earth, after separation, each providing for it self, envie, strife, contenti- Gen. 6. 5. on, and violence, must grow amongst them? For hath not nature furnisht Gen. 5. man with wit and valour, and as it were with armour, which may be used as well unto extream evill as good? yea, were they not used by the rest of the world unto evill; unto the contrary only by *Seth*, *Enoch*, and those few the rest in that line? We all make complaint of the iniquity of our times not unjustly, for the dayes are evill. But compare them with those times, wherein there were no civill societies, with those times wherein there was as yet no manner of publick regiment established, with those times wherein there 2 Pet. 2. 5. were not above eight righteous persons living upon the face of the earth; & we have surely good cause to think that God hath blessed us exceedingly, and hath made us behold most happy dayes. To take away all such mutuall greevance, injuries and wrongs, there was no way but only by growing upon composition and agreement amongst themselves, by ordaining some kinde of government publick, and by yeelding themselves subject thereunto; that unto whom they granted authority to rule and governe, by them the peace, tranquility, and happy state of the rest might be procured. Men alwayes knew that when force and injury was offered, they might be defendours of themselves; they knew that howsoever men may seek their own commodity, yet if this were done with injury unto others, it was not to be suffered, but by all men and by all good means to be withstood; finally, they knew that no man might in reason take upon him to determine his own right, and according to his own determination proceed in maintenance thereof, in as much as every man is towards himself, and them whom he greatly affecteth partiall: and therefore that strifes and troubles would be endlesse, except they gave their common consent all to be ordered by some whom they should agree upon: without which consent there were no reason that one man would take upon him to be Lord or Iudge over another; because although there be, according to the opinion of some very great and judicious men, a kinde of naturall right in the noble, wise, and Arist. Pol. lib. 3. & 4. vertuous to govern them which are of servile disposition; nevertheless for manifestation of this their right, and mens more peaceable contentment on both sides, the assent of them who are to be governed, seemeth necessary. To Fathers within their private families. Nature hath given a supreme power; for which cause we see throughout the world, even from the first foundation thereof, all men have either been taken as Lords and lawfull Kings in their own houses. Howbeit over a whole grand multitude, having no such dependancy upon any one, and consisting of so many Families as every politick society in the world doth, impossible it is that any should have complete lawfull power, but by consent of men, or immediate appointment

ment of God; becauſe not having the naturall ſuperiority of Fathers, their power muſt needs be either uſurped, and then unlawfull; or if lawfull, then either granted or conſented unto by them over whom they exerciſe the ſame or elſe given extraordinarily from God, unto whom all the world is ſubject. It is no improbable opinion therfore which the Arch-Philoſopher was of, that as the chiefeſt perſon in every houſhold was alwayes as it were a King; ſo when numbers of houſholds joyned themſelves in civill ſocieties together, Kings were the firſt kinde of governours amongſt them. Which is alſo (as it ſeemeth) the reaſon, why the name of *Fathers* continued ſtill in them, who of Fathers were made Rulers: as alſo the ancient cuſtome of Governours to do as *Melchiſedec*, and being Kings to exerciſe the office of Prieſts, which Fathers did at the firſt, grew perhaps by the ſame occaſion. Howbeit not this the only kind of regiment that hath been received in the World. The inconveniencies of one kind, hath cauſed ſundry other to be deviſed. So that in a word, all publick regiment, of what kinde ſoever, ſeemeth evidently to have riſen from deliberate advice, conſultation and compoſition between men, judging it convenient and behovefull; there being no impoſſibility in nature conſidered by it ſelf, but that men might have lived without any publick regiment. Howbeit the corruption of our nature being preſuppoſed, we may not deny but that the Law of Nature doth now require of neceſſity ſome kind of regiment; ſo that to bring things unto the firſt courſe they were in, and utterly to take away all kind of publick government in the world, were apparently to overturn the whole world. The caſe of mans nature ſtanding therefore as it doth, ſome kind of regiment the law of nature doth require, yet the kinds therof being many, nature tieth not to any one, but leaveth the choice as a thing arbitrary. At the firſt when ſome certain kind of regiment was once approved, it may be that nothing was thē further thought upon for the manner of governing, but all permitted unto their wiſdome & diſcretion which were to rule; till by experience they found this for al parts very inconvenient, ſo as the thing which they had deviſed for a remedy, did indeed but increaſe the ſore wch it ſhould have cured. They ſaw that to live by one mans will, became the cauſe of all mens miſery. This conſtrained thē to come unto lawes, wherein all men might ſee their duties before hand, and know the penalties of tranſgreſſing them.[a] If things be ſimply good or evill, and withall univerſally ſo acknowledged, there needs no new law to be made for ſuch things. The firſt kind therefore of things appointed by lawes humane, containeth whatſoever being in it ſelf naturally good or evill, is notwithſtanding more ſecret then that it can be diſcerned by every mans preſent conceit, without ſome deeper diſcourſe and judgement. In which diſcourſe, becauſe there is difficulty and poſſibility many wayes to erre, unleſſe ſuch things were ſet down by lawes, many would be ignorant of their duties which now are not; and many that know what they ſhould do, would nevertheleſſe diſſemble it, and to excuſe themſelves pretend ignorance and ſimplicity, which now they cannot. And becauſe the greateſt part of men are ſuch as preferre their own private good before all things, even that good which is ſenſuall, before whatſoever is moſt Divine; and for that the labour of doing good, together with the pleaſure ariſing from the contrary, doth make men for the moſt part ſlower to the one, and proper to the other,

Ariſt. Polit. l. 1. cap. 3. Vide & Platonem in 3. de legibus.

a *Cùm premeretur initio multitudo abiis qui majores opes habebant, ad unum aliquem confugiebant, virtute præſtantem; qui cũ prohiberet injuriâ tenuiores, æquitate conſtituendâ ſummos cum infimis pari jure retinebat. Cum id minus contingeret, leges ſunt inventæ* Cic. Offic. lib. 2. τὸ γοῦν τιμᾶν καὶ φίλους ἐν ποιεῖν καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις χάριν ἀποδιδόναι τοῦτο καὶ τούτοις ὅμοια οὐ προσδέονται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οἱ γεγραμμένοι νόμοι ποιεῖν ἀλλ' ἐνῦσι ἀγράφῳ καὶ κατὰ νόμῳ νομίζεται. Ariſt. Rhet. ad Alex.

a *Tanta eſt enim vis voluptatum, ut & ignorantiam protulerit in occaſionem, & conſcientiâ corrumpat in diſſimulationem.* Tertul. lib de Spectaculi.

other than that duty prescribed them by Law can prevaile sufficiently with them: therefore unto laws that men do make for the benefit of men, it hath seemed alwayes needfull to adde rewards, which may more allure unto good than any hardnesse deterreth from it; and punishments, which may more deter from evill than any sweetnesse thereto allureth. Wherein as the generality is naturall, *Vertue rewardable & vice punishable*: so the particular determination of the reward or punishment, belongeth unto them by whom laws are made. Theft is naturally punishable, but the kinde of punishment is Positive, and such lawfull, as men shall think with discretion convenient by law to appoint. In Laws, that which is naturall bindeth universally, that which is positive not so. To let goe those kind of positive Lawes, which men impose upon themselves, as by vow unto God, contract with men, or such like; somewhat it will make to our purpose, a little more fully to consider, what things are incident into the making of the Positive Laws for the Government of them that live united in publike Societie. Lawes doe not onely teach what is good, but they injoyne it, they have in them a certaine constraineing force. And to constraine men unto any thing inconvenient, doth seem unreasonable. Most requisite therefore it is, that to devise laws which all men shall be forced to obey, none but Wise men be admitted. Lawes are matters of principall consequence; men of common capacity, & but ordinary judgement, are not not able (for how should they) to discern what things are fittest for each kind and state of regiment. We cannot be ignorant how much our obedience unto lawes dependeth upon this point. Let a man, though never so justly, oppose himself unto those that are disordered in their waies, & what one amongst them commonly doth not stomack at such contradiction, storm at reproof, & hate such as would reform them? Notwithstanding, even they which brook it worst that men should tel them of their duties, when they are told the same by a law, think very well and reasonably of it. For why? They presume that the law doth speak with all indifferency, that the law hath no side-respect to their persons, that the law is as it were an Oracle proceeded from wisdome and understanding. Howbeit, lawes do not take their constraining force from the quality of such as devise them, but from that power which doth give them the strength of lawes. That which we spake before concerning the power of Government, must here be applyed unto the power of making lawes whereby to govern; which power God hath over all; and by the naturall law whereunto he hath made all subject, the lawfull power of making lawes, to command whole politick societies of men, belongeth so properly unto the same intire societies, that for any Prince or Potentate, of what kind soever upon earth, to exercise the same of himself, and not either by expresse commission immediately and personally received from God, or else by authority derived at the first from their consent upon whose persons they impose lawes, it is no better than meer tyranny. Lawes they are not therfore which publick approbation hath made so. But approbation not only they give who personally declare their assent by voice, signe, or act, but also when others do it in their names, by right originally at the least derived frō them. As in Parliaments, Counsels, and the like Assemblies, although we be not personally our selves present, notwithstanding our assent is by reason of other agents there

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in our behalfe. And what we do by others, no reaſon but that it ſhould ſtand as our deed, no leſſe effectually to binde us than if our ſelves had done it in perſon. In many things aſſent is given, they that give it not imagining they do ſo, becauſe the manner of their aſſenting is not apparent. As for example, when an abſolute Monark commandeth his ſubjects that which ſeemeth good in his own diſcretion, hath not his edict the force of a law, whether they approve or diſlike it? Again, that which hath been received long ſince, and is by cuſtome now eſtabliſhed, we keep as a law which we may not tranſgreſſe; yet what conſent was ever thereunto ſought or required at our hands? Of this point therefore we are to note, that ſith men naturally have no full and perfect power to command whole politick multitudes of men; therefore utterly without our conſent, we could in ſuch ſort be at no mans commandment living. And to be commanded we do conſent, when that ſociety whereof we are part, hath at any time before conſented, without revoking the ſame after by the like univerſall agreement. Wherefore as any mans deed paſt is good as long as himſelf continueth: ſo the act of a publick ſociety of men done five hundred yeers ſince, ſtandeth as theirs, who preſently are of the ſame ſocieties, becauſe corporations are immortall: we are then alive in our predeceſſors, and they in their ſucceſſors do live ſtill. Lawes therfore humane, of what kinde ſoever, are availeable by conſent. If here it be demanded how it commeth to paſſe, that this being common unto all lawes which are made, there ſhould be found even in good lawes ſo great variety as there is: we muſt note the reaſon hereof to be, the ſundry particular end, whereunto the different diſpoſition of that ſubject or matter for w^ch lawes are provided, cauſeth them to have ſpeciall reſpect in making lawes. A law there is mentioned amongſt the Grecians, whereof *Pittacus* is reported to have been Author: and by that law it was agreed, that he which being overcome with drink did then ſtrike any man, ſhould ſuffer puniſhment double as much as if he had done the ſame being ſober. No man could ever have thought this reaſonable, that had intended thereby only to puniſh the injury committed according to the gravity of the fact. For who knoweth not, that harm adviſedly done is naturally leſſe pardonable, and therfore worthy ſharper puniſhment? But for as much as none did ſo uſually this way offend as men in that caſe, which they wittingly fell into, even becauſe they would be ſo much the more freely outragious: it was for their publick good where ſuch diſorder was grown, to frame a poſitive law for remedy thereof accordingly. To this appertain thoſe known lawes of making lawes; as that law-makers muſt have an eye to the place where, and to the men amongſt whom; that one kind of lawes cannot ſerve for all kinds of regiment: that where the multitude beareth ſway, lawes that ſhall tend unto the preſervation of that ſtate, muſt make common ſmaller offices to go by lot, for fear of ſtrife and diviſion likely to ariſe, by reaſon that ordinary qualities ſufficing for diſcharge of ſuch offices, they could not but by many be deſired, and ſo with danger contended for, and not miſſed without grudge and diſcontentment, whereas at an uncertain lot none can finde themſelves grieved on whomſoever it lighteth; contrariwiſe the greateſt, whereof but few are capable, to paſſe by popular election, that neither the people may envie ſuch as have thoſe honours, in as much as themſelves beſtow them, and

Ariſt. polit. lib. 2. cap. ult.

that the chiefeſt may be kindled with deſire to exerciſe all parts of rare and beneficiall vertue; knowing they ſhall not loſe their labour by growing in fame and eſtimation amongſt the people: if the helme of chief government be in the hands of a few of the wealthieſt, that then Lawes providing for continuance thereof muſt make the puniſhment of contumely and wrong offered unto any of the common ſort, ſharpe and grievous, that ſo the evill may be p. evented, whereby the rich are moſt likely to bring themſelves into hatred with the people, who are not wont to take ſo great offence when they are excluded from honours and offices, as when their perſons are contumeliouſly troden upon. In other kinds of regiment the like is obſerved concerning the difference of poſitive Lawes, which to be every where the ſame is impoſſible and againſt their nature. Now as the learned in the Lawes of this land obſerve, that our Statutes ſometimes are only the affirmation or ratification of that which by common Law was held before: ſo here it is not to be omitted, that generally all Lawes humane which are made for the ordering of politick Societies, be either ſuch as eſtabliſh ſome duty wherunto al men by the law of Reaſon did before ſtand bound; or elſe ſuch as make that a duty now which before was none. The one ſort me may for diſtinction ſake call *mixedly*, and the other *meerly* humane. That which plain or neceſſary reaſon bindeth men unto, may be in ſundry conſiderations expedient to be ratified by humane Law. For example, if confuſion of blood in marriage, the liberty of having many wives at once, or any other the like corrupt and unreaſonable cuſtome doth happen to have prevailed farre, and to have gotten the upper hand of right reaſon with the greateſt part; ſo that no way is left to rectifie ſuch foule diſorder, without preſcribing by Law the ſame things which reaſon neceſſarily *doth* enforce, but is not perceived that ſo it doth; or if many be grown unto that which the Apoſtle did lament in ſome, concerning whom he writeth, ſaying, that *Even what things they naturally know, in thoſe very things as beaſts void of reaſon, they corrupted themſelves*; or if there be no ſuch ſpeciall accident, yet for as much as the common ſort are led by the ſway of their ſenſuall deſires, and therefore do more ſhun ſin for the ſenſible evils which follow it amongſt men, than for any kind of ſentence which reaſon doth pronounce againſt it: this very thing is cauſe ſufficient why duties belonging unto each kinde of vertue, albeit the law of reaſon teach them, ſhould notwithſtanding be preſcribed even by humane law. Which law in this caſe we terme *mixt*, becauſe the matter whereunto it bindeth, is the ſame which reaſon neceſſarily doth require at our hands, and from the Law of reaſon it differeth in the manner of binding only. For whereas men before ſtood bound in conſcience to do as the law of reaſon teacheth; they are now by vertue of humane law become conſtrainable, and if they outwardly tranſgreſſe, puniſhable. As for lawes which are *meerly* humane, the matter of them is any thing which reaſon doth but probably teach to be fit and convenient; ſo that till ſuch time as Law hath paſſed amongſt men about it, of it ſelf it bindeth no man. One example whereof may be this: Lands are by humane law in ſome places after the owners deceaſe, divided unto all his children; in ſome, all deſcendeth to the eldeſt ſonne. If the Law of reaſon did neceſſarily require but the one of theſe two to be done, they which by

Staundf. prif. to the Pleas of the Crown.

Ep. Iud. v. 10.

ὅτι πεφυσικασιν ἐν τούτοις οἷς φυσικῶς ἐπίστανται ὡς τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα, ἐν τούτοις φθείρονται.

Ariſt. Eth. lib. 10. cap. 10.

law

law have received the other, ſhould be ſubject to that heavie ſentence, which denounceth againſt all that decree wicked, unjuſt, and unreaſonable things, *woe*. Whereas now which ſoever be received, there is no law of reaſon tranſgreſt; becauſe there is probable reaſon why either of them may be expedient, and for either of them more than probable reaſon there is not to be found. Lawes whether mixtly or meerly humane are made by politick ſocieties: ſome, only as thoſe ſocieties are civilly united; ſome, as they are ſpiritually joyned and make ſuch a body as we call the Church. Of Lawes humane in this latter kind we are to ſpeak in the third Book following. Let it therefore ſuffice thus far to have touched the force wherewith Almighty God hath graciouſly endued our nature, and thereby enabled the ſame to finde out both thoſe Lawes which all men generally are for ever bound to obſerve, and alſo ſuch as are moſt fit for their behoofe who leade their lives in any ordered State of government. Now beſides that Law which ſimply concerneth men as men, and that which belongeth unto them as they are men linked with others in ſome form of politick ſociety; there is a third kinde of Law which toucheth all ſuch ſeverall bodies Politick, ſo far forth as one of them hath publick commerce with another. And this third is the *Law of Nations*. Between men and beaſts there is no poſſibility of ſociable communion; becauſe the well-ſpring of that communion is a naturall delight which man hath to transfuſe from himſelf into others, and to receive from others into himſelf, eſpecially thoſe things wherein the excellency of this kinde doth moſt conſiſt. The chiefeſt inſtrument of humane communion therefore is ſpeech, becauſe thereby we impart mutually one to another the conceits of our reaſonable underſtanding. And for that cauſe ſeeing beaſts are not hereof capable, for as much as with them we can uſe no ſuch conference, they being in degree although above other creatures on Earth to whom Nature hath denied ſenſe, yet lower than to be ſociable companions of man to whom Nature hath given reaſon; it is of *Adam* ſaid that amongſt the beaſts, *He found not for himſelf any meet companion*. Civill ſociety doth more content the nature of man, than any private kind of ſolitary living; becauſe in ſociety this good of mutuall participation is ſo much larger than otherwiſe. Herewith notwithſtanding we are not ſatisfied, but we covet (if it might be) to have a kind of ſociety and fellowſhip even with all mankinde. Which thing *Socrates* intending to ſignifie, profeſſed himſelf a Citizen, not of this or that Common-wealth, but of the World. And an effect of that very naturall deſire in us, (a manifeſt token that we wiſh after a ſort an univerſall fellowſhip with all men) appeareth by the wonderfull delight men have, ſome to viſit forreine Countries, ſome to diſcover Nations not heard of in former Ages; we all to know the affaires and dealings of other people, yea to be in league of amity with them: and this not only for trafficks ſake, or to the end that when many are confederated each may make other the more ſtrong; but for ſuch cauſe alſo as moved the Queene of Saba to viſit *Salomon*; and in a word becauſe Nature doth preſume that how many men there are in the World, ſo many Gods as it were there are, or at leaſt wiſe ſuch they ſhould be towards men. Touching Laws which are to ſerve men in this behalfe; even as thoſe Laws of reaſon, which (man retaining his originall integrity) had been ſufficient to direct each

Eſay 10.1.

Ariſt. pol. 1.2.2.

Gen. 2.20.

Cic. Tuſc. 5. & 1. *de Legib.*

1. *Reg.* 10.1. 2 *Chron.* 9.1. *Matth.* 13.42. *Luke* 11.31.

each particular person in all his affaires and duties, are not sufficient but require the accesse of other lawes, now that man and his off-spring are grown thus corrupt and sinfull; again, as those lawes of polity and regiment, which would have served men living in publick society together with that harmelesse disposition which then they should have had, are not able now to serve when mens iniquity is so hardly restrained within any tollerable bounds: in like manner the nationall lawes of naturall commerce between societies of that former and better quality might have been other than now, when nations are so prone to offer violence, injury and wrong. Hereupon hath grown in every of the three kinds, that distinction between *Primary* and *Secondary* lawes; the one grounded upon sincere, the other built upon depraved nature. Primary lawes of nations are such as concern embassage, such as belong to the courteous entertainment of Forreiners and Strangers, such as serve for commodious traffick, and the like. Secondarily lawes in the same kind, are such as this present unquiet world is most familiarly acquainted with, I mean laws of Armes; which yet are much better known than kept. But what matter the law of nations doth contain I omit to search. The strength and vertue of that law is such, that no particular nation can lawfully prejudice the same by any their severall lawes and ordinances, more than a man by his private resolutions the law of the whole Common-wealth or State wherein he liveth. For as civill law being the act of a whole body politick, doth therefore over-rule each severall part of the same body: so there is no reason that any one Common-wealth of it self, should to the prejudice of another annihilate that whereupon the whole World hath agreed. For which cause the Lacedemonians forbidding all accesse of strangers into their Coasts, are in that respect both by *Iosephus* and *Theoderet* deservedly blamed, as being enemies to that hospitality which for common humanities sake all the nations on earth should embrace. Now as there is great cause of common, & consequently of lawes for the maintenance of communion amongst nations: so among nations Christian the like in regard even of Christianity hath been alwayes judged needfull. And in this kind of correspondence amongst nations, the force of generall Councels doth stand. For as one and the same law divine, whereof in the next place we are to speak, is unto all Christian Churches a rule for the chiefest things, by meanes whereof they all in that respect make one Church, as having all but *one Lord, one Faith, & one baptisme*: so the urgent necessity of mutuall communion for preservation of our unity in these things, as also for order in some other things convenient to be every where uniformly kept, maketh it requisite that the Church of God here on earth have her lawes of spirituall commerce between Christian nations lawes, by vertue whereof all Churches may enjoy freely the use of those reverend religious and sacred consultations, w^ch^ are termed Councels generall. A thing whereof Gods own blessed Spirit was the Author; a thing practised by the holy Apostles themselves; a thing alwayes afterwards kept & observed throughout the World; a thing never otherwise than most highly esteemed of, till pride, ambition & tyranny began by factious & vile endevours, to abuse that divine invention to the furtherance of wicked purposes. But as the just authority of civill Courts & Parliaments is not therfore to be abolish'd, because sometime there is cunning used to frame them according

Ios. lib. 2. cont. Appion.
Theod. lib. 5. de sanand Graec. affect.
Ephes. 4. 5.
Acts 15. 28.

cording to the private intents of men over-potent in the Common-wealth: So the grievous abuſe which hath been of Counſels, ſhould rather cauſe men to ſtudy how ſo gracious a thing may again be reduced to that firſt perfection, than in regard of ſtaines and blemiſhes ſithence growing, be held for ever in extreme diſgrace. To ſpeak of this matter as the cauſe requireth, would require very long diſcourſe. All I will preſently ſay, is this: Whether it be for the finding out of any thing whereunto divine Law bindeth us, but yet in ſuch ſort, that men are not thereof on all ſides reſolved; or for the ſetting down of ſome uniforme judgement to ſtand touching ſuch things, as being neither way matters of neceſſity, are notwithſtanding offenſive and ſcandalous when there is open oppoſition about them; bee it for the ending of ſtrifes touching matters of Chriſtian beleefe, wherein the one part may ſeeme to have probable cauſe of diſſenting from the other; or be it concerning matters of Politie, order and regiment in the Church; I nothing doubt but that Chriſtian men ſhould much better frame themſelves to thoſe heavenly precepts, which our Lord and Saviour with ſo great inſtancy gave as concerning peace and unity, if we did all concurre in deſire to have the uſe of ancient Councels again renued, rather than theſe proceedings continued, which either make all contentions endleſſe, or bring them to one only determination, and that of all other the worſt, which is by ſword. It followeth therefore that a new foundation being laid, we now adjoyne hereunto that which commeth in the next place to bee ſpoken of, namely, wherefore God hath himſelfe by Scripture made known ſuch Laws as ſerve for direction of men.

Iohn 14. 27.

11 All things (God only excepted) beſides the nature which they have in themſelves, receive externally ſome perfection from other things, as hath been ſhewed. In ſo much as there in the whole world no one thing great or ſmall, but either in reſpect of knowledge or of uſe, it may unto our perfection adde ſomewhat. And whatſoever ſuch perfection there is which our nature may acquire, the ſame we properly terme our good; our ſoveraigne *good* or *bleſſednes*, that wherin the higheſt degree of all our perfection conſiſteth, that which being once attained unto, there can reſt nothing further to be deſired, and therefore with it our ſoules are fully content and ſatisfied, in that they have they rejoyce, and thirſt for no more: wherfore of good things deſired, ſome are ſuch that for themſelves we covet them not, but only becauſe they ſerve as inſtruments unto that for which we are to ſeek; of this ſort are riches: another kind there is, which although we deſire for it ſelf, as health, and vertue, and knowledge, nevertheleſſe they are not the laſt mark whereat we aim, but have their further end whereunto they are referred; ſo as in them we are not ſatisfied as having attained the utmoſt we may, but our deſires do ſtil proceed. Theſe things are linked, and as it were chained one to another: we labour to eat, and we eat to live, and we live to do good, and the good which we do, is as ſeed ſown [a] with reference unto a future harveſt. But we muſt come at the length to ſome pawſe. For if every thing were to be deſired for ſome other without any ſtint, there could be no certain end propoſed unto our actions, we ſhould go on we know not whither, yea whatſoever we do, were in vain, or rather nothing at all were poſſible to be done. For as to take away the firſt efficient of our being, were to annihilate utterly our perſons;

Wherfore God hath by Scripture further made known ſuch ſupernaturall lawes, as do ſerve for mens direction.

[a] *Gal.* 6 8. He that ſoweth to the Spirit, ſhal of the Spirit reap life everlaſting.

persons; so we cannot remove the last finall cause of our working, but we shal cause whatsoever we work to cease. Therfore something there must be desired for it self simply & for no other. That is simply for it self desireable, unto the nature whereof it is opposite and repugnant to be desired with relation unto any other. The Oxe and the Asse desire their food, neither purpose they unto themselves any end wherefore; so that of them this is desired for it self; but why? By reason of their imperfection, which cannot otherwise desire it: whereas that which is desired simply for it self, the excellency therof is such as permitteth it not in any sort to be referred to a further end. Now that which man doth desire with reference to a further end, the same he desireth in such measure as is unto that end convenient: but what he coveteth as good in it self, towards that his desire is ever infinite. So that unlesse the last good of all which is defired altogether for it self, be also infinite; we do evill in making it our end: even as they who placed their felicity in wealth, honor, or pleasure, or any thing here attained; because in desiring any thing as our finall perfection, which is not so, we do amisse. Nothing may be infinitely desired, but that good which indeed is infinite. For the better, the more desireable; that therefore most desirable, wherein there is infinite of goodnesse, so that if any thing desireable may be infinite, that must needs be the highest of all things that are desired. No good is infinite but only God, therefore he our felicity & blisse. Moreover desire tendeth unto union with that it desireth. If then in him we be blessed, it is by force of participation and conjunction with him. Again, it is not the possession of any good thing can make them happy which have it, unlesse they enjoy the thing wherwith they are possessed. Then are we happy therfore, when fully we enjoy God, as an object wherein the powers of our souls are satisfied even with everlasting delight: so that although we be men, yet by being unto God united, we live as it were the life of God. Happinesse therfore is that estate whereby we attain, so far as possibly may be attained the full possession of that which simply for it self is to be desired, and containeth in it after an eminent sort the contentation of our desires, the highest degree of all our perfection. Of such perfection capable we are not in this life. For while we are in the world, we are subject unto sundry [a] imperfections, grief of body, defects of mind; yea, the best things we do are painfull, and the exercise of them grievous, being continued without intermission; so as in those very actions whereby we are especially perfected in this life, we are not able to persist, forced we are with very wearinesse, and that often, to interrupt them; which tediousnesse cannot fall into those operations that are in the state of blisse, when our union with God is complete. Complete union with him must be according unto every power and faculty of our minds, apt to receive so glorious an object; Capable we are of God both by understanding and will; by understanding, as he is that soveraigne truth, which comprehendeth the rich treasures of all wisdome: by will, as he is that sea of goodnes, whereof who so tasteth, shall thirst no more. As the will doth now work upon that object by desire, which is as it were a motion towards the end as yet unobtained; so likewise upon the same hereafter received it shall work also by love. *Appetitus inhiantis fit amor fruentis*, saith S. *Augustine: The longing disposition of them that thirst, is changed into the sweet affection of them that taste and are repleni shed.*

Where-

Vide Arist. Eth. 10. cap. 10. & Metap. 12. cap. 6. & cap. 4. & cap 30.

a Μόνον δ' Α. τυχὸν τὸ ὄνομα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, τὸ ἔργον οὐ δαμῶ, τὸ μὴ λίαν κακὸν, ἐνθάδε τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐστι. Τὸ δὲ ἐνθάδε ἀγαθὸν, μόριόν ἐστι καλῶ τὸ ἐλάχιστον. Ἀδύνατον ὂν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐνθάδε καθαρεύειν τῆς κακίας, Καθὼ δὲ χάριν ἔχω τῶ θεῶ τῶ ἐμὲ νῦν μὴ βαλόντι τὸ τὲ γνόφους τῦ ἀγαθῦ, ὅτι ἀδύνατ νέσιν αὐτο ἐν τῷ κόσμω εἶναι, ὁ γὰρ κοσμὸς πλήρωμα ἐστι τῆς κακίας, ὁδὲ θεὸς ἀγαθῦ ἢ τὸ ἀγαθὸν θεῦ, *Mercur. Trismegist. Aug. de Trin. lib. 9. cap. ult.*

Whereas we now love the thing that is good, but good eſpecially in reſpect of benefit unto us; we ſhall then love the thing that is good, only or principally for the goodneſſe of beauty in it ſelf. The ſoul being in this ſort as it is active, perfected by love of that infinite good, ſhall as it is receptive, be alſo perfected with thoſe ſupernaturall paſſions of joy, peace, and delight. All this endleſſe and everlaſting. Which perpetuity, in regard whereof our bleſſedneſſe is termed *a crown which withereth not*, doth neither depend upon the nature of the thing it ſelf, nor proceed from any naturall neceſſity that our ſouls ſhould ſo exerciſe themſelves for ever in beholding & loving God, but from the will of God, which doth both freely perfect our nature in ſo high a degree, and continue it ſo perfected. Under man no creature in the world is capable of felicity and bliſſe; firſt, becauſe their cheifeſt perfection conſiſteth in that which is beſt for them, but not in that which is ſimply beſt, as ours doth; ſecondly, becauſe whatſoever exterſiall perfection they tend unto, it is not better than themſelves, as ours is. How juſt occaſion have we therefore even in this reſpect with the Prophet to admire the goodneſſe of God; Lord, what is man that thou ſhouldeſt exalt him above the works of thy hands, ſo far as to make thy ſelf the inheritance of his reſt, and the ſubſtance of his felicity? Now if men had not naturally this deſire to be happy, how were it poſſible that all men ſhould have it? All men have. Therefore this deſire in man is naturall. It is not in our power not to do the ſame: how ſhould it then be in our power to do it coldly or remiſſely? So that our deſire being naturall, is alſo in that degree of earneſtneſſe wherunto nothing can be added. And is it probable that God ſhould frame the hearts of all men ſo deſirous of that which no man may obtain? It is an axiome of nature, that naturall deſire cannot utterly be fruſtrate. This deſire of ours being naturall ſhould be fruſtrate, if that which may ſatisfie the ſame were any thing impoſſible for man to aſpire unto. Man doth ſeek a triple perfection, firſt a ſenſuall, conſiſting in thoſe things which very life it ſelf requireth, either as neceſſary ſupplements, or as beauties & ornaments thereof; then an intellectuall, conſiſting in thoſe things which none underneath man is either capable of, or acquainted with; laſtly, a ſpirituall and divine, conſiſting in thoſe things whereunto we tend by ſupernaturall means here, but cannot here attain unto them. They that make the firſt of theſe three the ſcope of their whole life, are ſaid by the Apoſtle to have no God, but only their belly, to be earthly minded men. Unto the ſecond they bend themſelves, who ſeek eſpecially to excell in all ſuch knowledge and vertue as doth moſt commend men. To this branch belongeth the law of morall & civill perfection. That there is ſomewhat higher than either of theſe two, no other proof doth need, than the very proceſſe of mans deſire, wch being naturall ſhould be fruſtrate, if there were not ſome farther thing wherein it might reſt at the length contented, which in the former it cannot do. For man doth not ſeem to reſt ſatisfied either with fruition of that wherewith his life is preſerved, or with performance of ſuch actions as advance him moſt deſervedly in eſtimation; but doth further covet, yea oftentimes manifeſtly purſue with great ſedulity and earneſtneſſe, that which cannot ſtand him in any ſtead for vitall uſe; that which exceedeth the reach of ſenſe, yea ſomewhat above capacity of reaſon, ſomewhat divine and heavenly, which with hidden exultation it rather ſurmiſeth than conceiveth; ſomewhat it ſeeketh,

Mat. 25. The juſt ſhall go into life everlaſting.

Mat. 22. They ſhall be as the Angels of God

2 *Tim.* 4 8.

1 *Pet.* 1. 4.

Pſal. 8.

Comment. in proem 2. Met.

Phil. 3. 19

seeketh, and what that is directly it knoweth not; yet very intentive desire thereof doth so incite it, that all other known delights and pleasures are laid aside, they give place to the search of this but only suspected desire. If the soul of man did serve only to give him being in this life, then things appertaining unto this life would content him, as we see they do other creatures: which creatures enjoying what they live by, seek no further, but in this contentation do shew a kinde of acknowledgement, that there is no higher good which doth any way belong unto them. With us it is otherwise. For although the Beauties, Riches, Honours, Sciences, Vertues, and perfections of all men living, were in the present possession of one: yet somewhat beyond and above all this there would still be sought and earnestly thirsted for. So that Nature even in this life doth plainly claim and call for a more divine perfection, than either of these two that have been mentioned. This last and highest estate of perfection, whereof we speak, is received of men in the nature of a [a] reward. Rewards do alwayes presuppose such duties performed as are rewardable. Our naturall means therefore unto blessednesse are our works: nor is it possible that nature should ever finde any other way to salvation than only this. But examine the works which we do and since the foundation of the World what one can say, My wayes are pure? Seeing then all flesh is guilty of that for which God hath threatned eternally to punish, what possibility is there this way to be saved? There resteth therefore either no way unto salvation, or if any, then surely a way which is supernaturall, a way which could never have entred into the heart of a man as much as once to conceive or imagine, if God himself had not revealed it extraordinarily. For which cause we terme it the mystery or secret way of salvation. And therefore S. *Ambrose* in this matter appealeth justly from man to God, [b] *Cæli mysterium doceat me Deus qui condidit, non homo qui seipsum ignoravit, Let God himself that made me, let not man that knowes not himself, be my instructour concerning the mysticall way to Heaven.* [c] *when men of excellent wit* (saith Lactantius) *had wholly betaken themselves unto study, after farewell bidden unto all kind as well of private as publick actions, they spared no labour that might be spent in the search of truth; holding it a thing of much more price to seek and to finde out the reason of all affaires, as well Divine as Humane, than to stick fast in the toyl of piling up riches, and gathering together heaps of honours. Howbeit they both did faile of their purpose, and got not so much as to quit their charges; because truth which is the secret of the most high God, whose proper handy work all things are, cannot be compassed with that wit and those senses which are our own. For God and man should be very neere Neighbours, if mans cogitations were able to take a survey of the counsels and appointments of that Majesty everlasting. which being utterly impossible, that the eye of man by it self should look into the bosome of divine Reason; God did not suffer him being desirous of the light of wisdome, to stray any longer up and down, and with bootlesse expense of travell, to wander in darknesse that had no passage to get out*

a *Matth.* 5. 12. Rejoyce and be glad, for great is your reward in Heaven. *Aug. de doct. Christ. c. 6. Summa merces est ut ipso perfruamur.*

b *Ambros. contra Sym.*

c *Magno & excellenti ingenio viri, cum ja doctrina penitus dedidissent, quicquid laboris potebat impendi (contemptis omnibus & privatis & publicis actionibus) ad inquirendæ veritatis studium contulerunt; existimantes multo esse præclarius humanarum divinarumq; rerum investigare ac scire rationem, quàm structis opibus aut cumulandis honoribus inhærere. Sed neq; adepti sunt id quod volebant, & operam simul atq; industriam perdiderunt: quia veritas, id est, arcanum summi Dei qui fecit omnia ingenio ac propriis sensibus non potest comprehendi. Alioqui nihil inter Deum hominemq; distaret si consilia & dispositiones illius majestatis æternæ cogitatio assequeretur humana. Quod quia fieri non potuit ut hominem per seipsum ratio divina non texerit, non est passus hominem Deus lumen sapientiæ requirentem diutius aberrare, ac sine ullo laboris effectu vagari per tenebras inextricabiles. Aperuit oculos ejus aliquando, & notionem veritatis munus suum fecit, ut & humanam sapientiam nullam esse monstraret, et erranti ac vago viam consequendæ immortalitatis ostenderet.* Lactan. lib. 1. cap. 1.

out by. His eyes at the length God did open, and beſtow upon him the knowledge of the truth by way of Donative, to the end that man might both be cleerly convicted, and being through errour out of the way, have the path that leadeth unto immortality laid plain before him: Thus farre *Lactantius Firmianus*, to ſhew that God himſelf is the Teacher of the Truth, whereby is made known the ſupernaturall way of ſalvation and law for them to live in that ſhall be ſaved. In the naturall path of everlaſting life, the firſt beginning is that ability of doing good, which God in the day of mans creation endued him with; from hence obedience unto the will of his Creator, abſolute righteouſneſſe and integrity in all his actions; and laſt of all, the juſtice of God rewarding the worthineſſe of his deſerts with the crown of eternall glory. Had *Adam* continued in his firſt eſtate, this had been the way of life unto him and all his poſterity. Wherein I confeſſe notwithſtanding with the * wittieſt of the Schoole Divines, that if we ſpeak of ſtrict juſtice, God could no way have been bound to requite mans labours in ſo large & ample manner as humane felicity doth import: in as much as the dignity of this exceedeth ſo far the others value. But be it that God of his great liberality had determined in lieu of mans endevours to beſtow the ſame, by the rule of that juſtice which beſt beſeemeth him, namely, the juſtice of one that requireth nothing mincingly, but all with preſſed and heaped and even over-inlarged meaſure: yet could it never hereupon neceſſarily be gathered, that ſuch juſtice ſhould adde to the nature of that reward the property of everlaſting continuance, ſith poſſeſſion of bliſſe, though it ſhould be but for a moment, were an abundant retribution. But we are not now to enter into this conſideration, how gracious and bountifull our good God might ſtill appeare in ſo rewarding the ſons of men, albeit they ſhould exactly performe whatſoever duty their nature bindeth them unto. Howſoever God did propoſe this reward, we that were to be rewarded, muſt have done that which is required at our hands; we failing in the one, it were in nature an impoſſibility that the other ſhould be looked for. The light of Nature is never able to finde out any way of obtaining the reward of bliſſe, but by performing exactly the duties and works of righteouſneſſe. From ſalvation therfore and life all fleſh being excluded this way, behold, how the wiſdome of God hath revealed a way myſticall and ſupernaturall, a way directing unto the ſame end of life, by a courſe which groundeth it ſelf upon the guiltineſſe of ſin, and through ſin deſert of condemnation and death. For in this way the firſt thing is, the tender compaſſion of God reſpecting us drowned and ſwallowed up in miſery; the next is redemption out of the ſame by the precious death and merit of a mighty Saviour, which hath witneſſed of himſelf, ſaying, [a] *I am the way*, the way that leadeth us from miſery into bliſſe. This ſupernaturall way had God in himſelf prepared before all worlds. The way of ſupernaturall duty which to us he hath preſcribed, our Saviour in the Goſpell of Saint *John* doth note, terming it by an excellency, The work of God: [b] *This is the work of God, that ye beleeve in him whom he hath ſent.* Not that God doth require nothing unto happineſſe at the hands of men, ſaving only a naked beliefe (for Hope and Charity we may not exclude:) but that without beleife all other things are as nothing; and it the ground of thoſe other divine Vertues. Concerning Faith, the principall object whereof is that eternall verity

* Scot. *lib.* 4. *Sent. diſt.* 49. *Loquendo de ſtrictâ juſtitiâ, Deus nulli noſtrum propter quæcunque merita eſt debitor perfectionis reddendæ tam intenſæ, propter immoderatum exceſſum illius perfectionis ultra illa merita. Sed eſto quod ex liberalitate ſuâ determinaſſet meritis conferre actum tam perfectum tanquam præmium tali quidem juſtitiâ qualis decet eſſe, ſcilicet ſupererogantis in præmiis. tamen non ſequitur ex hoc neceſſariò, quòd per illam juſtitiam ſi tredenda perfectio perennis tanquam præmium; imò abundans fieret retributio in beatitudine unius momenti.*

a *Iohn* 14. 6.

b *Iohn* 6. 29.

which hath discovered the treasures of hidden wisdome in Christ; concerning Hope, the highest object whereof is that everlasting goodnesse which in Christ doth quicken the dead; concerning Charity, the finall object wherof is that incomprehensible beauty which shineth in the countenance of Christ the Sonne of the living God: concerning these vertues, the first of which beginning here with a weak apprehension of things not seen, endeth with the intuitive vision of God in the world to come; the second beginning here with a trembling expectation of things farre removed, and as yet but only heard of, endeth with reall and actuall fruition of that which no tongue can expresse; the third beginning here with a weak inclination of heart towards him unto whom we are not able to approach, endeth with endlesse union, the mystery wherof is higher than the reach of the thoughts of men; concerning that Faith, Hope, and Charity, without which there can be no salvation; was there ever any mention made saving only in that Law which God himself hath from Heaven revealed? There is not in the world a syllable muttered with certain truth concerning any of these three, more than hath been supernaturally received from the mouth of the eternall God, Lawes therefore concerning these things are supernaturall, both in respect of the manner of delivering them which is divine, and also in regard of the things delivered, which are such as have not in nature any cause from which they flow, but were by the voluntary appointment of God ordained besides the course of Nature, to rectifie Natures obliquity withall.

a The cause why so many naturall or rationall Lawes are set down in holy Scripture.

b *Ius naturale est quod in lege & Euangelio continetur, pag.* 1.d.1.

12 a When supernaturall duties are necessarily exacted, naturall are not rejected as needlesse. The Law of God therefore is, though principally delivered for instruction in the one, yet fraught with the precepts of the other also. The Scripture is fraught even with Lawes of Nature. In so much that b *Gratian* defining naturall right (whereby is meant the right which exacteth those generall duties, that concern men naturally even as they are men) termeth naturall right that which the books of the Law & the Gospell do contain. Neither is it vain that the Scripture aboundeth with so great store of Lawes in this kind. For they are either such as we of our selves could not easily have found out, and then the benefit is not small to have them readily set down to our hands; or if they be so cleere and manifest that no man indued with reason can lightly be ignorant of them, yet the Spirit as it were borrowing them from the Schoole of Nature as serving to prove things lesse manifest, and to induce a perswasion of somewhat which were in it self more hard and dark, unlesse it should in such sort be cleered, the very applying of them unto cases particular is not without most singular use and profit many wayes for mens instruction. Besides be they plain of themselves or obscure, the evidence of Gods own testimony added unto the naturall assent of Reason concerning the certainty of them, doth not a little comfort & confirme the same. Wherefore in as much as our actions are conversant about things beset with many circumstances, which cause men of sundry wits to be also of sundry judgements concerning that which ought to be done: requisite it cannot but seem the Rule of Divine Law should herein help our imbecillity, that we might the more infallibly understand what is good and what evill. The first principles of the Law of Nature are easie, hard it were to finde men ignorant of them: but concerning the

the duty which Natures Law doth require at the hands of men in a number of things particular, ſo a farre hath the naturall underſtanding even of ſundry whole Nations beene darkned, that they have not diſcerned, no, not groſſe iniquity to be ſinne. Againe, being ſo prone as we are to fawne upon our ſelves, and to be ignorant as much as may be of our owne deformities, without the feeling ſenſe wherof we are moſt wretched even ſo much the more, becauſe not knowing them, we cannot as much as deſire to have them taken away: how ſhould our feſtered ſores be cured, but that God hath delivered a Law as ſharp as the two-edged Sword, piercing the very cloſeſt and moſt unſearchable corners of the heart, which the Law of Nature can hardly, humane lawes by no means poſſibly reach unto? Hereby we know even ſecret concupiſcence to be ſin, and are made fearfull to offend, though it be but in a wandering cogitation. Finally, of thoſe things which are for direction of all the parts of our life needfull, and not impoſſible to be diſcerned by the light of Nature it ſelf, are there not many which few mens naturall capacity, and ſome which no mans hath been able to finde out? They are, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, but a few, and they indued with great ripeneſſe of wit & judgement, free frō all ſuch affairs as might trouble their Meditations, inſtructed in the ſharpeſt and ſubtilleſt points of Learning, who have, and that very hardly, been able to finde out but only the immortality of the ſoul. The reſurrection of the fleſh what man did ever at any time dream of, having not heard it otherwiſe than from the Schoole of Nature? Whereby it appeareth how much we are bound to yeeld unto our Creator the Father of all mercy eternall thanks, for that he hath delivered his law unto the World, a law wherein ſo many things are laid open, cleer, and manifeſt; as a light which otherwiſe would have been buried in darkneſſe, not without the hazard, or rather not with the hazard, but with the certain loſſe of infinite thouſands of ſouls moſt undoubtedly now ſaved. We ſee therefore that our ſovereigne good is deſired naturally, that God the Author of that naturall deſire hath appointed naturall means whereby to fulfill it; that man having utterly diſabled his nature unto thoſe means, hath had other revealed from God, and hath received from Heaven a law to teach him, how that which is deſired naturally, muſt now ſupernaturally be attained; finally, we ſee that becauſe thoſe later exclude not the former quite and clean as unneceſſary, therefore together with ſuch ſupernaturall duties as could not poſſibly have been otherwiſe known to the World, the ſame Law that teacheth them, teacheth alſo with them ſuch naturall duties as could not by light of Nature eaſily have been known.

13 [b] In the firſt Age of the World God gave lawes unto our Fathers, and by reaſon of the number of their dayes, their memories ſerved in ſtead of Books; whereof the manifold imperfections and defects being known to God, he mercifully releived the ſame by often putting them in minde of that whereof it behoveth them to be ſpecially mindfull. In which reſpect we ſee how many times one thing hath been iterated unto ſundry even of the beſt and wiſeſt amongſt them. After that the lives of Men were ſhortned, means more durable to preſerve the Lawes of God from oblivion and corruption grew in uſe, not without pre-

a Ioſeph. *lib. ſecundo contra Appio. Lacedæmonii quomodo nō ſunt oō in hoſpitalitaté reprehendendi ſæd. & neglectum nuptiarum? Elienſes vero & Thebani ob coitum cum maſculis planè impudentem & contra naturam, quē rectè & utiliter exercere putabant; cumq; hæc omninò perpetrarent, etiam ſuis legibus miſcuere. Vide* Tho. 12. quæſt. 94. 5, 6. *Lex naturæ ſic corrupta fuit apud Germanos, ut latrocinia non reputarent peccatum.* Aug. *aut quiſquis author eſt, lib. de quæſtion. & vet. teſt. quis nō ſciat quid bonæ vitæ cōveniat, aut ignoret quia quod ſibi fieri non vult, aliis minimè debeat facere? At verò ubi naturalis lex evanuit oppreſſa conſuetudine delinquendi, tunc oportuit manifeſtari ſcriptis, ut Dei judicium omnes audirent, non quòd penitus obliterata eſt, ſed quia maximè ejus authoritate carebat, idololatriæ ſtudebatur, timor Dei in terris non erat, fornicatio operabatur, circa rem proximi avida erat cōcupiſcentia. Data ergo lex eſt, ut quæ ſciebantur au-*

thoritatem haberent, & quæ latere cœperant, manifeſtarentur. b The benefit of having Divine Laws written.

cise direction from God himselfe. First therefore of *Moses* it is said, that he *wrote all the words of God*; not by his owne private motion and device: for God taketh this act to himselfe, *I have written*. Furthermore, were not the Prophets following commanded also to doe the like? Unto the Holy Evangelist Saint *Iohn* how often expresse charge is given, *Scribe*; *write these things*? Concerning the rest of our Lords Disciples, the words of Saint *Augustine* are, *Quicquid ille de suis factis & dictis nos legere voluit, hoc scribendum illis tanquam suis manibus imperavit*. Now although we doe not deny it to be a matter meerely accidentall unto the Law of God, to be written; although Writing be not that which addeth authority and strength thereunto: finally, though his Lawes do require at our hands the same obedience, howsoever they be delivered; his providence notwithstanding, which hath made principall choice of this way to deliver them, who seeth not what cause we have to admire & magnifie? The singular benefit that hath growne unto the World by receiving the Lawes of God, even by his owne appointment committed unto Writing, we are not able to esteem as the value thereof deserveth. When the question therefore is, whether we be now to seeke for any revealed Law of God otherwhere than only in the Sacred Scripture, whether we doe now stand bound in the sight of God to yeeld to Traditions urged by the Church of Rome, the same obedience and reverence we do to his written Law, honouring equally, and adoring both as divine? our answer is, No. They that so earnestly plead for the authority of Tradition, as if nothing were more safely conveyed than that which spreadeth it selfe by report, & descendeth by relation of former Generations unto the Ages that succeed, are not all of them (surely a miracle it were if they should be) so simple, as thus to perswade themselves; howsoever if the simple were so perswaded, they could be content perhaps very well to enjoy the benefit, as they account it, of that common errour. What hazard the truth is in when it passeth through the hands of report, how maimed and deformed it becometh; they are not, they cannot possibly be ignorant. Let them that are indeed of this mind, consider but only that little of things Divine, which the * Heathen have in such sort received. How miserable had the state of the Church of God been long ere this, if wanting the Sacred Scripture, we had no Record of his Lawes but only the memory of man, receiving the same by report and relation from his Predecessors? By Scripture it hath in the wisedome of God seemed meet to deliver unto the World much but personally expedient to be practised of certaine men; many deep and profound points of Doctrine, as being the maine originall ground whereupon the Precepts of duty depend; many Propheſies, the cleere performance whereof might confirme the World in beliefe of things unseene; many Histories to serve as looking Glasses to behold the mercy, the truth, the righteousnesse of God towards all that faithfully serve, obey and honour him; yea many intire Meditations of Piety, to be as Patternes and Presidents in cases of like nature; many things needfull for explication, many for application unto particular occasions, such as the providence of God from time to time hath taken to have the severall Books of his holy Ordinance written. Be it then that together with the principall necessary Lawes of God, there are sundry other things written, whereof wee might haply bee ignorant, and yet bee saved:

Exod. 24. 4. *Ose.* 8. 12.

Apoc. 1. 11. & 14. 13. *Aug. lib.* 1. *de cons. Evang. cap. ult.*

* I meane those historicall matters concerning the ancient state of the first World, the Deluge, he Sons of *Noah*, the children of Israels deliverance out of Egypt, he life and doings of *Moses* their Captain, with such like: the certaine truth whereof delivered in holy Scripture, is of the Heathen which had them only by report, so intermingled with fabulous vanities, that the most which remaineth in them to be seene, is the shew of darke and obscure steps, where some part of the truth hath gone.

What?

What? ſhall we hereupon think them needleſſe? ſhall we eſteeme them as riotous branches wherewith we ſometimes behold moſt pleaſant vines overgrown? Surely no more than we judge our hands, or our eyes ſuperfluous, or what part ſoever, which if our bodies did want, we might notwithſtanding any ſuch defect retain ſtill the complete being of men. As therefore a complete man is neither deſtitute of any part neceſſary, and hath ſome parts whereof though the want could not deprive him of his eſſence, yet to have them ſtandeth him in ſingular ſtead in reſpect of the ſpeciall uſes for which they ſerve: in like ſort all thoſe writings which contein in them the Law of God, all thoſe venerable books of Scripture, all thoſe ſacred tomes and volumes of holy writ, they are with ſuch abſolute perfection framed, that in them there neither wanteth any thing, the lack whereof might deprive us of life; nor any thing in ſuch wiſe aboundeth, that as being ſuperfluous, unfruitfull, and altogether needleſſe, we ſhould think it no loſſe or danger at all if we did want it.

The ſufficiency of Scripture unto the end for which it was inſtituted. *Utrum cognitio ſupernaturalis neceſſaria viatori ſit ſufficienter tradita in ſacrâ Scripturâ.* This queſtion propoſed by *Scotus*, is affirmatively concluded.

14 Although the Scripture of God therfore be ſtored with infinite variety of matter in all kinds, although it abound with all ſorts of lawes, yet the principall intent of Scripture is to deliver the lawes of duties ſupernatural. Oftentimes it hath been in very ſolemn manner diſputed, whether all things neceſſary unto ſalvation be neceſſarily ſet down in the holy Scriptures or no. If we define that neceſſary unto ſalvation, whereby the way to ſalvation is in any ſort made more plain, apparent, and eaſie to be known; then is there no part of true Philoſophy, no Art of account, no kind of Science rightly ſo called, but the Scripture muſt contain it. If only thoſe things be neceſſary, as ſurely none elſe are, without the knowledge and practiſe whereof it is not the will and pleaſure of God to make any ordinary grant of ſalvation; it may be notwithſtanding, & oftentimes hath been demanded, how the books of holy Scripture contain in them all neceſſary things; when of things neceſſary the very chiefeſt is to know what books we are bound to eſteeme holy; which point is confeſt impoſſible for the Scripture it ſelf to teach. Whereunto we may anſwer with truth, that there is not in the world any Art or Science, which propoſing unto it ſelf an end (as every one doth ſome end or other) hath been therefore thought defective, if it have not delivered ſimply whatſoever is needfull to the ſame end: but all kindes of knowledge have their certain bounds and limits; each of them preſuppoſeth many neceſſary things learned in other ſciences & known beforehand. He that ſhould take upon him to teach men how to be eloquent in pleading cauſes, muſt needs deliver unto them whatſoever precepts are requiſite unto that end, otherwiſe he doth not the thing which he taketh upon him. Seeing then no man can plead eloquently, unleſſe he be able firſt to ſpeak, it followeth that hability of ſpeech is in this caſe a thing moſt neceſſary. Notwithſtanding every man would think it ridiculous, that he which undertaketh by writing to inſtruct an Orator, ſhould therefore deliver all the precepts of Grammar; becauſe his profeſſion is to deliver precepts neceſſary unto eloquent ſpeech, yet ſo, that they which are to receive them be taught before hand, ſo much of that which is thereunto neceſſary as comprehendeth the skill of ſpeaking. In like ſort, albeit Scripture do profeſſe to contain in it all things which are neceſſary unto ſalvation; yet

the meaning cannot be ſimply of all things which are neceſſary, but all things that are neceſſary in ſome certain kinde or forme; as all things that are neceſſary, and either could not at all, or could not eaſily be known by the light of naturall diſcourſe; all things which are neceſſary to be known that we may be ſaved, but known with preſuppoſall of knowledge concerning certain principles, whereof it receiveth us already perſwaded, and then inſtructeth us in all the reſidue that are neceſſary. In the number of theſe principles one is the ſacred authority of Scripture. Being therefore perſwaded by other means that theſe Scriptures are the Oracles of God, themſelves do then teach us the reſt, and lay before us all the duties which God requireth at our hands as neceſſary unto ſalvation. Further, there hath been ſome doubt likewiſe, whether *containing in Scripture* do import expreſſe ſetting down in plain tearms, or elſe *comprehending* in ſuch ſort that by reaſon we may from thence conclude all things which are neceſſary. Againſt the former of theſe two conſtructions, inſtance hath ſundry wayes been given. For our beliefe in the Trinity, the Coeternity of the Son of God with his Father, the proceeding of the Spirit from the Father and the Son, the duty of baptizing infants, theſe with ſuch other principall points, the neceſſity whereof is by none denied, are notwithſtanding in Scripture no where to be found by expreſſe literall mention, only deduced they are out of Scripture by collection. This kind of comprehenſion in Scripture being therefore received, ſtill there is no doubt how farre we are to proceed by collection, before the full and complete meaſure of things neceſſary be made up. For let us not think that as long as the world doth endure, the wit of man ſhall be able to ſound the bottome of that which may be concluded out of the Scripture; eſpecially if things contained by collection do ſo far extend, as to draw in whatſoever may be at any time out of Scripture but probably & conjecturally ſurmiſed. But let neceſſary collection be made requiſite, and we may boldly deny, that of all thoſe things which at this day are with ſo great neceſſity urged upon this Church under the name of reformed Church-diſcipline, there is any one which their books hitherto have made manifeſt to be contained in the Scripture. Let them if they can alleadge but one properly belonging to their cauſe, & not common to them and us, and ſhew the deduction thereof out of Scripture to be neceſſary. It hath been already ſhewed, how all things neceſſary unto ſalvation in ſuch ſort as before we have maintained, muſt needs be poſſible for men to know; and that many things are in ſuch ſort neceſſary, the knowledge whereof is by the light of nature impoſſible to be attained. Whereupon it followeth, that either all fleſh is excluded from poſſibility of ſalvation, which to think were moſt barbarous; or elſe that God hath by ſupernaturall means revealed the way of life ſo far forth as doth ſuffice. For this cauſe God hath ſo many times and wayes ſpoken to the ſons of men. Neither hath he by ſpeech only, but by writing alſo inſtructed and taught his Church. The cauſe of writing hath been to the end that things by him revealed unto the world, might have the longer continuance, and the greater certainty of aſſurance; by how much that which ſtandeth on record, hath in both theſe reſpects preeminence above that which paſſeth from hand to hand, and hath no pennes but the tongues, no book but the eares

of

of men to record it. The ſeverall books of Scripture having had each ſome ſeverall occaſion and particular purpoſe which cauſed them to be written, the contents thereof are according to the exigence of that ſpeciall end whereunto they are intended. Hereupon it groweth, that every book of holy Scripture doth take out of all kinds of truth, [a] naturall, [b] hiſtoricall, [c] forreine, [d] ſupernaturall, ſo much as the matter handled requireth. Now for as much as there hath been reaſons alleadged ſufficient to conclude, that all things neceſſary unto ſalvation muſt be made known, and that God himſelf hath therefore revealed his will, becauſe otherwiſe men could not have known ſo much as is neceſſary; his ſurceaſing to ſpeak to the world ſince the publiſhing of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, and the delivery of the ſame in writing, is unto us a manifeſt token that the way of ſalvation is now ſufficiently opened, and that we need no other means for our full inſtruction, than God hath already furniſhed us withall. The main drift of the whole New Teſtament, is that which Saint *Iohn* ſetteth down as the purpoſe of his own Hiſtory, *Theſe things are written, that ye might beleeve that Ieſus is Chriſt the Sonne of God, and that in beleeving ye might have life through his Name.* The drift of the old, that which the Apoſtle mentioneth to *Timothie*, *The holy Scriptures are able to make thee wiſe unto ſalvation.* So that the generall end both of old and new is one; the difference between them conſiſting in this, that the old did make wiſe by teaching ſalvation through Chriſt that ſhould come; the new by teaching that Chriſt the Saviour is come, and that Ieſus whom the Iewes did crucifie, and whom God did raiſe again from the dead, is he. When the Apoſtle therefore affirmeth unto *Timothie*, that the old was able to make him wiſe to ſalvation, it was not his meaning that the old alone can do this unto us which live ſithence the publication of the new. For hee ſpeaketh with preſuppoſall of the doctrine of Chriſt known alſo unto *Timothie*; and therefore firſt it is ſaid, *Continue thou in thoſe things which thou haſt learned and art perſwaded, knowing of whom thou haſt been taught them.* Again, thoſe Scriptures hee granteth were able to make him wiſe to ſalvation; but hee addeth, *through the faith which is in Chriſt.* Wherefore without the doctrine of the New Teſtament teaching that Chriſt hath wrought the redemption of the World, which redemption the old did foreſhew he ſhould work; it is not the former alone which can on our behalf performe ſo much as the Apoſtle doth avouch, who preſuppoſeth this when he magnifieth that ſo highly. And as his words concerning the books of ancient Scripture, do not take place but with preſuppoſall of the Goſpell of Chriſt embraced: ſo our own words alſo when we extoll the complete ſufficiency of the whole entire body of the Scripture, muſt in like ſort be underſtood with this caution, that the benefit of natures light be not thought excluded as unneceſſary, becauſe the neceſſity of a diviner light is magnified. There is in Scripture therfore no defect, but that any man what place or calling ſoever he hold in the Church of God, may have thereby the light of his naturall underſtanding ſo perfected, that the one being relieved by the other, there can want no part of needfull inſtruction unto any good work which God himſelf requireth, be it naturall or ſupernaturall, belonging ſimply unto

[a] *Epheſ.* 5. 29.
[b] 2 *Tim.* 3. 8.
[c] *Tit.* 1. 12.
[d] 2 *Pet.* 2. 4.

Iohn 23. 31.

2 *Tim.* 3. 15.

2 *Tim.* 3. 14.

Verſe 15.

to men as men, or unto men as they are united in whatſoever kinde of ſociety. It ſufficeth therefore that nature and Scripture do ſerve in ſuch full ſort; that they both joyntly, and not ſeverally either of them, be ſo complete, that unto everlaſting felicity we need not the knowledge of any thing more than theſe two may eaſily furniſh our minds with on all ſides: and therefore they which adde traditions as a part of ſupernaturall neceſſary truth, have not the truth, but are in errour. For they only pleade, that whatſoever God revealeth as neceſſary for all Chriſtian men to do or beleeve, the ſame we ought to embrace, whether we have received it by writing or otherwiſe; which no man denieth: when that which they ſhould confirme who claime ſo great reverence unto traditions is, that the ſame traditions are neceſſarily to be acknowledged divine and holy. For we do not reject them only becauſe they are not in the Scripture, but becauſe they are neither in Scripture, nor can otherwiſe ſufficiently by any reaſon be proved to be of God. That which is of God, and may be evidently proved to be ſo, we deny not but it hath in his kind, although unwritten, yet the ſelfeſame force and authority with the written lawes of God. It is by ours acknowledged, *that the Apoſtles did in every Church inſtitute and ordaine ſome rites and cuſtomes ſerving for the ſeemelineſſe of Church regiment, which rites and cuſtomes they have not committed unto writing.* Thoſe rites and cuſtomes being known to be Apoſtolicall, and having the nature of things changeable, were no leſſe to be accounted of in the Church than other things of the like degree, that is to ſay, capable in like ſort of alteration, although ſet down in the Apoſtles writings. For both being known to be Apoſtolicall, it is not the manner of delivering them unto the Church, but the Authour from whom they proceed, which doth give them their force and credit.

Whitakerus adverſus Bellarmin. queſt. 6. cap. 6.

Of lawes poſitive conceived in Scripture, the mutability of certain of them, and the generall uſe of Scripture.

15 Lawes being impoſed either by each man upon himſelf, or by a publick ſociety upon the particulars thereof, or by all the nations of men upon every ſeverall ſociety, or by the Lord himſelf upon any or every of theſe; there is not amongſt theſe foure kindes any one, but containeth ſundry both naturall and poſitive Lawes. Impoſſible it is but that they ſhould fall into a number of groſſe errours, who only take ſuch lawes for poſitive, as have been made or invented of men, and holding this poſition, hold alſo, that all poſitive and none but poſitive lawes are mutable. Lawes naturall do alwayes binde; lawes poſitive not ſo, but onely after they have been expreſly and wittingly impoſed. Lawes poſitive there are in every of thoſe kindes before mentioned. As in the firſt kinde the promiſes which we have paſt unto men, and the vowes we have made unto God; for theſe are lawes which we tie our ſelves unto, and till we have ſo tied our ſelves they binde us not. Lawes poſitive in the ſecond kinde are ſuch as the civill conſtitutions peculiar unto each particular common weale. In the third kinde the law of Heraldry in warre is poſitive: and in the laſt all the judicials which God gave unto the people of *Iſrael* to obſerve. And although no lawes but poſitive be mutable, yet all are not mutable which be poſitive. Poſitive lawes are either permanent or elſe changeable, according as the matter it ſelf is concerning which they were firſt made. Whether God or Man be the maker of them, alteration they ſo far forth admit,

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as Poſitive; and either coneern men ſupernaturally as men, or elſe as parts of a ſupernaturall Society, which Society wee call the Church. To concerne men as men ſupernaturally, is to concerne them as duties which belong of neceſſity to all, and yet could not have beene knowne by any to belong unto them, unleſſe God had opened them himſelfe, in as much as they doe not depend upon any naturall ground at all out of which they may bee deduced, but are appointed of God to ſupply the defect of thoſe naturall wayes of ſalvation, by which wee are not now able to attaine thereunto. The Church being a ſupernaturall ſociety, doth differ from naturall ſocieties in this; that the perſons unto whom we aſſociate our ſelves, in the one, are men ſimply conſidered as men; but they to whom we be joyned in the other, are God, Angels, and holy Men. Againe, the Church being both a ſocietie, and a ſociety ſupernaturall; although as it is a ſociety, it have the ſelfe-ſame originall grounds which other politique ſocieties have, namely, the naturall inclination which all men have unto ſociable life, and conſent to ſome certaine bond of aſſociation, which bond is the Law that appointeth what kinde of order they ſhall be aſſociated in: yet unto the Church, as it is a ſociety ſupernaturall, this is peculiar, that part of the bond of their aſſociation which belong to the Church of God, muſt be a Law ſupernaturall, which God himſelfe hath revealed concerning that kind of worſhip which his people ſhall do unto him. The ſubſtance of the ſervice of God therefore, ſo far-forth as it hath in it any thing more than the Law of reaſon doth teach, may not be invented of men, as it is amongſt the Heathens; but muſt be received from God himſelfe, as alwayes it hath beene in the Church, ſaving only when the Church hath beene forgetfull of her duty. Wherefore to end with a generall Rule concerning all the Lawes which God hath tyed men unto: thoſe Lawes divine that belong whether naturally or ſupernaturally, either to men as men, or to men as they live in politique ſociety, or to men as they are of that politique ſociety which is the Church, without any further reſpect had unto any ſuch variable accident, as the ſtate of men, and of ſocieties of men, and of the Church it ſelfe in this world is ſubject unto; all Lawes that ſo belong unto men, they belong for ever, yea although they be Poſitive Lawes, unleſſe being Poſitive, God himſelfe which made them alter them. The reaſon is, becauſe the ſubject or matter of Lawes in generall is thus farre forth conſtant: which matter is that for the ordering whereof Lawes were inſtituted, and being inſtituted are not changeable without cauſe, neither can they have cauſe of change, when that which gave them their firſt inſtitution, remaineth for ever one and the ſame. On the other ſide, Lawes that were made for Men, or Societies, or Churches, in regard of their being ſuch as they doe not alwayes continue, but may perhaps be cleane otherwiſe a while after, and ſo may require to bee otherwiſe ordered than before; the Lawes of God himſelfe which are of this nature, no man indued with common ſenſe will ever deny to bee of a different conſtitution from the former, in reſpect of the ones conſtancie, and the mutability of the other. And this doth ſeeme to have beene the very cauſe why St. *Iohn* doth ſo peculiarly terme the doctrin that teacheth ſalvation by Jeſus Chriſt, *Evangelium æternum*, *An eternall Goſpell*; becauſe there can be no reaſon wherefore

Iſa. 29. 13. Their feare towards me was taught by the precept of men.

Apoc. 14. 6.

wherefore the publishing thereof should be taken away, and any other instead of it proclaimed, as long as the World doth continue: whereas the whole law of Rites and Ceremonies, although delivered with so great solemnity, is notwithstanding clean abrogated, inasmuch as it had but temporary cause of Gods ordaining it. But that we may at the length conclude this first generall introduction unto the nature and originall birth, as of all other lawes, so likewise of those which the sacred Scripture containeth; concerning the Author whereof, even Infidels have confessed, that he can neither erre nor deceive; albeit about things easie and manifest unto all men by common sense there needeth no higher consultation; because as a man whose wisdome is in weighty affairs admired, would take it in some disdain to have his counsell solemnly asked about a toy; so the meanness of some things is such, that to search the Scripture of God for the ordering of them, were to derogate from the reverend authority and dignity of the Scripture, no lesse than they do by whom Scriptures are in ordinary talk very idly applyed unto vain and childish trifles: yet better it were to bee superstitious, than prophane; to take from thence our direction even in all things great or small, than to wade through matters of principall weight and moment, without ever caring what the Law of God hath, either for or against our designes. Concerning the custome of the very *Paynims*, thus much *Strabo* witnesseth, [a] *Men that are civill do leade their lives after one common law appointing them what to do. For that otherwise a multitude should without harmony amongst themselves, concurre in the doing of one thing, (for this is civilly to live) or that they should in any sort mannage community of life, it is not possible. Now Lawes or Statutes are of two sorts. For they are either received from Gods, or else from Men. And our ancient Predecessors did surely most honour and reverence that which was from the Gods; for which cause consultation with Oracles was a thing very usuall and frequent in their times.* Did they make so much account of the voice of their Gods, which in truth were no Gods: and shall we neglect the precious benefit of conference with those Oracles of the true and living God, whereof so great store is left to the Church, and whereunto there is so free, so plain, and so easie accesse for all men? [b] *By thy Commandements* (this was *Davids* confession unto God) *thou hast made me wiser than mine Enemies.* Again, *I have had more understanding than all my Teachers, because thy testimonies are my Meditations.* What pains would not they have bestowed in the study of these Books, who travailed Sea and Land to gain the treasure of some few dayes talk with men, whose wisdome the World did make any reckoning of? [c] That little which some of the Heathens did chance to hear, concerning such matter as the sacred Scripture plentifully containeth, they did in wonderfull sort affect; their speeches as oft as they make mention thereof are strange, and such as themselves could not utter as they did other things, but still acknowledge that their wits which did every where else conquer hardnesse, were with profoundnesse here overmatched. Wherefore seeing that God hath indued us with sense, to the end that we might perceive such things as this present life doth need; and with reason, lest that which sense cannot reach unto, being both now and also in regard of a future estate hereafter necessary to bee known, should lye obscure: finally, with the heavenly support

Κομιδῆ ἄρα ὁ θεὸς ἁπλῶν καὶ ἀληθὴς ἐν τε ἔργῳ, καὶ ἐν λόγῳ, καὶ ὅτε αὐτὸς μεθίσαται, ὅτε ἄλλως ἐξαπατᾷ ὅτε καὶ φαντασίας, ὅτε κατὰ λόγους ὅτε κατὰ σημεῖον σεμνὰς, ὡσ' ὑπὲρ ὡσ" ὅιαρ, Plat. in fine 2. Polit.

a Πολιτικοὶ ὄντες ἀπὸ προοιμίων κεῖνται ζῶσιν. ἄλλως γὰρ οὐκ ἂν δύνατο τὸς πολλὰς ἐν τι κατὰ ταυτὸ πράττειν ἠμωμένως ἀλλήλοις, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι. καὶ ἄλλως τῶν νόμων τὰ μὲν θεῖα, τὰ δὲ ἀνθρώπινα. τὰ δὲ πρόσφατα δίττον. ἢ γὰρ παρὰ θεῶν, ἢ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων. καὶ οἱ γε ἀρχαῖοι τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐσπούδαζον μᾶλλον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ χρησμοῖς χρώμενος ἐν τοῖς πολιτ. Strab. Geor. lib. 16.

b Psal 119. 98.

c Vide Orphei Carmina.

ſupport of a prophetical revelation, which doth open thoſe hidden myſteries that reaſon could never have been able to finde out, or to have known the neceſſity of them unto our everlaſting good: uſe we the precious gifts of God unto his glory and honour that gave them, ſeeking by all means to know what the will of our God is, what righteous before him, in his ſight what holy, perfect, and good, that we may truly and faithfully do it.

a ὧν χαρόντες ἀπολείπεται, πρὸς ταῦτ' ἂν προφητεία φθάνοι, Philo. de Moſ.

16 Thus far therefore we have endeavoured in part to open, of what nature and force Lawes are, according unto their ſeverall kindes; the Law wch God with himſelf hath eternally ſet down to follow in his own works; the Law which he hath made for his creatures to keep; the Law of naturall and neceſſary Agents; the Law which Angels in Heaven obey; the Law whereunto by the light of Reaſon men finde themſelves bound in that they are men; the Law which they make by compoſition for multitudes and politick Societies of men to be guided by, the Law which belongeth unto each Nation; the Law that concerneth the fellowſhip of all; and laſtly, the Law which God himſelf hath ſupernaturally revealed. It might peradventure have been more popular and more plauſible to vulgar eares, if this firſt diſcourſe had been ſpent in extolling the force of Lawes, in ſhewing the great neceſſity of them when they are good, and in aggravating their offence by whom publick Lawes are injuriouſly traduced. But for as much as with ſuch kinde of matter the paſſions of men are rather ſtirred one way or other, then their knowledge any way ſet forward unto the triall of that whereof there is doubt made; I have therefore turned aſide from that beaten path, and choſen, though a leſſe eaſie, yet a more profitable way in regard of the end we propoſe. Leſt therefore any man ſhould marvell whereunto all theſe things tend, the drift and purpoſe of all is this, even to ſhew in what manner as every good and perfect gift, ſo this very gift of good and perfect Lawes is derived from the Father of lights; to teach men a reaſon why juſt and reaſonable Lawes are of ſo great force, of ſo great uſe in the world, and to enforme their mindes with ſome methode of reducing the Lawes, whereof there is preſent controverſie, unto their firſt originall cauſes, that ſo it may be in every particular ordinance thereby the better diſcerned, whether the ſame be reaſonable, juſt, and righteous, or no. Is there any thing which can either be thorowly underſtood, or ſoundly judged of, till the very firſt cauſes and principles from which originally it ſpringeth be made manifeſt? If all parts of knowledge have been thought by wiſe men to be then moſt orderly delivered and proceeded in, when they are drawn to their firſt originall; ſeeing that our whole queſtion concerneth the quality of Eccleſiaſticall Lawes, let it not ſeem a labour ſuperfluous, that in the entrance thereunto all theſe ſeverall kindes of Lawes have been conſidered; in as much as they all concurre as principles, they all have their forcible operations therein, although not all in like apparent and manifeſt manner. By means whereof it commeth to paſſe, that the force which they have, is not obſerved of many. Eaſier a great deale it is for men by law to be taught what they ought to do, than inſtructed how to judge as they ſhould do of law; the one being a thing which belongeth generally unto all, the other ſuch as none but the wiſer and more judicious ſort can performe. Yea the wiſeſt are alwayes touching this point the readieſt to acknowledge, that

A concluſion ſhewing how all this belongeth to the cauſe in queſtion.

Iames 1. 17.

Ariſt. Phyſ. lib. 1 *cap.* 1.

that soundly to judge of a Law, is the waightiest thing which any man can take upon him. But if we will give judgement of the Lawes under which we live, first, let that Law eternall be alwayes before our eyes, as being of principall force and moment to breed in religious minds a dutifull estimation of all Lawes, the use and benefit whereof we see; because there can be no doubt but that Lawes apparantly good, are (as it were) things coppied out of the very Tables of that high everlasting Law, even as the Book of that Law hath said concerning it self, *By me Kings reigne, and by me Princes decree justice.* Not as if men did behold that Book, and accordingly frame their Lawes, but because it worketh in them, because it discovereth, and (as it were) readeth it self to the world by them, when the Lawes which they make are righteous. Furthermore, although we perceive not the goodnesse of Laws made; nevertheless, sith things in themselves may have that which we peradventure discerne not; should not this breed a fear in our hearts, how we speak or judge in the worse part concerning that, the unadvised disgrace whereof may be no mean dishonour to him, towards whom we professe all submission and awe? Surely, there must be very manifest iniquity in Lawes, against which we shall be able to justifie our contumelious invectives. The chiefest root whereof, when we use them without cause, is ignorance, how Lawes inferiour are derived from that supreme or highest Law. The first that receive impression from thence, are naturall agents. The Law of whose operations might be haply thought lesse pertinent, when the question is about Lawes for humane actions, but that in those very actions which most spiritually and supernaturally concern men, the Rules and Axiomes of naturall operations have their force. What can be more immediate to our salvation, than our perswasion concerning the Law of Christ towards his Church? What greater assurance of love towards his Church, than the knowledge of that mysticall Vnion whereby the Church is become as neer unto Christ, as any one part of his flesh is unto other? That the Church being in such sort his, he must needs protect it; what proof more strong, than if a manifest Law so require, which Law it is not possible for Christ to violate? And what other Law doth the Apostle for this alleage, but such as is both common unto Christ with us, and unto us with other things naturall, *No man hateth his own flesh, but doth love and cherish it.* The Axiomes of that Law therefore, whereby narurall Agents are guided, have their use in the morall, yea, even in the spirituall actions of men, and consequently in all Lawes belonging unto men howsoever. Neither are the Angels themselves so farre severed from us in their kinde and manner of working, but that between the Law of their heavenly operations, and the actions of men in this our state of mortality, such correspondence there is, as maketh it expedient to know in some sort the one, for the others more perfect direction. Would Angels acknowledge themselves Fellow-servants with the sonnes of men, but that both having ~~one~~ One Lord, there must be some kinde of Law which is one and the same to both, whereunto their obedience being perfecter, is to our weaker both a pattern and a spurre? Or would the Apostles, speaking of that which belongeth unto Saints, as they are linked together in the bond of spirituall society, so often make mention how Angels are therewith delighted, if in things publickly

Arist. Ethic. 10. τὸ κύριον ἐρεῖ τῶν μέγιστον. *Intelligit de legum qualitate judicium.*

Prov. 8. 15.

Ephes. 5. 29.

Apoc. 19. 10.

1 Pet. 1. 12. Ephes. 3. 10. 1 Tim. 5. 21.

publickly done by the Church we are not ſomewhat to reſpect what the Angels of Heaven do? Yea ſo farre hath the Apoſtle S. *Paul* proceeded, as to ſignifie that even about the outward orders of the Church which ſerve but for comelineſſe ſome regard is to be had of Angels; who beſt like us when we are moſt like unto them in all parts of decent demeanour. So that the law of Angels we cannot judge altogether impertinent unto the affaires of the Church of God. Our largeneſſe of ſpeech, how men do finde out what things reaſon bindeth them of neceſſity to obſerve, & what it guideth them to chooſe in things which are left as arbitrary; the care we have had to declare the different nature of lawes which ſeverally concern all men; from ſuch as belong unto men either civilly or ſpiritually aſſociated, ſuch as pertain to the fellowſhip which Nations, or which Chriſtian Nations have amongſt themſelves, and in the laſt place ſuch as concerning every or any of theſe God himſelf hath revealed by his holy Word; all ſerveth but to make manifeſt, that as the actions of men are of ſundry diſtinct kinds, ſo the laws therof muſt accordingly be diſtinguiſhed. There are in men operations, ſome naturall, ſome rationall, ſome ſupernaturall, ſome politick, ſome finally Eccleſiaſticall. Which if we meaſure not each by his own proper law, whereas the things themſelves are ſo different; there will be in our underſtanding and judgement of them confuſion. As that firſt errour ſheweth whereon our oppoſites in this cauſe have grounded themſelves. For as they rightly maintain, that God muſt be glorified in all things, & that the actions of men cannot tend unto his glory, unleſſe they be framed after his law: ſo it is their errour, to think that the only law which God hath appointed unto men in that behalf is the ſacred Scripture. By that which we work naturally, as when we breathe, ſleep, move, we ſet forth the glory of God as naturall agents do, albeit we have no expreſſe purpoſe to make that our end, nor any adviſed determination therein to follow a law, but do that we do (for the moſt part) not as much as thinking thereon. In reaſonable & morall actions another law taketh place, a law by the obſervation whereof we glorifie God in ſuch ſort as no creature elſe under man is able to do; becauſe other creatures have not judgement to examine the quality of that which is done by them, and therefore in that they do, they neither can accuſe nor approve themſelves. Men do both, as the Apoſtle teacheth; yea, thoſe men which have no written law of God to ſhew what is good or evill, carry written in their hearts the univerſall law of mankinde, the law of reaſon, whereby they judge as by a rule which God hath given unto men for that purpoſe. The law of reaſon doth ſomewhat direct men how to honour God as their Creator; but how to glorifie God in ſuch ſort as is required to the end he may be an everlaſting Saviour; this we are taught by divine law, which law both aſcertaineth the truth and ſupplyeth unto us the want of that other law. So that in morall actions, divine law helpeth exceedingly the law of reaſon to guide mans life; but in ſupernaturall it alone guideth. Proceed we further, let us place man in ſome publick ſociety with others, whether civill or ſpirituall: and in this caſe there is no remedy but we muſt adde yet a further law. For although even here likewiſe the lawes of Nature and reaſon be of neceſſary uſe; yet ſomewhat over and beſides them is neceſſary, namely humane and poſitive laws, together with that law which is

1 *Cor.* 11. 10.

Pſal. 148. 7, 8, 9.

Rom. 1. 21.

Rom. 2. 15.

of commerce between grand ſocieties, the Law of Nations and of Nations
Rom. 13. 1. Chriſtian. For which cauſe the Law of God hath likewiſe ſaid, *Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higher powers.* The publick power of all ſocieties is above every ſoul contained in the ſame ſocieties. And the principall uſe of that power is to give lawes unto all that are under it; which lawes in ſuch caſe we muſt obey, unleſſe there be reaſon ſhewed which may neceſſarily inforce, that the law of reaſon or of God doth enjoyn the contrary. Becauſe except our own private, and but probable reſolutions, be by the law of publick determinations over-ruled; we take away all poſſibility of ſociable life in the world. A plainer example whereof then our ſelves we cannot have. How commeth it to paſſe that we are at this preſent day ſo rent with mutual contentions; and that the Church is ſo much troubled about the Polity of the Church? No doubt, if men had been willing to learn how many lawes their actions in this life are ſubject unto, and what the true force of each law is, all theſe controverſies might have died the very day they were firſt brought forth. It is both commonly ſaid, and truly, that the beſt men otherwiſe, are not always the beſt in regard of ſociety. The reaſon whereof is, for that the law of mens actions is one, if they be reſpected only as men; and another, when they are conſidered as parts of a politick body. Many men there are, than whom nothing is more commendable when they are ſingled. And yet in ſociety with others, none leſſe fit to anſwer the duties which are looked for at their hands. Yea, I am perſwaded, that of them with whom in this cauſe we ſtrive, there are, whoſe betters amongſt men would be hardly found, if they did not live amongſt men, but in ſome Wilderneſſe by themſelvs. The cauſe of which their diſpoſition ſo unframeable unto ſocieties wherein they live, is for that they diſcerne not aright what place and force theſe ſeverall kinds of laws ought to have in all their actions. Is there queſtion either concerning the regiment of the Church in generall, or about Conformity between one Church and another, or of Ceremonies, Offices, Powers, Iuriſdiction in our own Church? Of all theſe things they judge by that rule which they frame to themſelves with ſome ſhew of probability; and what ſeemeth in that ſort convenient, the ſame they think themſelves bound to practiſe, the ſame by all means they labour mightily to uphold; whatſoever any law of man to the contrary hath determined they weigh it not. Thus by following the law of private reaſon, where the law of publick ſhould take place, they breed diſturbance. For the better inuring therefore of mens mindes with the true diſtinction of lawes and of their ſeverall force, according to the different kinde and quality of our actions, it ſhall not peradventure be amiſſe to ſhew in ſome one example how they all take place. To ſeek no further, let but that be conſidered, than which there is not any thing more familiar unto us, our food. What things are food, and what are not, we judge naturally by ſenſe, neither need we any other Law to be our directer in that behalf than the ſelfeſame which is common unto us with beaſts. But when we come to conſider of food, as of a benefit which God of his bounteous goodneſſe hath provided for all things
Iob 34. 3. Pſal. 145. 15, 16. living, the law of reaſon doth here require the duty of thankfulneſſe at our hands, towards him at whoſe hands we have it. And leſt appetite in the uſe of food, ſhould lead us beyond that which is meet; we owe in

Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις τῇ ἀρετῇ δυνάσθαι χρῆσθαι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς ἕτερον οὐ δυνατοῖσι, Ariſt. Eth. 5. cap. 3.

this

this caſe obedience to that Law of reaſon, which teacheth mediocrity in meats and drinks. The ſame things Divine Law teacheth alſo, as at large we have ſhewed it doth all parts of morall dutie, whereunto we all of neceſſity ſtand bound, in regard of the life to come. But of certain kinds of food the Iewes ſometime had, and we our ſelves likewiſe have a myſticall, religious, and ſupernaturall uſe; they of their Paſchall Lambe and Oblations; we of our Bread and Wine in the Euchariſt; which uſe none, but Divine Law could inſtitute. Now as we live in civill ſociety, the ſtate of the Common-wealth where in we live, both may and doth require certain Lawes concerning food; which Lawes, ſaving only that we are members of the Common-wealth where they are of force, we ſhould not need to reſpect as rules of action, whereas now in their place and kinde they muſt be reſpected and obeyed. Yea, the ſelfe-ſame matter is alſo a ſubject where in ſometime Eccleſiaſticall Lawes have place; ſo that unleſſe we will be Authours of confuſion in the Church, our private diſcretion, which otherwiſe might guide us a contrary way, muſt here ſubmit it ſelf to be that way guided, which the publick judgement of the Church hath thought better. In which caſe that of *Zonaras* concerning Faſts may be remembred. *Faſtings are good, but let good things be done in good and convenient manner. He that tranſgreſſeth in his faſting the orders of the holy Fathers*, the poſitive Lawes of the Church of Chriſt, muſt be plainly told *that good things do loſe the grace of their goodneſſe, when in good ſort they are not performed.* And as here mens private phanſies muſt give place to the higher judgement of that Church which is in authority a Mother over them: ſo the very actions of whole Churches have, in regard of commerce and fellowſhip with other Churches, been ſubject to Lawes concerning food, the contrary unto which Lawes had elſe been thought more convenient for them to obſerve; as by that order of abſtinence from ſtrangled and blood may appeare; an order grounded upon that fellowſhip which the Churches of the Gentiles had with the Iewes. Thus we ſee how even one and the ſelfe-ſame thing is under divers conſiderations conveighed through many Lawes, and that to meaſure by any one kinde of Law all the actions of men, were to confound the admirable order wherein God hath diſpoſed all Lawes, each as in nature, ſo in degree, diſtinct from other. Wherefore that here we may briefly end, of Law there can be no leſſe acknowledged, than that her ſeat is the boſome of God, her voice the harmony of the World, all things in Heaven and Earth do her homage, the very leaſt as feeling her care, and the greateſt as not exempted from her power; both Angels and Men and creatures of what condition ſoever, though each in different ſort and manner, yet all with uniforme conſent, admiring her as the Mother of their peace and joy.

ὅτι οὐ καλὸν τὰ καλὰ, ὅταν μὴ καλῶς γίνηται. Apoſt. 66.

Acts 15. 20.

OF THE LAWES OF ECCLESIASTICALL POLITIE:

The ſecond Book.

Concerning their Firſt Poſition who urge Reformation in the Church of England:

Namely, That Scripture is the only Rule of all things which in this life may be done by men.

The matter contained in this ſecond Book.

1 AN anſwer to their firſt proof brought out of *Scripture*, Prov. 2.9.
2 To their ſecond, 1 Cor. 10.31.
3 To their third, 1 Tim. 4. 5.
4 To their fourth, Rom. 14.23.
5 To their proofs out of *Fathers*, who diſpute negatively from the authority of holy Scripture.
6 To their proof by the Scriptures cuſtome of diſputing from Divine authority negatively.
7 An examination of their opinion concerning the force of *Arguments*, taken from humane authority, for the ordering of mens actions and perſwaſions.
8 A Declaration what the truth is in this matter.

AS that which in the title hath been propoſed for the matter whereof we treat, is only the Eccleſiaſticall Law whereby we are governed; ſo neither is it my purpoſe to maintain any other thing, than that which therein truth and reaſon ſhall approve. For concerning the dealings of men who adminiſter Government, and unto whom the execution of that Law belongeth; they have their judge who ſitteth in Heaven, and before whoſe Tribunall Seat they are accountable for whatſoever abuſe or corruption, which (being worthily miſliked in this Church) the want either of care or of conſcience in them hath bred. We are no Patrons of thoſe things therefore; the beſt

defence whereof is speedy redresse and amendment. That which is of God we defend, to the uttermost of that hability which he hath given: that which is otherwise, let it wither, even in the root from whence it hath sprung. Wherefore all these abuses being severed and set apart, which rise from the corruption of men, and not from the Lawes themselves: come we to those things which in the very whole intire forme of our Church-Polity have been (as we perswade our selves) injuriously blamed by them who endeavour to overthrow the same, and in stead thereof to establish a much worse; only through a strong misconceit they have, that the same is grounded on divine authority. Now, whether it be that through an earnest longing desire to see things brought to a peaceable end, I do but imagine the matters whereof we contend, to be fewer then indeed they are; or else for that in truth they are fewer when they come to be discust by reason, than otherwise they seem, when by heat of contention they are divided into many slips, and of every branch an heap is made: surely, as now we have drawn them together, choosing out those things which are requisite to bee severally all discust, and omitting such meane specialities as are likly (without any great labour) to fall afterwards of themselves; I know no cause why either the number or the length of the Controversies should diminish our hope of seeing the end with concord and love on all sides; which of his infinite love & goodnesse the Father of all peace & unitie grant. Vnto which scope that our indevour may the more directly tend, it seemeth fittest that first those things be examined, which are as seeds from whence the rest that insue have growne. And of such the most generall is that, wherewith wee are here to make our entrance; a question not moved (I think) any where in other Churches, and therefore in ours the more likely to be soon (I trust) determined: the rather for that it hath grown from no other root, than only a desire to enlarge the necessary use of the Word of God; which desire hath begotten an errour inlarging it further then (as we are perswaded) soundnesse of truth will bear. For whereas God hath left sundry kindes of Lawes unto men, and by all those Lawes the actions of men are in some sort directed; they hold that one only Law, the Scripture, must be the rule to direct in all things, even so far as to the *taking up of a Rush or Straw*. About which point there should not need any question to grow, and that which is grown might presently end, if they did yeeld but to these two restraints: the first is, not to extend the actions whereof they speak, so low as that instance doth import, of taking up a Straw, but rather keep themselves, at the least within the compasse of morall actions, actions which have in them vice or vertue; The second, not to exact at our hands for every action the knowledge of some place of Scripture out of which we stand bound to deduce it, as by divers testimonies they seek to enforce; but rather as the truth is, so to acknowledge, that it sufficeth if such actions be framed according to the Law of Reason; the generall Axiomes, Rules, and Principles of which Law being so frequent in holy Scripture, there is no let but in that regard even out of Scripture such duties may be deduced by some kinde of consequence, (as by long circuit of deduction it may be that even all truth out of any truth may be concluded) howbeit no man bound in such sort to deduce all his actions out of Scripture, as if either the place be to him unknown

T.C.l.1.p.59,60.

known whereon they may be concluded, or the reference unto that place not preſently conſidered of, the action ſhall in that reſpect be condemned as unlawfull. In this we diſſent, and this we are preſently to examine.

1 In all parts of knowledge rightly ſo termed, things moſt generall are moſt ſtrong: Thus it muſt be, in as much as the certainty of our perſwaſion touching particulars, dependeth altogether upon the credit of thoſe generalities out of which they grow. Albeit therefore every cauſe admit not ſuch infallible evidence of proof, as leaveth no poſſibility of doubt or ſcruple behinde it; yet they who claim the generall aſſent of the whole world unto that which they teach, & do not fear to give very hard and heavie ſentence upon as many as refuſe to imbrace the ſame, muſt have ſpeciall regard that their firſt foundations and grounds be more then ſlender probabilities. This whole queſtion which hath been moved about the kinde of Church Regiment, we could not but for our own reſolutions ſake, endeavour to unrip and ſift, following therein as neer as we might, the conduct of that judiciall method which ſerveth beſt for invention of truth. By means whereof having found this the head Theoreme of all their diſcourſes, who plead for the change of Eccleſiaſticall government in England, namely, *that the Scripture of God is in ſuch ſort the rule of humane actions, that ſimply whatſoever we do, and are not by it directed thereunto, the ſame is ſin*; we hold it neceſſary that the proofs hereof be weighed: be they of weight ſufficient or otherwiſe, it is not ours to judge and determine: only what difficulties there are, which as yet with-hold our aſſent, till we be further and better ſatisfied, I hope, no indifferent amongſt them will ſcorn or refuſe to hear. Firſt, therefore, whereas they alleage *that wiſdome* doth teach men *every good way*, and have thereupon inferred, that no way is good in any kind of action, unleſſe wiſdome do by Scripture lead unto it: ſee they not plainly how they reſtrain the manifold wayes which wiſdome hath to teach men by, unto one only way of teaching, which is by Scripture? The bounds of wiſdome are large, and within them much is contained. Wiſdome was *Adams* Inſtructer in Paradiſe: Wiſdome endued the Fathers who lived before the Law, with the knowledge of holy things: by the wiſdome of the Law of God, *David* attained to excell others in underſtanding; and *Salomon* likewiſe to excell *David* by the ſelfeſame wiſdome of God, teaching him many things beſides the Law. The wayes of well-doing are in number even as many, as are the kinds of voluntary actions: ſo that whatſoever we do in this World and may do it ill, we ſhew our ſelves therein by well-doing to be wiſe. Now if wiſdome did teach men by Scripture not only all the wayes that are right and good in ſome certain kinde, according to that of S. [a] *Paul*, concerning the uſe of Scripture; but did ſimply without any manner of exception, reſtraint, or diſtinction, teach every way of doing well; there is no art but Scripture ſhould teach it, becauſe every art doth teach the way how to do ſomething or other well. To teach men therefore wiſdome profeſſeth, and to teach them every good way: but not every good

The firſt pretended proof of the firſt Poſition out of Scripture. *Prov. 2. 9.* *T. C. l. 1. p. 20.* I ſay that the Word of God containeth whatſoever things can fall into any part of mans life. For ſo *Salomon* ſaith in the ſecond Chapter of the *Proverbs* *My Sonne, if thou receive my words, &c. then thou ſhalt underſtand juſtice, and judgement, and equity, and every good way.*

Pſal. 119. 95.

a 2 Tim. 3. 16. *The whole Scripture is given by inſpiration of God, and is profitable to teach, to improve, to correct and to inſtruct in righteouſneſſe, that the man of God may be abſolute, being made perfect unto all good works.* He meaneth all and only thoſe good workes which belong unto us as we are men of God, and which unto ſalvation are neceſſary. Or, if we underſtand by men of God, Gods Miniſter, there is not required in them an univerſall skill of every good work or way, but an ability to teach whatſoever men are bound to do that they may be ſaved. And with this kinde of knowledge the Scripture ſufficeth to furniſh them as touching matter.

way

way by one way of teaching. Whatsoever either men on Earth, or the Angels of Heaven do know, it is as a drop of that unemptiable Fountain of wisdome; which wisdome hath diversly imparted her treasures unto the World. As her wayes are of sundry kinds, so her manner of teaching is not meerly one and the same. Some things she openeth by the sacred Books of Scripture; some things by the glorious works of Nature: with some things she inspireth them from above by spirituall influence; with some things she leadeth and traineth them only by worldly experience and practice. We may not so in any one speciall kinde admire her, that we disgrace her in any other; but let all her wayes be according unto their place and degree adored.

The second proof out of Scripture. 1 *Cor.*10.31. T.C.*li* p.26. S. *Paul* saith that whether we eat or drink or whatsoever we do, we must do it to the glory of God. But no man can glorifie God in any thing but by obedience; and there is no obedience but in respect of the Commandement and Word of God: Therefore it followeth that the Word of God directeth a man in all his actions.

2 That *all things be done to the glory of God*, the blessed Apostle (it is true) exhorteth. The glory of God is the admirable excellency of that vertue divine, which being made manifest, causeth Men and Angels to extoll his greatnes, & in regard thereof to fear him. By being glorified, it is not meant that he doth receive any augmentation of glory at our hands; but his Name we glorifie, when we testifie our acknowledgement of his glory. Which albeit we most effectually do by the vertue of obedience: nevertheless it may be perhaps a question, whether S. *Paul* did mean that we sin as oft as ever we go about any thing, without an expresse intent and purpose to obey God therein. He saith of himself, *I do in all things please all men, seeking not mine own commodity, but* rather the good *of many, that they may be saved.* Shall it hereupon be thought, that S. *Paul* did not move either hand or foot, but with expresse intent even thereby to further the common salvation of men? We move, we sleep, we take the cup at the hand of our friend, a number of things we oft times do, only to satisfie some naturall desire, without present expresse and actuall reference unto any Commandement of God. Vnto his glory even these things are done which we naturally performe, and not onely that which morally and spiritually we do. For by every effect proceeding from the most concealed instincts of Nature, his power is made manifest. But it doth not therefore follow, that of necessity we shall sin, unlesse we expresly intend this in every such particular. But be it a thing which requireth no more than only our generall presupposed willingnesse to please God in all things; or be it a matter wherein we cannot so glorifie the Name of God as we should, without an actuall intent to do him in that particular some speciall obedience: yet for any thing there is in this sentence alleadged to the contrary, God may be glorified by obedience, and obeyed by performance of his will, & his will be performed with an actuall intelligent desire to fulfill that Law which maketh known what his will is, although no speciall clause or sentence of Scripture be in every such action set before mens eyes to warrant it. For Scripture is not the only Law whereby God hath opened his will touching all things that may be done; but there are other kinde of Lawes which notifie the will of God, as in the former Book hath been proved at large: nor is there any Law of God, whereunto he doth not account our obedience his glory. *Do therefore all things unto the glory of God* (saith the Apostle,) *be inoffensive both to the Iewes and Grecians, and the Church of God; even as I please all men in all things, not seeking mine own commodity, but manies, that they may be saved.* In the least thing

thing done diſobediently towards God, or offenſively againſt the good of men, whoſe benefit we ought to ſeek for as for our own, we plainly ſhew that we do not acknowledge God to be ſuch as indeed he is, and conſequently that we glorifie him not. This the bleſſed Apoſtle teacheth: but doth any Apoſtle teach, that we cannot glorifie God otherwiſe, than only in doing what we finde that God in Scripture commandeth us to do? The Churches diſperſed amongſt the Heathen in the Eaſt part of the World, are by the Apoſtle Saint *Peter* exhorted, to have their *converſation honeſt amongſt the Gentiles, that they which ſpeak evill of them as of evill doers, might by the good works which they ſhould ſee, glorifie God in the day of viſitation.* As long as that which Chriſtians did was good, and no way ſubject to juſt reproof, their vertuous converſation was a mean to work the Heathens converſion unto Chriſt. Seeing therefore this had been a thing altogether impoſſible, but that Infidels themſelves did diſcern, in matters of life and converſation, when Beleevers did well, and when otherwiſe; when they glorified their heavenly Father, and when not: it followeth that ſome things wherein God is glorified, may be ſome other way known, than only by the ſacred Scripture; of which Scripture the Gentiles being utterly ignorant, did notwithſtanding judge rightly of the quality of Chriſtian mens actions. Moſt certain it is, that nothing but only ſin, doth diſhonour God. So that to glorifie him in all things, is to do nothing whereby the Name of God may be blaſphemed; nothing whereby the ſalvation of Iew or Grecian or any in the Church of Chriſt may be let or hindred, nothing whereby his Law is tranſgreſt. But the queſtion is, whether only Scripture do ſhew whatſoever God is glorified in.

1 Pet. 2. 12.

Rom. 2. 24.

1 *Cor.* 10. 32. *Rom.* 2. 23.

3 And though meats and drinks be ſaid to be ſanctified by the Word of God, and by Prayer: yet neither is this a reaſon ſufficient to prove, that by Scripture we muſt of neceſſity be directed, in every light and common thing which is incident into any part of mans life. Only it ſheweth that unto us the Word, that is to ſay, the Goſpell of Chriſt, having not delivered any ſuch difference of things clean and unclean, as the Law of *Moſes* did unto the Iewes; there is no cauſe but that we may uſe indifferently all things, as long as we do not (like Swine) take the benefit of them, without a thankfull acknowledgement of his liberality and goodneſſe, by whoſe providence they are enjoyed: and therefore the Apoſtle gave warning before hand to take heed of ſuch as ſhould enjoyne to *abſtain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thankſgiving, by them which beleeve and know the Truth. For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refuſed, if it be received with thankſgiving, becauſe it is ſanctified by the word of God and Prayer.* The Goſpell, by not making many things unclean, as the Law did, hath ſanctified thoſe things generally to all; which particularly each man unto himſelf muſt ſanctifie by a reverend and holy uſe: which will hardly be drawn ſo far, as to ſerve their purpoſe, who have imagined the Word in ſuch ſort to ſanctifie all things, that neither food can be taſted nor raiment put on, nor in the World any thing done, but this deed muſt needs be ſin in them, which do not firſt know it appointed unto them by Scripture before they do it.

The third Scripture proof. 1 *Tim.* 4. 5. And that which S. *Paul* ſaid of meats and drinks; that they are ſanctified unto us by the word of God, the ſame is to be underſtanded of all things elſe whatſoever we have the uſe of. *T. C.* l. 1. p. 20. 1 *Tim.* 4.

4 But

The fourth Scripture proof.
*Rom.*14.23.
*T.C.l.*1.*p.*27.

4 But to come unto that which of all other things in Scripture is moſt ſtood upon, that place of S. *Paul* they ſay, is *of all other moſt cleere, where ſpeaking of thoſe things which are called indifferent, in the end he concludeth, that whatſoever is not of faith, is ſin. But faith is not but in reſpect of the word of God. Therefore whatſoever is not done by the word of God, is ſin.* Whereunto we anſwer, that albeit the name of faith being properly and ſtrictly taken, it muſt needs have reference unto ſome uttered word, as the object of beliefe: neverthleſſe ſith the ground of credit is the credibility of things credited; and things are made credible, either by the known condition and quality of the utterer, or by the manifeſt likelihood of Truth which they have in themſelves; hereupon it riſeth, that whatſoever we are perſwaded of, the ſame we are generally ſaid to beleeve. In which generality the object of faith may not ſo narrowly be reſtrained, as if the ſame did extend no further than to the only Scriptures of God. *Though* (ſaith our Saviour) *ye beleeve not me, beleeve my works, that ye may know and beleeve that the Father is in me, and I in him. The other Diſciples ſaid unto* Thomas, *We have ſeen the Lord*; but his anſwer unto them was, *Except I ſee in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into them, I will not beleeve.* Can there be any thing more plain, than that which by theſe two ſentences appeareth? namely, that there may be a certain belief grounded upon other aſſurance than Scripture; any thing more cleer, than that we are ſaid not only to beleeve the things which we know by anothers relation, but even whatſoever we are certainly perſwaded of, whether it be by reaſon, or by ſenſe? For as much therefore as [a] it is granted that S. *Paul* doth mean nothing elſe by *Faith*, but only *a full perſwaſion that that which we do is well done*; againſt which kinde of faith or perſwaſion as S. *Paul* doth count it ſin to enterprize any thing, [b] ſo likewiſe ſome of the very Heathen have taught, as *Tully*, *that nothing ought to be done whereof thou doubteſt whether it be right or wrong; whereby it appeareth that even thoſe which had no knowledge of the Word of God, did ſee much of the equity of this which the Apoſtle requireth of a Chriſtian man.* I hope we ſhall not ſeem altogether unneceſſarily to doubt of the foundneſſe of their opinion, who think ſimply that nothing but onely the Word of God, can give us aſſurance in any thing we are to do, and reſolve us that we do well. For might not the Iews have been fully perſwaded that they did well to think (if they had ſo thought) that in Chriſt God the Father was, although the only ground of this their faith, had been the wonderfull works they ſaw him do? Might not, yea, did not *Thomas* fully in the end, perſwade himſelf, that he did well to think that body, which now was raiſed, to be the ſame which had been crucified? That which gave *Thomas* this aſſurance was his ſenſe; *Thomas, becauſe thou haſt ſeen, thou beleeveſt*, ſaith our Saviour. What Scripture had *Tully* for his aſſurance? Yet I nothing doubt but that they who alleage him think he did well to ſet down

*Pſal.*19.8.
*Apoc.*3.14.
2 *Cor.*1.18.

*Iob.*10.38.
1 *John* 20.25.

John 20.21.

a And if any will ſay, that S. *Paul* meaneth there a full πληροφορίαν and perſwaſion that that which he doth is well done, I grant it. But from whence can that ſpring but from Faith? how can we perſwade and aſſure our ſelvs that wee do well, but whereas we have the Word of God for our warrant? *T.C.*4.*c.*27.

b What alſo that ſome even of thoſe Heathen men have taught, that nothing ought to be done, whereof thou doubteſt whether it be right or wrong? Whereby it appeareth, that even thoſe which had no knowledge of the Word of God, did ſee much of the equity of this which the Apoſtle requireth of a Chriſtian man: and that the chiefeſt difference is, that where they ſent men for the difference of good and evill to the light of reaſon in ſuch things the Apoſtle ſendeth them to the Schoole of Chriſt in his Word, which only is able through faith to give them aſſurance and reſolution in their doings. *T.C.lib.*1.*pag.*60.

down in writing a thing ſo conſonant unto truth. Finally, we all beleeve that the Scriptures of God are ſacred, and that they have proceeded from God, our ſelves we aſſure that we do right well in ſo beleeving. We have for this point a demonſtration ſound and infallible. But it is not the Word of God which doth or poſſibly can aſſure us, that we do well to think it his Word. For if any one book of Scripture did give teſtimony to all; yet ſtill that Scripture which giveth credit to the reſt, would require another Scripture to give credit unto it: neither could we ever come to any pauſe whereon to reſt our aſſurance this way: ſo that unleſſe beſides Scripture there were ſome thing which might aſſure us that we do well, we could not think we do well, no not in being aſſured that Scripture is a ſacred and holy rule of well doing. On which determination we might be contented to ſtay our ſelves without further proceeding herein, but that we are drawn on into a larger ſpeech by reaſon of their ſo great earneſtneſſe, who beat more and more upon theſe laſt alleadged words, as being of all other moſt pregnant. Whereas therefore, they ſtill argue, that *whereſoever Faith is wanting, there is ſin*, and *in every action not commanded, Faith is wanting*; Ergo, *in every action not commanded there is ſin*: I would demand of them; firſt, foraſmuch as the nature of things indifferent is neither to be commanded nor forbidden, but left free and arbitrary; how there can be any thing indifferent, if for want of faith ſin be committed, when any thing not commanded is done? So that of neceſſity they muſt adde ſomewhat, and at leaſt wiſe thus ſet it down: In every action not commanded of God or permitted with approbation, Faith is wanting, and for want of Faith there is ſinne. The next thing we are to enquire is, what thoſe things be which God permitteth with approbation, and how we may know them to be ſo permitted. When there are unto one end ſundry means, as for example, for the ſuſtenance of our bodies many kindes of food, many ſorts of raiment to clothe our nakedneſſe, and ſo in other things of like condition: here the end it ſelf being neceſſary, but not ſo any one mean thereunto; neceſſary that our bodies ſhould be both fed and clothed, howbeit no one kinde of food or raiment neceſſary; therefore we hold theſe things free in their own nature and indifferent. The choice is left to our own diſcretion, except a principall bond of ſome higher duty remove the indifferency that ſuch things have in themſelves. Their indifferency is removed, if either we take away our own liberty, as *Ananias* did, for whom to have ſold or held his poſſeſſions it was indifferent, till his ſolemne vow and promiſe unto God had ſtrictly bound him one only way: or if God himſelf have preciſely abridged the ſame, by reſtraining us unto, or by barring us from ſome one or more things of many; which otherwiſe were in themſelves altogether indifferent. Many faſhions of Prieſtly attire there were, whereof *Aaron* and his Sonne might have had their free choiſe without ſinne, but that God expreſly tyed them unto one. All meats indifferent unto the Iew, were it not that God by name excepted ſome; as Swines fleſh. Impoſſible therefore it is wee ſhould otherwiſe think, than that what things God doth neither command nor forbid, the ſame he permitteth with approbation either to be done or left undone. *All things are lawfull unto me*, ſaith the Apoſtle, ſpeaking as it ſeemeth, in the perſon of the Chriſtian Gentile for maintenance of liberty in things indifferent: whereunto his

T.C.l.2.p.58.

Acts 5.

Exod. 39.1 43. Levit. 11.

1 Cor. 6.12.

anſwer

answer is, that nevertheleſſe *All things are not expedient*; in things indifferent there is a choice, they are not alwaies equally expedient: now in things although not commanded of God, yet lawfull becauſe they are permitted, the queſtion is, what light ſhall ſhew us the conveniency which one hath above another. For anſwer, their finall determination is, that *whereas the Heathen did ſend men for the difference of good and evill to the light of reaſon, in ſuch things the Apoſtle ſendeth us to the ſchoole of Chriſt in his Word, which only is able through faith to give us aſſurance and reſolution in our doings*. Which word *only*, is utterly without poſſibility of ever being proved. For what if it were true concerning things indifferent, that unleſſe the Word of the Lord had determined of the free uſe of them, there could have bin no lawfull uſe of them at all; which notwithſtanding is untrue; becauſe it is not the Scriptures ſetting down ſuch things as indifferent, but their not ſetting down as neceſſary, that doth make the to be indifferent: yet this to our preſent purpoſe ſerveth nothing at all. We enquire not whether any thing be free to be uſed, which Scripture hath not ſet down as free: but concerning things known & acknowledged to be indifferent, whether particularly in chooſing any one of them before another we ſin, if any thing but Scripture direct us in this our choiſe. When many meats are ſet before me, all are indifferent, none unlawfull; I take one as moſt convenient. If Scripture require me ſo to do, then is not the thing indifferent, becauſe I muſt do what Scripture requireth. They are all indifferent; I might take any, Scripture doth not require of me to make any ſpeciall choiſe of one: I do notwithſtanding make choiſe of one, my diſcretion teaching me ſo to do. A hard caſe, that hereupon I ſhould be juſtly condemned of ſin. Nor let any man think, that following the judgement of naturall diſcretion in ſuch caſes, we can have no aſſurance that we pleaſe God. For to the author & God of our nature, how ſhall any operation proceeding in naturall ſort, be in that reſpect unacceptable? The nature which himſelf hath given to work by, he cannot but be delighted with, when we exerciſe the ſame any way without Commandement of his to the contrary. My deſire is to make this cauſe ſo manifeſt, that if it were poſſible, no doubt or ſcruple concerning the ſame, might remain in any mans cogitation. Some truths there are, the verity whereof time doth alter: as it is now true that Chriſt is riſen from the dead; which thing was not true at ſuch time as Chriſt was living on earth, and had not ſuffered. It would be known therefore, whether this which they teach concerning the ſinfull ſtain of all actions not commanded of God, be a truth that doth now appertain unto us only, or a perpetuall truth, in ſuch ſort that from the firſt beginning of the world unto the laſt conſummation thereof, it neither hath been nor can be otherwiſe. I ſee not how they can reſtrain this unto any particular time, how they can think it true now and not alwayes true that in every action not commanded there is for want of faith ſin. Then let them caſt back their eyes unto former generations of men, and mark what was done in the prime of the world, *Seth*, *Enoch*, *Noah*, *Sem*, *Abraham*, *Iob*, & the reſt that lived before any ſyllable of the Law of God was written, did they not ſin as much as we do in every action not commanded? That which God is unto us by his ſacred Word, the ſame he was unto them by ſuch like means as *Eliphas* in *Iob* deſcribeth. If therefore we ſin in every action which the Scripture commandeth us not, it followeth that they did the

Iob 4.19.

like

like in all ſuch actions as were not by revelation from Heaven exacted at their hands. Unleſſe God from Heaven did by viſion ſtill ſhew them what to do, they might do nothing; not eat, not drink, not ſleep, not move. Yea, but even as in darkneſſe, candle-light may ſerve to guide mens ſteps, which to uſe in the day were madneſſe; ſo when God had once delivered his Law in Writing, it may be, they are of opinion, that it muſt needs be ſin for men to do any thing, which was not there commanded them to do, whatſoever they might do before. Let this be granted, and it ſhall hereupon plainly enſue, either that the light of Scripture once ſhining in the World, all other light of nature is therewith in ſuch ſort drowned, that now we need it not, neither may we longer uſe it; or if it ſtand us in any ſtead, yet as *Ariſtotle* ſpeaketh of Men whom nature hath framed for the ſtate of ſervitude, ſaying, *They have reaſon ſo far forth as to conceive when others direct them*, but little or none in directing themſelves by themſelves; ſo likewiſe our naturall capacity and judgement muſt ſerve us only for the right underſtanding of that which the ſacred Scripture teacheth. Had the Prophets who ſucceeded *Moſes*, or the bleſſed Apoſtles which followed them, been ſetled in this perſwaſion, never would they have taken ſo great pains in gathering together naturall Arguments, thereby to teach the faithfull their duties. To uſe unto them any other motive than *Scriptum eſt, Thus it is written*, had been to teach them other grounds of their actions than Scripture; which I grant, they alleadge commonly, but not only. Only Scripture they ſhould have alleadged, had they been thus perſwaded, that ſo far forth we do ſin, as we do any thing otherwiſe directed than by Scripture. S. *Auguſtine* was reſolute in points of Chriſtianity to credit none, how godly, and learned ſoever he were, unleſſe he confirmed his ſentence by the Scriptures, *or by ſome reaſon not contrary to them*. Let them therefore with S. *Auguſtine*, reject and condemn that which is not grounded either on the Scripture, or on ſome reaſon not contrary to Scripture, and we are ready to give them our hands in token of friendly conſent with them.

Ariſt. Pol. 1.

Auguſt. Ep. 18.

5 But againſt this it may be objected, and is, that the Fathers do nothing more uſually in their Books, than draw arguments from the Scripture negatively in reproof of that which is evill, *Scriptures teach it not, avoid it therefore*; theſe Diſputes with the Fathers are ordinary, neither is it hard to ſhew that the Prophets themſelves have ſo reaſoned. Which Arguments being ſound and good, it ſhould ſeem that it cannot be unſound or evill to hold ſtill the ſame aſſertion, againſt which hitherto we have diſputed. For if it ſtand with reaſon thus to argue, Such a thing is not taught us in Scripture, therefore we may not receive or allow it; how ſhould it ſeem unreaſonable to think, that whatſoever we may lawfully do, the Scripture by commanding it muſt make it lawfull? But how far ſuch Arguments do reach, it ſhall the better appear by conſidering the matter wherein they have been urged. Firſt therefore this we conſtantly deny, that of ſo many teſtimonies as they are able to produce for the ſtrength of negative arguments, any one doth generally (which is the point in queſtion) condemn either all opinions as falſe, or all actions as unlawfull, which the Scripture teacheth us not. The moſt that can be collected out of them is only, that in ſome caſes a negative argument taken from Scripture is ſtrong, whereof no man endued with judgement can doubt. But doth the ſtrength of ſome negative Argument

The firſt aſſertion endevoured to be proved by the uſe of taking arguments negatively from the authority of Scripture: which kinde of diſputing is uſuall in the Fathers.

prove this kinde of negative Argument ſtrong, by force whereof all things are denied which Scripture affirmeth not, or all things which Scripture preſcribeth not condemned? The queſtion between us is concerning matter of action, what things are lawfull or unlawfull for men to do. The ſentences alleadged out of the Fathers, are as peremptory and as large in every reſpect for matter of opinion, as of action: which argueth that in truth they never meant any otherwiſe to tye the one than the other unto Scripture, both being thereunto equally tyed, as far as each is required in the ſame kinde of neceſſity unto Salvation. If therefore it be not unlawfull to know, and with full perſwaſion to beleeve much more than Scripture alone doth teach; if it be againſt all ſenſe & reaſon to condemn the knowledge of ſo many Arts and Sciences as are otherwiſe learned than in holy Scripture, notwithſtanding the manifeſt ſpeeches of ancient Catholick Fathers which ſeem to cloſe up within the boſome thereof all manner of good and lawfull knowledge: wherfore ſhould theſe words be thought more effectuall, to ſhew that we may not in deeds and practice, than they are to prove that in ſpeculation and knowledge, we ought not to go any further than the Scripture? Which Scripture being given to teach matters of belief no leſſe than of action; the Fathers muſt needs be, and are even as plain againſt credit, beſides the relation, as againſt practice, without the Injunction of the Scripture. S. *Auguſtine* hath ſaid, *whether it be queſtion of Chriſt, or whether it be queſtion of his Church, or of what thing ſoever the queſtion be; I ſay not if we, but if an Angell from Heaven ſhall tell us any thing beſide that you have received in the Scripture under the Law and Goſpell, let him be accurſed.* In like ſort *Tertullian, we may not give our ſelves this liberty to bring in any thing of our will, nor chooſe any thing that other men bring in of their will; we have the Apoſtles themſelves for Authors, which themſelves brought nothing of their own will; but the diſcipline which they received of Chriſt; they delivered faithfully unto the people;* in which place the name of diſcipline importeth not as they who alleadge it would fain have it conſtrued; but as any man who noteth the circumſtance of the place, and the occaſion of uttering the words, will eaſily acknowledge; even the ſelf-ſame thing it ſignifieth, which the name of Doctrine doth, and as well might the one as the other there have been uſed. To helpe them farther, doth not Saint *Ierome* after the ſelf-ſame manner diſpute, *We beleeve it not becauſe we reade it not?* Yea, *we ought not ſo much as to know the things which the Book of the Law containeth not*, ſaith Saint *Hilarie*. Shall we hereupon then conclude, that we may not take knowledge of, or give credit unto any thing which ſenſe, or experience, or report, or art doth propoſe, unleſſe we finde the ſame in Scripture? No, it is too plain that ſo far to extend their ſpeeches, is to reſt them againſt their true intent and meaning. To urge any thing upon the Church, requiring thereunto that religious aſſent of Chriſtian belief, wherewith the words of the holy Prophets are received; to urge any thing as part of that ſupernaturall and celeſtially revealed Truth which God hath taught, and not to ſhew it in Scripture, this did the ancient Fathers evermore think unlawfull, impious, execrable. And thus as their ſpeeches were meant, ſo by us they muſt be reſtrained. As for thoſe alleadged words of

Aug. contr. liter. Pentil. l. 3. c. 6.

Tertul. de præſcript. adverſ.

Ibid. l. 2. p. 81.

Auguſtine ſaith, whether it be queſtion of Chriſt, or whether it be queſtion of his Church, &c. And leſt the anſwerer ſhould reſtrain the generall saying of *Auguſtine* unto the Doctrine of the Goſpell, ſo that he would thereby ſhut out the Diſcipline; even *Tertullian* himſelf before he was embrued with the Hereſie of *Montanus*, giveth teſtimony unto the Diſcipline in theſe words, *We may not give our ſelves, &c.*

Hieron. contra Helvid.

Hilar. in Pſ. 131.

of *Cyprian*; *The Chriſtian Religion ſhall finde, that out of this Scripture Rules of all Doctrines have ſprung, and that from hence doth ſpring, and hither doth return whatſoever the Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline doth contain.* Surely this place would never have been brought forth in this cauſe, if it had been but once read over in the Author himſelf, out of whom it is cited. For the words are uttered concerning that one principall commandement of love, in the honour whereof he ſpeaketh after this ſort: *Surely this Commandement containeth the Law and the Prophets, and in this one word is the Abridgment of all the Volumes of Scripture: This Nature, and Reaſon, and the authority of thy Word, O Lord, doth proclaim; this we have heard out of thy mouth; herein the perfection of all Religion doth conſiſt. This is the firſt Commandement and the laſt: this being written in the Book of Life, is (as it were) an everlaſting leſſon both to Men and Angels. Let Chriſtian Religion reade this one Word, and meditate upon this Commandement, and out of this Scripture it ſhall find the Rules of all Learning to have ſprung, and from hence to have riſen, and hither to return whatſoever the Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline containeth; and that in all things it is vain and hoollesſe which Charity confirmeth not.* Was this a ſentence (trow you) of ſo great force to prove that Scripture is the only rule of all the actions of Men? Might they not hereby even as well prove, that one Commandement of Scripture is the only rule of all things, and ſo exclude the reſt of the Scripture, as now they do all means beſides Scripture? But thus it fareth, when too much deſire of contradiction cauſeth our ſpeeches rather to paſſe by number, than to ſtay for weight. Well, but *Tertullian* doth in this caſe ſpeak yet more plainly: *The Scripture* (ſaith he) *denieth what it noteth not:* which are indeed the words of *Tertullian*. But what? the Scripture reckoneth up the Kings of Iſrael, and amongſt thoſe Kings, *David*; the Scripture reckoneth up the ſons of *David*, and amongſt thoſe ſons, *Salomon*. To prove that amongſt the Kings of Iſrael, there was no *David* but only one, no *Salomon* but one in the ſons of *David*, *Tertullians* Argument will fitly prove. For inaſmuch as the Scripture did propoſe to reckon up all; if there were moe, it would have named them. In this caſe *the Scripture doth deny the thing it noteth not.* Howbeit I could not but think that man to do me ſome piece of manifeſt injury, which would hereby faſten upon me a generall opinion, as if I did think the Scripture to deny the very reigne of K. *Henry* the Eighth, becauſe it no where noteth that any ſuch King did reigne. *Tertullians* ſpeech is probable concerning ſuch matter as he there ſpeaketh of. There was, ſaith *Tertullian*, no ſecond *Lamech*, like to him that had two wives; the Scripture denieth what it noteth not. As therefore it noteth one ſuch to have been in that Age of the World; ſo had there been moe, it would by likelyhood as well have noted many as one. What infer we now hereupon? *There was no ſecond Lamech; the Scripture denieth what it noteth not.* Were it conſonant unto reaſon to divorce theſe two ſentences, the former of which doth ſhew how the later is reſtrained, and not marking the former, to conclude by the later of them, that ſimply whatſoever any man at this day doth think true, is by the Scripture denied, unleſſe it be there affirmed to be true? I wonder that a caſe ſo weak and feeble

T. C. lib. 2. pag. 8. Let him hear what *Cyprian* ſaith; The Chriſtian Religion (ſaith he) ſhall finde, that &c. *Verè hoc mandatum legè complectitur et Prophetas, & in hoc verbo omnium Scripturarum volumina conſtantur. Hoc natura, hoc ratio, hoc Domine, verbi tui clamat authoritas, hoc ex ore tuo audivimus, hic invenit conſummationem omnis Religio. Primum eſt hoc mandatum & ultimum, hoc in libro vitæ conſcriptum indeficientem & hominibus & Angelis exhibet lectionem. Legat hoc unum verbum & in hoc mandato meditetur Chriſtiana Religio, & inveniet ex Hac Scriptura omnium doctrinarum regulas emanaſſe, & hinc naſci & huc reverti quicquid Eccleſiaſtica continet diſciplina, & in omnibus vanum eſſe & frivolum quicquid dilectio non confirmat.*

Tertul. lib. de Monog. T. C. lib. 2. p. 81. And in another place *Tertullian* ſaith, that the Scripture denieth that which it noteth not.

hath been ſo much perſiſted in. But to come unto thoſe their ſentences, wherin matters of action are more apparantly touched, the name of *Turtul.* is as before, ſo here againe pretended; who writing unto his wife two Bookes, and exhorting her in the one to liue a widow, in caſe God before her ſhould take him unto his mercy; and in the other, if ſhe did marry, yet not to ioyne her ſelfe to an Infidell, as in thoſe times ſome Widowes Chriſtian had done for the aduancement of their eſtate in this preſent World; he urgeth very earneſtly Saint *Pauls* words, *Only in the Lord*: whereupon he demandeth of them that thinke they may doe the contrary, what Scripture they can ſhew where God hath diſpenſed & granted licence to do againſt that which the bleſſed Apoſtle ſo ſtrictly doth inioyne? And becauſe in defence it might perhaps bee replyed, ſeeing God doth will that couples which are married when both are Infidels, if either party chance to bee after converted unto Chriſtianitie, this ſhould not make ſeparation between them, as long as the unconverted was willing to retaine the other on whom the grace of Chriſt had ſhined; wherefore then ſhould that let the making of marriage, which doth not diſſolve marriage being made? after great reaſons ſhewed why God doth in Converts being married, allow continuance with Infidels, and yet diſallow that the faithfull when they are free ſhould enter into bonds of Wedlock with ſuch, concludeth in the end concerning thoſe women that ſo marry, *They that pleaſe not the Lord, doe euen thereby offend the Lord, they do euen thereby throw themſelues into euill*; that is to ſay, while they pleaſe him not by marrying in him, they doe that whereby they incurre his diſpleaſure; they make an offer of themſelues into the ſeruice of that enemy with whoſe ſeruants they linke themſelues in ſo neere a bond. What one ſyllable is there in all this, prejudiciall any way to that which we hold? For the words of *Tertullian* as they are by the alledged, are two ways miſunderſtood; both in the former part, where that is extended generally to *all things* in the neuter gender, which he ſpeaketh in the feminine gender of womens perſons; & in the latter, where *receiued with hurt*, is put in ſtead of *wilfull incurring that which is euill*. And ſo in ſumme, *Tertullian* doth neither mean nor ſay as is pretended, *whatſoeuer pleaſeth not the Lord, diſpleaſeth him, and with hurt is receiued*; but, *Thoſe women that pleaſe not the Lord* by their kind of marrying, *do euen thereby offend the Lord, they doe euen thereby throw themſelues into euill*. Somewhat more ſhew there is in a ſecond place of *Tertullian*, which notwithſtanding when wee have examined, it will be found as the reſt are. The Roman Emperours cuſtome was at certaine ſolemne times to beſtow on his Souldiers a donative, which donative they receiued, wearing garlands upon their heads. There were in the time of the Emperors *Seuerus* & *Antonius*, many who being Souldiers had bin converted unto Chriſt, & notwithſtanding cōtinued ſtill in that Militarie courſe of life. In which number, one man there was amōgſt all the reſt, who at ſuch a time cōming

Quæ Domino non placent, utiq; Dominum offendunt, utiq; malo ſe inſerunt.

T. C. l. 2. p. 80 And that in indifferent things it is not enough that they bee not againſt the Word, but that they bee according to the Word, it may appeare by other places, where hee ſaith, that whatſoeuer pleaſeth not the Lord, diſpleaſeth him, and with hurt is receiued, *Lib. 2. ad uxorem.*

T. C. l. 2. p. 81. And to come yet neerer, where he diſputeth againſt the wearing of Crown or Garland (which is indifferent in it ſelfe) to thoſe which obiecting asked, where the Scripture ſaith that a man might not weare a Crowne? hee anſwereth by asking where the Scripture ſaith that they may weare? And unto them replying that it is permitted, which is not forbidden, hee anſwereth that it is forbidden which is not permitted. Whereby appeareth, that the argument of the Scriptures negatiuely, holdeth not only in the Doctrine and Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, but euen in matters arbitrary and variable by the aduice of the Church. Where it is not enough that they be not forbidden, unleſſe there be ſome word which doth permit the uſe of them: it is not enough that the Scripture ſpeaketh not againſt them, unleſſe it ſpeake for them; and finally, where it diſpleaſeth the Lord which pleaſeth him not, we muſt of neceſſitie haue the Word of his mouth to declare his pleaſure.

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to the Tribune of the Army to receive his Donative, came but with a Garland in his hand, and not in ſuch ſort as others did. The Tribune offended hereat, demandeth what this great ſingularity would meane. To whom the Souldier, *Chriſtianus ſum, I am a Chriſtian.* Many there were ſo beſides him, which yet did otherwiſe at that time; whereupon grew a queſtion, whether a Chriſtian Souldier might herein do as the Unchriſtian did, and weare as as they wore. Many of them, which were very ſound in Chriſtian belief, did rather commend the zeale of this man, than approve his action. *Tertullian* was at the ſame time a *Montaniſt*, and an enemy unto the Church for condemning that propheticall ſpirit, which *Montanus* and his followers did boaſt they had received; as if in them Chriſt had performed his laſt promiſe; as if to them he had ſent the Spirit that ſhould be their perfecter and finall inſtructer in the myſteries of Chriſtian truth. Which exulceration of mind made him apt to take all occaſions of contradiction. Wherfore in honor of that action, and to gall their minds who did not ſo much commend it, hee wrote his book *de corona militis*, not diſſembling the ſtomack wherwith he wrote it. For firſt the man he commended as one more conſtant than the reſt of his Brethren, *Who preſumed*, ſaith he, *that they might well enough ſerve two Lords*. Afterwards, choler ſomewhat riſing within him, he addeth, *It doth even remaine that they ſhould alſo deviſe how to rid themſelves of his Martyrdome, towards the Propheſies of whoſe Holy Spirit they have already ſhewed their diſdaine. They mutter that their good and long peace is now in hazard. I doubt not but ſome of them ſend the Scriptures before, truſſe up bag and baggage, make themſelves in a readineſſe, that they may fly from City to City. For that is the only point of the Goſpell which they are carefull not to forget. I know even their Paſtors very well what they are, in peace Lions, Harts in time of trouble and feare.* Now theſe men, ſaith *Tertullian*, *They muſt be anſwered. Where do we find it written in Scripture*, that a Chriſtian man may not weare a Garland? And as mens ſpeeches uttered in heat of diſtempered affection, have oftentimes much more eagerneſſe than weight; ſo he that ſhall marke the proofes alleaged, and the anſwers to things objected in that Book, will now and then perhaps eſpy the like imbecillity. Such is that argument whereby they that wore on their heads Garlands, are charged as tranſgreſſors of Natures Law, and guilty of Sacriledge againſt God the Lord of Nature, in as much as Flowers in ſuch ſort worne, can neither bee ſmelt nor ſeene well by thoſe that weare them: and God made Flowers ſweet and beautifull, that being ſeene and ſmelt unto, they might ſo delight. Neither doth *Tertullian* bewray this weakneſſe in ſtriking only, but alſo in repelling their ſtrokes with whom he contendeth. They aske, ſaith he, *What Scripture is there which doth teach that we ſhould not be crowned? And what Scripture is there which doth teach that we ſhould? For in requiring on the contrary part the ayde of Scripture, they doe give ſentence before-hand that their part ought alſo by Scripture to be ayded.* Which anſwer is of no great force. There is no neceſſity, that if I confeſſe I ought not to do that which the Scripture forbiddeth me, I ſhould therby acknowledge my ſelfe bound to do nothing which the Scripture commandeth me not. For many inducements beſides Scripture may leade me to that, which if Scripture be againſt, they all give place, and are of no value; yet otherwiſe are ſtrong and effectuall to perſwade. Which thing himſelfe well

Tert. de coron. milit.

enough underſtanding, & being not ignorant that Scripture in many things doth neither command nor forbid, but uſe ſilence; his reſolution in fine, is, that in the Church a number of things are ſtrictly obſerved, whereof no Law of Scripture maketh mention one way or other; that of things once received and confirmed by uſe, long uſage is a Law ſufficient; that in civill affaires when there is no other Law, cuſtome it ſelfe doth ſtand for Law; that in as much as Law doth ſtand upon reaſon, to alledge reaſon ſerveth as well as to cite Scripture; that whatſoever is reaſonable, the ſame is lawfull, whoſoever is Author of it; that the authority of cuſtome is great; finally, that the cuſtome of Chriſtians was then and had been a long time, not to weare Garlands, and therfore that undoubtedly they did offend, who preſumed to violate ſuch a cuſtome by not obſerving that thing: the very inveterate obſervation whereof was a Law ſufficient to bind all men to obſerve it, unleſſe they could ſhew ſome higher Law, ſome Law of Scripture to the contrary. This preſuppoſed, it may ſtand then very well with ſtrength and ſoundneſſe of reaſon, even thus to anſwer; *Whereas they aske what Scripture forbiddeth them to weare a Garland? we are in this caſe rather to demand, what Scripture commandeth them? they cannot here alledge that that is permitted which is not forbiden them: no, that is forbidden them which is not permitted.* For long received cuſtom forbidding them to do as they did, (if ſo be it did forbid them) there was no excuſe in the world to juſtifie their act, unles in the Scripture they could ſhew ſome Law that did licence them thus to breake a received cuſtome. Now whereas in all the Books of *Tertullian* beſides, there is not ſo much found as in that one, to prove not only that we may do, but that we ought to do ſundry things which the Scripture cõmandeth not; out of that very Book theſe ſentences are brought to make us beleeve that *Tertullian* was of a cleane contrary mind. We cannot therefore hereupon yeeld, we cannot grant, that hereby is made manifeſt the argument of Scripture negative to be of force, not only in doctrine and Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, but even in matters arbitrary. For *Tertullian* doth plainly hold even in that Book, that neither the matter which he entreateth of was arbitrary but neceſſary, in as much as the received cuſtome of the Church did tie and bind them not to weare Garlands as the Heathens did; yea, and further alſo he reckoneth up particularly a number of things, whereof he expreſly concludeth, *Harum & aliarum ejuſmodi diſciplinarum ſi legem expoſtules Scripturarum, nullam invenies*; which is as much as if he had ſaid in expreſſe words; Many things there are which concerne the diſcipline of the Church and the duties of men, which to abrogate and take away, the Scriptures negatively urged may not in any caſe perſwade us, but they muſt be obſerved, yea although no Scripture be found which requireth any ſuch thing. *Tertullian* therfore undoubtedly doth not in this book ſhew himſelfe to be of the ſame mind with them by whom his name is pretended.

The firſt aſſertion endeavoured to be confirmed by the Scriptures cuſtome of diſputing from Divine authoritie negatively. 1. *Joh.* 2. 5. God is light, and there is in him no darkneſſe at all. *Heb.* 6. 18. It is impoſſible that God ſhould lie. *Numb.* 23. 19. God is not as man that he ſhould lie.

6 But ſith the Sacred Scriptures themſelves affoord oftentimes ſuch Arguments as are taken from divine authority both one way & other; *The Lord hath commanded, therefore it muſt be:* And again, in like ſort, *He hath not, therefore it muſt not be:* ſome certainty concerning this point ſeemeth requiſite to be ſet down; God himſelf can neither poſſibly erre, nor lead into error. For this cauſe his teſtimonies, whatſoever he affirmeth, are always truth & moſt infallible cer-

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tainty. Yea further, becauſe the things that proceed from him are perfect without any manner of defect or maime; it cannot be but that the words of his mouth are abſolute, and lacke nothing which they ſhould have, for performance of that thing whereunto they tend. Whereupon it followeth, that the end being known wherunto he directeth his ſpeech, the argument negatively is evermore ſtrong & forcible, concerning thoſe things that are apparantly requiſit unto the ſame end. As for example, God intending to ſet down ſundry times that which in Angels is moſt excellent, hath not anywhere ſpoken ſo highly of them as he hath of our Lord & Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; therfore they are not in dignity equall unto him. It is the Apoſtle Saint *Pauls* argument. The purpoſe of God was to teach his people, both unto whom they ſhould offer ſacrifice, and what ſacrifice was to be offered. To burn their ſons in fire unto *Baal* he did not command them, he ſpake no ſuch thing, neither came it into his mind: therefore this they ought not to have done. Which argument the Prophet *Ieremy* uſeth more than once, as being ſo effectuall and ſtrong, that although the thing he reproveth were not only not cõmanded but forbidden them, and that expreſly; yet the Prophet chooſeth rather to charge them with the fault of making a Law unto themſelves, than the crime of tranſgreſſing a Law which God had made. For when the Lord had once himſelfe preciſely ſet downe a forme of executing that wherein wee are to ſerve him, the fault appeareth greater to doe that which wee are not, than not to doe that which we are commanded. In this wee ſeeme to charge the Law of God with hardneſſe only, in that with fooliſhneſſe; in this we ſhew our ſelves weak and unapt to be doers of his Will, in that we take upon us to be Controllers of his wiſedome: in this we faile to performe the thing which God ſeeth meet, convenient, and good; in that wee preſume to ſee what is meet and convenient better than God himſelfe. In thoſe actions therefore, the whole forme whereof God hath of purpoſe ſet down to be obſerved, we may not otherwiſe doe than exactly, as he hath preſcribed: in ſuch things negative Arguments are ſtrong. Againe, with a negative argument *David* is preſſed concerning the purpoſe he had to build a Temple unto the Lord: *Thus ſaith the Lord, Thou ſhalt not build me an houſe to dwell in. Whereſoever I have walked with all Iſrael, ſpake I one word to any of the Iudges of Iſrael, whom I commanded to feede my people, ſaying, Why have yee not built mee an houſe?* The Iewes urged with a negative argument touching the ayde which they ſought at the hands of the King of Egypt, *Woe to thoſe rebellious children* (ſaith the Lord) *which walke forth to goe down into Egypt, and have not asked counſell at my mouth, to ſtrengthen themſelves with the ſtrength of* Pharaoth. Finally, the league of *Ioſhua* with the Gibeonites is likewiſe with a negative Argument touched. It

T.C.l.2. p.48. It is not hard to ſhew that the Prophets have reaſoned negatively. As when in the perſon of the Lord the Prophet ſaith, Whereof I have not ſpoken. *Ier.19.5.* And which never entred into my heart, *Ier.7.31,32.* And where he condemneth them, becauſe they have not asked counſell at the mouth of the Lord, *Eſay 30.2.* And it may bee ſhewed, that the ſame kinde of argument hath beene uſed, in things which are not of the ſubſtance of Salvation or Damnation, and whereof there was no commandement to the contrary (as in the former there was, *Levit.18.21.* & *20.3.* *Deut.17.16.*) In *Ioſhua* the children of Iſrael are charged by the Prophet, that they asked not counſell of the mouth of the Lord, when they entred into covenant with the Gibeonites, *Ioſh.9.14.* And yet that Covenant was not made contrary unto any Commandement of God. Moreover, we read that when *David* had taken this counſel to build a Temple unto the Lord, albeit the Lord had revealed before in his Word that there ſhould be ſuch a ſtanding place, where the Arke of the Covenant and the ſervice ſhould have a certaine abiding: and albeit there was no Word of God which forbad *David* to build the Temple; yet the Lord (with commendation of his good affection & zeale he had to the advancement of his glory) concludeth againſt *Davids* reſolution to build the Temple, with this reaſon, namely, that he had given no commandement of this who ſhould build it, *1.Chro.17.6.*

Levit.18.21. & *20.3.* *Deut.18.10.*

1.Chron.17.6.

Eſay 30.1.

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was not as it ſhould be: And why? The Lord gave them not that advice: *They ſought not counſell at the mouth of the Lord.* By the vertue of which examples, if any man ſhould ſuppoſe the force of negative arguments approved, when they are taken from Scripture, in ſuch ſort as we in this queſtion are preſſed therewith, they greatly deceive themſelves. For unto which of all theſe was it ſaid, that they had done amiſſe in purpoſing to do, or in doing any thing at all which *the Scripture* commanded them not? Our queſtion is, whether all be ſin which is done without direction by Scripture, and not whether the Iſraelites did at any time amiſſe by following their own minds, without asking counſell of God. No, it was that peoples ſingular priviledg, a favour which God vouchſafed them above the reſt of the World, that in the affaires of their Eſtate, which were not determinable one way or other by the Scripture, himſelf gave them extraordinarily direction and counſell, as oft as they ſought it at his hands. Thus God did firſt by ſpeech unto *Moſes*; after by *Vrim* and *Thummim* unto Prieſts; laſtly, by dreames and viſions unto Prophets, from whom in ſuch caſes they were to receive the anſwer of God. Concerning *Ioſhua* therefore, thus ſpake the Lord unto *Moſes*, ſaying, *He ſhall ſtand before* Eleazar *the Prieſt, who ſhall aske counſel for him by the judgement of* Vrim *before the Lord*: whereof had *Ioſhua* been mindfull, the fraud of the Gibeonites could not ſo ſmoothly have paſt uneſpied till there was no help. The Jews had Prophets to have reſolved them from the mouth of God himſelfe whether Egyptian aides ſhould profit them, yea or no: but they thought themſelves wiſe enough, and him unworthy to bee of their counſell. In this reſpect therefore was their reproofe, though ſharpe, yet juſt, albeit there had been no charge preciſely given them that they ſhould always take heed of Egypt. But as for *David*, to think that he did evill in determining to build God a Temple, becauſe there was in Scripture no commandement that he ſhould build it, were very injurious: the purpoſe of his heart was religious and godly, the act moſt worthy of honor and renown; neither could *Nathan* chooſe but admire his vertuous intent, exhort him to go forward, and beſeech God to proſper him therein. But God ſaw the endleſſe troubles which *David* ſhould be ſubject unto, during the whole time of his Regiment, and therefore gave charge to defer ſo good a work till the dayes of tranquillity and peace, wherein it might without interruption be performed. *David* ſuppoſed that it could not ſtand with the duty which he owed unto God, to ſet himſelf in an houſe of Cedar trees, and to behold the Arke of the Lords Covenant unſetled. This opinion the Lord abateth, by cauſing *Nathan* to ſhew him plainly, that it ſhould be no more imputed unto him for a fault, than it had been unto the Judges of Iſrael before him, his caſe being the ſame which theirs was, their times not more unquiet than his, nor more unfit for ſuch an action. Wherefore concerning the force of negative Arguments ſo taken from the authoritie of Scripture, as by us they are denied, there is in all this leſſe than nothing. And touching that which unto this purpoſe is borrowed from the Controverſies ſometimes handled between Maſter *Harding*, and the worthieſt Divine that Chri-

Ioſh.9.14.

Num.27.21.

1 Chron.17. T.C.l.2.p.50. M.Harding reproacheth the B. of Salisbury with this kind of reaſoning: unto whom the B. anſwereth, The argument of authority negatively, is taken to be good, whenſoever proofe is taken of Gods Word; and is uſed not only by us, but alſo by many of the Catholike Fathers. A little after hee ſheweth the reaſon why the argument of authority of the Scripture negatively is good, namely, for that the Word of God is perfect. In another place unto M. *Harding*, caſting him in the teeth with negative arguments, he alleageth places out of *Irenæus*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Leo*, which reaſoned negatively of the authority of the Scripture. The places which he alleageth be very full and plaine in generality, without any ſuch reſtraint as the Anſwerer imagineth, as they are there to be ſeene.

ſtendome

ſtendome hath bred for the ſpace of ſome hundreds of yeares, who being brought up together in one Univerſitie, it fell out in them which was ſpoken of two others; *They learned in the ſame, that which in contrary Camps they did practiſe.* Of theſe two the one objecting that with us Arguments taken from authoritie negatively are over-common, the Biſhops anſwer hereunto is, that *this kinde of argument is thought to be good, whenſoever proofe is taken of Gods word, and is uſed not only by us, but alſo by* Saint Paul, *and by many of the Catholick Fathers.* Saint Paul *ſaith, God ſaid not unto* Abraham, *In thy ſeedes all the Nations of the earth ſhall be bleſſed; but, In thy ſeede, which is Chriſt; and thereof hee thought he made a good argument. Likewiſe, ſaith* Origen, *The bread which the Lord gave unto his Diſciples, ſaying unto them, Take and eat, he deferred not, nor commanded to be reſerved till the next day. Such arguments* Origen *and other learned Fathers thought to ſtand for good, whatſoever miſliking* Mr. Harding *hath found in them. This kinde of proofe is thought to hold in Gods Commandements; for that they bee full and perfect: and God hath ſpecially charged us, that we ſhould neither put to them, nor take from them: and therefore it ſeemeth good unto them that have learned of Chriſt,* Unus eſt magiſter veſter Chriſtus, *and have heard the voyce of God the Father from heaven,* Ipſum audite. *But unto them that adde to the word of God what them liſteth, and make Gods will ſubject unto their will, and breake Gods Commandements for their owne Traditions ſake, unto them it ſeemeth not good.* Againe the Engliſh Apologie alleaging the example of the Greekes, how they have neither private Maſſes, nor mangled Sacraments, nor Purgatories, nor Pardons; it pleaſeth Mr. *Harding* to jeſt out the matter, to uſe the helpe of his wits where ſtrength of truth failed him, and to anſwer with ſcoffing at negatives. The Biſhops defence in this caſe, *The ancient learned Fathers having to deale with politique Hereticks, that in defence of their errors avouched the judgement of all the old Biſhops and Doctors that had been before them, and the generall conſent of the Primitive and whole univerſall Church, and that with as good regard of truth, and as faithfully as you do now; the better to diſcover the ſhameleſſe boldneſſe, and nakedneſſe of their doctrine, were often-times likewiſe forced to uſe the negative, and ſo to drive the ſame Hereticks, as we do you, to prove their affirmatives; which thing to doe was never poſſible. The ancient Father* Irenæus *thus ſtayed himſelfe, as we do, by the negative,* Hoc neq; Prophetæ prædicaverunt, neq; Dominus docuit, neq; Apoſtoli tradiderunt; *This thing neither did the Prophets publiſh, nor our Lord teach, nor the Apoſtles deliver. By a like negative* Chryſoſtom *ſaith, This tree neither* Paul *planted, nor* Apollos *watered, nor* God *increaſed. In like ſort* Leo *ſaith, What needeth it to beleeve that thing that neither the Law hath taught, nor the Prophets have ſpoken, nor the Goſpel hath preached, nor the Apoſtles have delivered? And againe, How are the new devices brought in that our Fathers never knew?* S. Auguſtine *having reckoned up a great number of the Biſhops of Rome, by a generall negative ſaith thus, In all this order of ſucceſſion of Biſhops, there is not one Biſhop found that was a Donatiſt. Saint* Gregory *being himſelfe a Biſhop of Rome, and writing againſt the Title of Vniverſall Biſhop, ſaith thus, None of all my Predeceſſors ever conſented to uſe this ungodly Title; No Biſhop of Rome ever tooke upon him this name of Singularitie. By ſuch negatives, Maiſter* Harding, *wee reprove the vanitie and novelrie of your Religion; wee tell you, none of the Catholick ancient learned Fathers either Greeke or Latine, ever uſed either your private*

a *Vell. Paterc. Iugurtha ac Marius ſub eodem Africano militantes, in iiſdem caſtris didicere quæ poſtea in contrariis facerent.*

Art. 1. Diviſ. 29.

Gal. 3.

Orig. in Levit. Hom. 5.

Matth. 23.

Matth. 17.

Deſens. par. 5. ed, 15. diviſ. 1.

De incomprehenſ. Dei, hom. 3.

Epiſt. 93. c. 12.

Epiſt. 97. cap. 3.

Epiſt. 165.

Lib. 4. Ep. 32.

Lib. 1. cap.

private Masse, or your halfe Communion, or your barbarous unkowne prayers. Paul *never planted them*, Apollos *never watered them*, God *never increased them; they are of your selves, they are not of God.* In all this there is not a syllable which any way crosseth us. For concerning arguments negative taken from humane authoritie, they are here proved to bee in some cases very strong and forcible. They are not in our estimation idle reproofes, when the authours of needlesse innovations are opposed with such negatives, as that of Leo, *How are these new devices brought in which our Fathers never knew?* when their grave and reverend Superiors doe reckon up unto them, as *Augustine* did unto the *Donatists*, large Catalogues of Fathers, wondred at for their wisdome, pietie, and learning, amongst whom for so many ages before us, no one did ever so thinke of the Churches affaires, as now the world doth begin to be perswaded; surely, by us they are not taught to take exception hereat, because such arguments are negative. Much lesse when the like are taken from the sacred authority of Scripture, if the matter it selfe doe beare them. For in truth the question is not, whether an argument from Scripture negatively, may be good, but whether it bee so generally good, that in all actions men may urge it? The Fathers, I grant, doe use very generall and large termes, even as *Hiero* the King did in speaking of *Archimedes*, *From hence forward whatsoever* Archimedes *speaketh, it must be beleeved.* His meaning was not that *Archimedes* could simply in nothing be deceived, but that he had in such sort approved his skill, that he seemed worthy of credit for ever after in matters appertaining unto the science he was skilfull in. In speaking thus largely it is presumed, that mens speeches will bee taken according to the matter whereof they speake. Let any man therefore that carrieth indifferency of judgment, peruse the Bishops speeches, and consider well of those negatives concerning Scripture, which hee produceth out of *Irenæus*, *Chrysostome*, and *Leo*, which three are chosen from amongst the residue, because the sentences of the others (even as one of theirs also) do make for defence of negative arguments taken from humane authority, and not from divine onely. They mention no more restraint in the one than in the other: yet I think themselves will not hereby judge, that the Fathers took both to be strong, without restraint unto any speciall kind of matter, wherein they held such argument forcible. Nor doth the Bishop either say or prove any more, than that an argument in some kinds of matter may be good, although taken negatively from Scripture.

Their opinion concerning the force of Arguments, taken from humane authoritie for the ordering of mens actions or perswasions.

T.C.l.1.p.95. When the question is of the authority of a man, it holdeth neither affirmatively nor negatively. The reason is, because the infirmity of man can never attain to the perfection of any thing whereby he might speak all things that are to be spoken of it; neither yet be free from error in those things which he speaketh or giveth out. And therefore this argument neither affirmatively nor negatively compelleth the hearer, but only inclineth him to some liking or disliking of that for which it is brought, & is rather for an Orator to perswade the simpler sort, than for a disputer to enforce him that is learned.

7 An earnest desire to draw all things to the determination of bare & naked scripture, hath caused here much pains to be taken in abating the estimation & credit of man. Which if we labor to maintain as far as truth and reason will bear, let not any think that wee travell about a matter not greatly needful. For the scope of all their pleading against mans authority, is, to overthrow such orders, lawes, and constitutions in the Church, as depending thereupon, if they should therefore be taken away, would peradventure leave neither face nor memory of Church to continue long in the world, the world especially being such as now it is. That wch they have in this case spo-

ken,

ken, I would for brevities ſake let paſſe, but that the drift of their ſpeech being ſo dangerous, their words are not to be neglected. Wherfore to ſay that ſimply an Argument taken from mans authority doth hold no way, neither affirmatively nor negatively, is hard. By a mans authority we here underſtand, the force which his word hath for the aſſurance of another's mind that buildeth upon it; as the Apoſtle ſomewhat did upon their report of the houſe of *Cloe*, & the Samaritanes in a matter of far greater moment upon the report of a ſimple woman. For ſo it is ſaid in S. *Iohns* Goſpell, *Many of the Samaritanes of that City beleeved in him for the ſaying of the woman, which teſtified, He hath told me all things that ever I did.* The ſtrength of mans authority is affirmatively ſuch, that the weightieſt affairs in the world depend thereon. In judgement & juſtice are not hereupon proceedings grounded? Saith not the law, that *in the mouth of two or three witneſſes, every word ſhall be confirmed?* This the law of God would not ſay, if there were in a mans teſtimony no force at all to prove any thing. And if it be admitted that in matter of fact there is ſome credit to be given to the teſtimony of man, but not in matter of opinion and judgement; we ſee the contrary both acknowledged, and univerſally practiſed alſo throughout the World. The ſentences of wiſe & expert men were never but highly eſteemed. Let the title of a mans right be called in queſtion; are we not bold to relye and build upon the judgement of ſuch as are famous for their skill in the lawes of this land? In matter of State, the waight many times of ſome one mans authority is thought reaſon ſufficient even to ſway over whole Nations. And this is not only with the ſimple ſort; but the learneder and wiſer we are, the more ſuch arguments in ſome caſes prevaile with us. The reaſon why the ſimpler ſort are moved with authority, is the conſcience of their own ignorance; whereby it commeth to paſſe, that having learned men in admiration, they rather fear to diſlike the, than know wherefore they ſhould allow and follow their judgements. Contrariwiſe with them that are skilfull, authority is much more ſtrong and forcible; becauſe they only are able to diſcern how juſt cauſe there is, why to ſome mens authority ſo much ſhould be attributed. For which cauſe the name of *Hippocrates* (no doubt) were more effectuall to perſwade even ſuch men as *Galen* himſelf, than to move a ſilly Empirick. So that the very ſelf-ſame argument in this kinde, which doth but induce the vulgar ſort to like, may conſtrain the wiſer to yeeld. And therefore not Orators only with the people, but even the very profoundeſt Diſputers in all faculties have heteby often with the beſt learned prevailed moſt. As for Arguments taken from humane authority, and that negatively; for example ſake, if we ſhould think the aſſembling of the people of God together by the ſound of a Bell, the preſenting of Infants at the holy Font, by ſuch as commonly we call their Godfathers, or any other the like received cuſtome to be impious, becauſe ſome men of whom we think very reverendly, have in their books and writings nowhere mentioned or taught that ſuch things ſhould be in the Church; this reaſoning were ſubject unto juſt reproof; it were but feeble, weak, and unſound. Notwithſtanding even negatively an argument from humane authority may be ſtrong, as namely thus; The Chronicles of *England* mention no moe than only ſix Kings bearing the name of *Edward*, ſince the time of the laſt Conqueſt; therefore it cannot be there

1 Cor. 1. 11. Iohn 4. 35.

Deut. 19. 15. Matth. 18. 16.

ſhould

ſhould be more. So that if the queſtion be of the authority of a mans teſtimony, we cannot ſimply avouch, either that affirmatively it doth not any way hold, or that it hath only force to induce the ſimpler ſort, and not to conſtrain men of underſtanding and ripe judgement to yeeld aſſent, or that negatively it hath in it no ſtrength at all. For unto every of theſe the contrary is moſt plain. Neither doth that which is alleadged concerning the infirmity of men, overthrow or diſprove this. Men are blinded with ignorance and errour; many things may eſcape them, and in many things they may be deceived; yea, thoſe things which they do know, they may either forget, or upon ſundry indirect conſiderations let paſſe, and although themſelves do not erre, yet may they through malice or vanity, even of purpoſe deceive others. Howbeit infinite caſes there are wherein all theſe impediments and lets are ſo manifeſtly excluded, that there is no ſhew or colour whereby any ſuch exception may be taken, but that the teſtimony of man will ſtand as a ground of infallible aſſurance. That there is a City of Rome, that *Pius Quintus* and *Gregory* the Thirteenth, and others, have been Popes of Rome, I ſuppoſe we are certainly enough perſwaded. The ground of our perſwaſion who never ſaw the place nor perſons before named, can be nothing but mans teſtimony. Will any man here notwithſtanding alleadge thoſe mentioned humane infirmities as reaſons, why theſe things ſhould be miſtruſted or doubted of? Yea, that which is more, utterly to infringe the force and ſtrength of mans teſtimony, were to ſhake the very Fortreſſe of Gods truth. For whatſoever we beleeve concerning ſalvation by Chriſt, although the Scripture be therein the ground of our belief; yet the authority of man is, if we mark it, the key which openeth the doore of entrance into the knowledge of the Scripture. The Scripture doth not teach us the things that are of God, unleſſe we did credit men who have taught us that the words of Scripture do ſignifie thoſe things. Some way therefore, notwithſtanding mans infirmity, yet his authority may inforce aſſent. Upon better advice & deliberation ſo much is perceived, and at the length confeſt, that Arguments taken from the authority of men, may not onely ſo far forth as hath bin declared, but further alſo be of ſome force in *humane ſciences*; which force be it never ſo ſmall, doth ſhew that they are not utterly naught. But in *matters divine* it is ſtil maintained ſtifly, that they have no manner force at all. Howbeit the very ſelf-ſame reaſon, which cauſeth to yeeld that they are of ſome force, in the one; will, at the length conſtrain alſo to acknowledge that they are not in the other altogether unforcible. For if the naturall ſtrength of mans wit may by experience and ſtudy attain unto ſuch ripeneſſe in the knowledge of things humane, that men in this reſpect may preſume to build ſomewhat upon their judgement; what reaſon have we to think but that even in matters divine, the like wits furniſht with neceſſary helps, exerciſed in Scripture with like

Tit. 1. 12. Although that kinde of argument of authority of men is good neither in humane nor divine ſciences: yet it hath ſome ſmall force in humane ſciences, forasmuch as naturally and in that he is a man, he may come to ſome ripeneſſe of judgement in thoſe ſciences, which in divine matters hath no force at all: as of him which naturally, and as he is a man, can no more judge of them than a blinde man of colours. Yea, ſo far is it from drawing credit, if it be barely ſpoken without reaſon and teſtimony of Scripture, that it carrieth alſo a ſuſpicion of untruth whatſoever proceedeth from him: which the Apoſtle did well note, when to ſignifie a thing corruptly ſpoken and againſt the truth, he ſaith, that it is ſpoken according to man, *Rom.* 3. He ſaith not as a wicked and lying man, but ſimply as a man. And although this corruption be reformed in many, yet for ſo much as in whom the knowledge of the truth is moſt advanced, there remaineth both ignorance and diſordered affections (whereof either of them turneth him from ſpeaking of the truth:) no mans authority, with the Church eſpecially, and thoſe that are called and perſwaded of the authority of the Word of God, can bring any aſſurance unto the conſcience.

like diligence, and aſſiſted with the grace of Almighty God, may grow unto ſo much perfection of knowledge, that men ſhall have juſt cauſe, when any thing pertinent unto Faith & Religion is doubted of, the more willingly to incline their minds towards that which the ſentence of ſo grave, wiſe, and learned in that faculty ſhall judge moſt ſound. For the controverſie is of the weight of ſuch mens judgements. Let it therefore be ſuſpected, let it be taken as groſſe, corrupt, repugnant unto the truth, what ſoever concerning things divine above nature ſhall at any time be ſpoken as out of the mouths of meer naturall men, which have not the eyes wherewith heavenly things are diſcerned. For this we contend not. But whom God hath indued with principall gifts to aſpire unto knowledge by; whoſe exerciſes, labours, and divine ſtudies he hath ſo bleſt, that the world for their great and rare skill that way, hath them in ſingular admiration; may we reject even their judgement likewiſe, as being utterly of no moment? For mine own part I dare not ſo lightly eſteeme of the Church, and of the principall pillars therein. The truth is, that the minde of man deſireth evermore to know the truth according to the moſt infallible certainty w^ch the nature of things can yeeld. The greateſt aſſurance generally with all men, is that which we have by plain aſpect and intuitive beholding. Where we cannot attain unto this; there what appeareth to be true by ſtrong and invincible demonſtration, ſuch as wherein it is not by any way poſſible to be deceived, thereunto the minde doth neceſſarily aſſent, neither is it in the choice thereof to do otherwiſe. And in caſe theſe both do fail, then which way greateſt probability leadeth, thither the minde doth evermore encline. Scripture with Chriſtian men being received as the Word of God, that for which we have probable, yea that which we have neceſſary reaſon for, yea that which we ſee with our eyes, is not thought ſo ſure as that which the Scripture of God teacheth; becauſe we hold that his ſpeech revealeth therewhat himſelf ſeeth, & therefore the ſtrongeſt proof of all, and the moſt neceſſarily aſſented unto by us (which do thus receive the Scripture) is the Scripture. Now it is not required nor can be exacted at our hands, that we ſhould yeeld unto any thing other aſſent, than ſuch as doth anſwer the evidence which is to be had of that we aſſent unto. For which cauſe even in matters divine, concerning ſome things we may lawfully doubt and ſuſpend our judgement, enclining neither to one ſide or other, as namely touching the time of the fall both of Man & Angels; of ſome things we may very well retain an opinion that they are probable & not unlikely to be true, as when we hold that Men have their ſouls rather by creation than propagation, or that the Mother of our Lord lived alwayes in the ſtate of Virginity as well after his birth as before (for of theſe two, the one, her virginity before, is a thing which of neceſſity we muſt beleeve; the other, her continuance in the ſame ſtate alwayes, hath more likelyhood of truth than the contrary;) finally in all things then are our conſciences beſt reſolved, and in moſt agreeable ſort unto God and Nature ſetled, when they are ſo far perſwaded as thoſe grounds of perſwaſion which are to be had will bear. Which thing I do ſo much the rather ſet down, for that I ſee how a number of ſouls are, for want of right information in this point, oftentimes grievouſly vexed. When bare and unbuilded concluſions are put into their minds, they finding not themſelves to have

thereof any great certainty, imagine that this proceedeth only from lack of faith, and that the Spirit of God doth not work in them, as it doth in true beleevers; by this means their hearts are much troubled, they fall into anguish and perplexity: whereas the truth is, that how bold and confident soever we may be in words, when it commeth to the point of triall, such as the evidence is which the truth hath either in it self or through proof, such is the hearts assent thereunto, neither can it be stronger, being grounded as it should be. I grant that proof derived from the authority of mans judgement, is not able to work that assurance which doth grow by a stronger proof, and therefore although ten thousand generall Councels would set down one and the same definitvie sentence concerning any point of religion whatsoever, yet one demonstrative reason alleadged, or one manifest testimony cited from the moved of God himself to the contrary, could not choose but overweigh them all; in as much as for them to have been deceived, it is not impossible; it is, that demonstrative reason or testimony divine should deceive. Howbeit in defect of proof infallible, because the minde doth rather follow probable perswasions, than approve the things that have in them no likelyhood of truth at all; surely if a question concerning matter of doctrine were proposed, and on the one side no kinde of proof appearing, there should on the other be alleadged and shewed that so a number of the learned'st Divines in the World have ever thought; although it did not appeare what reason or what Scripture led them to be of that judgement, yet to their very bare judgement somewhat a reasonable man would attribute, notwithstanding the common imbecillities which are incident into our nature. And whereas it is thought, that especially with the Church, and those that are called and perswaded of the authority of the word of God, mans authority with them especially should not prevaile; it must and doth prevaile even with them, yea with them especially as farre as equity requireth, and farther we maintain it not. For men to be tyed and led by authority, as it were with a kinde of captivity of judgement, and though there be reason to the contrary, not to listen unto it, but to follow like beasts the first in the heard, they know not nor care not whither, this were brutish. Again, that authority of men should prevaile with men either against or above reason, is no part of our belief. Companies of learned men be they never so great and reverend, are to yeeld unto reason; the waight whereof is no whit prejudiced by the simplicity of his person which doth alleadge it, but being found to be sound & good, the bare opinion of men to the contrary, must of necessity stoop and give place. *Irenæus* writing against *Marcion* which held one God author of the Old Testament, and another of the New; to prove that the Apostles preached the same God Iewes, he copiously alleageth sundry their

which was known before to the

Sermons

T.C.l.2.p.21 Of divers sentences of the Fathers themselves (whereby some have likened them to brute beasts without reason, which suffer themselves to be led by the judgement and authority of others, some have preferred the judgement of one simple rude man alleadging reason, unto companies of learned men) I will content my self at this time with two or three sentences. *Irenæus* saith, whatsoever is to be shewed in the Scripture, cannot be shewed but out of the Scriptures themselves, *l.3 ca.12.* *Ierome* saith, No man be he never so holy or eloquent, hath any authority after the Apostles, in *Psal.86.* *Augustine* saith, that he will beleeve none, how godly & learned soever he be, unlesse he confirme his sentence by the scriptures or by some reason not contrary to them. *Ep.*18. And in another place, Hear this, the Lord saith; hear not this, *Donatus* saith, *Rogatus* saith, *Vincentius* saith, *Hilarius* saith, *Ambrose* saith, *Augustine* saith, but hearken unto this, the Lord saith, *Ep.* 48. And again, having to do with an Arrian, he affirmeth that neither he ought to bring forth the councell of Nice, nor the other the councell of Arimine, thereby to bring prejudice each to other; neither ought the Arrian to be holden by the authority of the one, nor himself by the authority of the other, but by the Scriptures which are witnesses proper to neither, but common to both; matter with matter, cause with cause, reason with reason ought to be debated, *Cont. Max. Arrian.* 3. 14. *ca.* And in another place against *Petil.* the Donatist, he saith, let not these words be heard between us, I say, You say, let us hear this, Thus saith the Lord. And by & by speaking of the Scriptures he saith, There let us seek the Church, there let us try the cause. *De unita. Eccles. cap.*3. Here by it is manifest, that the argument of the authority of man affirmatively is nothing worth.

mons and ſpeeches uttered concerning that matter, and recorded in Scripture. And leſt any ſhould be wearied with ſuch ſtore of allegations, in the end he concludeth, *while we labour for theſe demonſtrations out of Scripture, and do ſummarily declare the things which many wayes have been ſpoken, be contented quietly to heare, and do not think my ſpeech tedious:* Quoniam oſtenſiones quæ ſunt in Scripturis non poſſunt oſtendi niſi ex ipſis Scripturis; *Becauſe demonſtrations that are in Scripture, may not otherwiſe be ſhewed, than by citing thē out of the Scriptures themſelves where they are.* Which words make ſo little unto the purpoſe, that they ſeem as it were offended at him which hath called them thus ſolemnely forth to ſay nothing. And concerning the verdict of *Ierome*, If no man be he never ſo well learned, have after the Apoſtles any authority to publiſh new doctrine as from Heaven, and to require the Worlds aſſent as unto truth received by propheticall revelation; doth this prejudice the credit of learned mens judgements in opening that truth, which by being converſant in the Apoſtles writings, they have themſelves from thence learned? S. *Auguſtine* exhorteth not to hear men; but to hearken what God ſpeaketh. His purpoſe is not (I think) that we ſhould ſtop our eares againſt his own exhortation, and therefore he cannot mean ſimply that audience ſhould altogether be denied unto men; but either that if men ſpeak one thing, and God himſelf teach another, then he, not they to be obeyed; or if they both ſpeak the ſame thing, yet then alſo mans ſpeech unworthy of hearing, not ſimply, but in compariſon of that which proceedeth from the mouth of God. Yea but we doubt what the will of God is. Are we in this caſe forbidden to hear what men of judgement think it to be? If not, then this allegation alſo might very well have been ſpared. In that ancient ſtrife which was between the Catholick Fathers and Arrians, Donatiſts, and others of like perverſe and froward diſpoſition, as long as to Fathers or Councels alleaged on the one ſide, the like by the contrary ſide were impoſed, impoſſible it was that ever the queſtion ſhould by this mean grow unto any iſſue or end. The Scripture they both beleeved; the Scripture they knew could not give ſentence on both ſides, by Scripture the controverſie between them was ſuch as might be determined. In this caſe what madneſſe was it with ſuch kindes of proofs to nouriſh their contention, when there were ſuch effectuall means to end all controverſie that was between them? Hereby therefore it doth not as yet appeare, that an argument of authority of man affirmatively is in matters divine nothing worth. Which opinion being once inferted into the mindes of the vulgar ſort, what it may grow unto God knoweth. Thus much wee ſee, it hath already made thouſands ſo headſtrong even in groſſe and palpable errours, that a man whoſe capacity will ſcarce ſerve him to utter five words in ſenſible manner, bluſheth not in any doubt concerning matter of Scripture to think his own bare *Yea* as good as the *Nay* of all the wiſe, grave and learned judgements that are in the whole world. Which inſolency muſt be repreſt, or it will be the very bane of Chriſtian Religion. Our Lords Diſciples marking what ſpeech he uttered unto them, and at the ſame time calling to minde a common opinion held by the Scribes, between which opinion and the words of their Maſter, it ſeemed unto them that there was ſome contradiction, which

they could not themſelves anſwer with ful ſatisfaction of their own minds; the doubt they propoſe to our Saviour, ſaying, *Why then ſay the Scribes that Elias muſt firſt come?* They knew that the Scribes did erre greatly, and that many wayes even in matters of their own profeſſion. They notwithſtanding thought the judgement of the very Scribes in matters divine to be of ſome value; ſome probability they thought there was that *Elias* ſhould come, in as much as the Scribes ſaid it. Now no truth can contradict any truth; deſirous therefore they were to be taught, how both might ſtand together; that which they knew could not be falſe, becauſe Chriſt ſpake it; and this which to them did ſeem true, only becauſe the Scribes had ſaid it. For the Scripture from whence the Scribes did gather it, was not then in their heads. We do not find that our Saviour reproved them of error, for thinking the judgement of the Scribes to be worth the objecting, for eſteeming it to be of any moment or value in matters concerning God. We cannot therefore be perſwaded that the will of God is we ſhould ſo far reject the authority of men, as to reckon it nothing. No, it may be a queſtion, whether they that urge us unto this be themſelves ſo perſwaded indeed. Men do ſometimes bewray that by deeds, which to confeſſe they are hardly drawn. Mark then if this be not generall with all men for the moſt part. When the judgements of learned men are alleadged againſt them; what do they but either elevate their credit, or oppoſe unto them the judgements of others as learned? Which thing doth argue that all men acknowledge in them ſome force and waight, for which they are loath the cauſe they maintain ſhould be ſo much weakned as their teſtimony is availeable. Again what reaſon is there why alleadging teſtimonies as proofs, men give them ſome title of credit, honour and eſtimation whom they alleadge, unleſſe beforehand it be ſufficiently known who they are; what reaſon hereof but only a common engrafted perſwaſion, that in ſome men there may be found ſuch qualities as are able to countervaile thoſe exceptions which might be taken againſt them, and that ſuch mens authority is not lightly to be ſhaken off? Shall I adde further, that the force of arguments drawn from the authority of Scripture it ſelf, as Scriptures commonly are alleadged, ſhall (being ſifted) be found to depend upon the ſtrength of this ſo much deſpiſed and debaſed authority of man? Surely it doth, and that oftner than we are aware of. For although Scripture be of God, and therefore the proof which is taken from thence muſt needs be of all other moſt invincible; yet this ſtrength it hath not, unleſſe it avouch the ſelf-ſame thing for which it is brought. If there be either undeniable apparance that ſo it doth, or reaſon ſuch as cannot deceive, then Scripture-proof (no doubt) in ſtrength and value exceedeth all. But for the moſt part, even ſuch as are readieſt to cite for one thing five hundred ſentences of holy Scripture; what warrant have they, that any one of them doth mean the thing for which it is alleadged? Is it not their ſureſt ground moſt commonly, either ſome probable conjecture of their own, or the judgement of others taking thoſe Scriptures as they do? Which notwithſtanding to mean otherwiſe then they take them, it is not ſtill altogether impoſſible. So that now and then they ground themſelves on humane authority, even when they moſt pretend divine. Thus it fareth even clean throughout the whole controverſie about that diſcipline

which

which is ſo earneſtly urged and laboured for. Scriptures are plentifully alleadged to prove that the whole Chriſtian World for ever ought to embrace it. Hereupon men terme it, *The Diſcipline of God.* Howbeit, examine, ſift, and reſolve their alleadged proofs, till you come to the very roote from whence they ſpring, the heart wherein their ſtrength lyeth; and it ſhall cleerly appear unto any man of judgement, that the moſt which can be inferred upon ſuch plenty of Divine Teſtimonies is only this, That *ſome things* which they maintain as far as *ſome men* can *probably conjecture*, do *ſeeme* to have been out of Scripture *not abſurdly* gathered. Is this a warrant ſufficient for any mans conſcience to build ſuch proceedings upon, as have been & are put in ure for the eſtabliſhment of that cauſe? But to conclude, I would gladly underſtand how it commeth to paſſe, that they which ſo peremptorily do maintain that Humane authority is nothing worth, are in the cauſe which they favour ſo carefull to have the common ſort of men perſwaded, that the wiſeſt, the godlieſt, and the beſt learned in all Chriſtendome are that way given, ſeeing they judge this to make nothing in the World for them? Again, how commeth it to paſſe, they cannot abide that Authority ſhould be alleadged on the other ſide, if there be no force at all in Authorities on one ſide or other? Wherefore labour they to ſtrip their Adverſaries of ſuch furniture as doth not help? Why take they ſuch needleſſe pains to furniſh alſo their own cauſe with the like? If it be voide & to no purpoſe that the names of men are ſo frequent in their Books; what did move them to bring them in, or doth to ſuffer them there remaining? Ignorant I am not how this is ſalved, *They do it but after the truth made manifeſt, firſt, by reaſon or by Scripture, they do it not but to controll the enemies of truth, who bear themſelves bold upon Humane Authority, making not for them but againſt them rather.* Which anſwers are nothing. For in what place or upon what conſideration ſoever it be they do it, were it in their own opinion of no force being done, they would undoubtedly refrain to do it.

T.C.l.1.21. If at any time it happened unto *Auguſtine* as it did againſt the Donatiſts and others) to alleage the authority of the Ancient Fathers, which had been before him; yet this was not done before he had laid a ſure foundation of his cauſe in the Scriptures, and that alſo being provoked by the Adverſaries of the truth who bare themſelvs high of ſome Councell, or of ſome man of nime that had favoured that part.

8 But to the end it may more plainly appear, what we are to judge of their ſentences, and the cauſe it ſelf wherein they are alleadged; firſt, it may not well be denied, that all actions of men endued with the uſe of reaſon, are generally either good or evill. For although it be granted that no action is properly termed good or evill, unleſſe it be voluntary; yet this can be no lett to our former aſſertion, that all actions of men indued with the uſe of reaſon are generally either good or evill; becauſe even thoſe things are done voluntarily by us, which other creatures do naturally, inaſmuch as we might ſtay our doing of them if we would. Beaſts naturally do take their food and reſt, when it offereth it ſelf unto them. If men did ſo too, and could not do otherwiſe of themſelves; there were no place for any ſuch reproof as that of our Saviour Chriſt unto his Diſciples, *Could ye not watch with me one houre?* That which is voluntarily performed in things tending to the end, if it be well done, muſt needs be done with deliberate conſideration of ſome reaſonable cauſe, wherefore we rather ſhould do it than not. Whereupon it ſeemeth, that in ſuch actions only thoſe are ſaid to be good or evill, which are capable of deliberation: ſo that many things being hourely done by men, wherein they need not uſe with themſelves any manner of conſultation at all, it may perhaps hereby ſeem

A Declaration what the truth is in this matter.

Matth.26.40.

that well or ill doing belongeth only to our weightier affaires, and to thoſe deeds which are of ſo great importance that they require advice. But thus to determine were perillous, and peradventure unſound alſo. I do rather incline to think, that ſeeing all the unforced actions of men are voluntary; and all voluntary actions tending to the end have choice; and all choice preſuppoſeth the knowledge of ſome cauſe wherefore we make it; where the reaſonable cauſe of ſuch actions ſo readily offereth it ſelf, that it needeth not be ſought for; in thoſe things though we do not deliberate, yet they are of their nature apt to be deliberated on, in regard of the will which may encline either way, and would not any one way bend it ſelf, if there were not ſome apparant motive to leade it. Deliberation actuall we uſe, when there is no doubt what we ſhould encline our wils unto. Where no doubt is, deliberation is not excluded as impertinent unto the thing, but as needleſſe in regard of the agent, which ſeeth already what to reſolve upon. It hath no apparant abſurdity therefore in it to think, that all actions of men indued with the uſe of reaſon, are generally either good or evill. Whatſoever is good; the ſame is alſo approved of God: and according unto the ſundry degrees of goodneſſe, the kinds of Divine approbation are in like ſort multiplied. Some things are good, yet in ſo mean a degree of goodneſſe, that men are only not diſproved nor diſallowed of God for them. No man hateth his own fleſh. If ye do good unto them that do ſo to you, the very Publicans themſelves do as much. They are worſe than Infidels that have no care to provide for their own. In actions of this ſort, the very light of Nature alone may diſcover that which is ſo far forth in the ſight of God allowable. Some things in ſuch ſort are allowed, that they be alſo required as neceſſary unto ſalvation, by way of direct, immediate and proper neceſſity finall; ſo that without performance of them we cannot by ordinary courſe be ſaved, nor by any means be excluded from life obſerving them. In actions of this kinde, our chiefeſt direction is from Scripture, for Nature is no ſufficient Teacher what we ſhould do that may attain unto life everlaſting. The unſufficiency of the light of Nature, is by the light of Scripture ſo fully and ſo perfectly herein ſupplied, that further light than this hath added, there doth not need unto that end. Finally, ſome things although not ſo required of neceſſity, that to leave them undone excludeth from ſalvation, are notwithſtanding of ſo great dignity and acceptation with God, that moſt ample reward in Heaven is laid up for them. Hereof we have no Commandement either in nature or Scripture which doth exact them at our hands: yet thoſe Motives there are in both, which draw moſt effectually our mindes unto them. In this kinde there is not the leaſt action, but it doth ſomewhat make to the acceſſory augmentation of our bliſſe. For which cauſe our Saviour doth plainly witneſſe, that there ſhould not be as much as a cup of cold water beſtowed for his ſake without reward. Hereupon dependeth whatſoever difference there is between the ſtates of Saints in glory: hither we refer whatſoever belongeth unto the higheſt perfection of man by way of ſervice towards God: hereunto that fervour and firſt love of Chriſtians did bend it ſelf, cauſing them to ſell their poſſeſſions, and lay down the price at the bleſſed Apoſtles feet. Hereat S. *Paul* undoubtedly did aime, in ſo far abridging his own liberty, and exceeding that which the bond of neceſſary and

Epheſ. 5. 29.
Matth. 5. 46.
2 *Tim.* 5. 8.

Matth. 10. 42.

Acts 31.
1 *Tim.* 2 7. 9.

enjoyned

enjoyned duty tyed him unto. Wherefore ſeeing that in all theſe ſeverall kinds of actions, there can be nothing poſſibly evill which God approveth; and that he approveth much more than he doth command; and that his very Commandements in ſome kinde, as namely, his Preceps comprehended in the Law of Nature, may be otherwiſe known than only by Scripture; and that to do them, howſoever we know them, muſt needs be acceptable in his ſight: let them, with whom we have hitherto diſputed, conſider well, how it can ſtand with reaſon to make this bare mandate of ſacred Scripture the only Rule of all good & evill in the actions of mortall men. The Teſtimonies of God are true, the Teſtimonies of God are perfect, the Teſtimonies of God are all-ſufficient unto that end for which they were given. Therefore accordingly we do receive them, we do not think that in them God hath omitted any thing needfull unto his purpoſe, and left his intent to be accompliſhed by our deviſings. What the Scripture purpoſeth, the ſame in all points it doth perform. Howbeit, that here we ſwarve not in judgement, one thing eſpecially we muſt obſerve, namely, that the abſolute perfection of Scripture is ſeen by relation unto that end whereto it tendeth. And even hereby it commeth to paſſe, that firſt ſuch as imagine the generall and main drift of the body of ſacred Scripture not to be ſo large as it is, nor that God did thereby intend to deliver, as in truth he doth, a full inſtruction in all things unto ſalvation neceſſary, the knowledge whereof man by nature could not otherwiſe in this life attain unto: they are by this very mean induced, either ſtill to look for new revelations from Heaven, or elſe dangerouſly to adde to the Word of God uncertain Tradition, that ſo the doctrine of mans ſalvation may be complete; which Doctrine we conſtantly hold in all reſpects without any ſuch things added to be ſo complete, that we utterly refuſe as much as once to acquaint our ſelves with any thing further. Whatſoever to make up the doctrine of mans ſalvation is added as in ſupply of the Scriptures unſufficiency, we reject it: Scripture purpoſing this, hath perfectly and fully done it. Again, the ſcope and purpoſe of God in delivering the holy Scripture, ſuch as do take more largely than behoveth, they on the contrary ſide racking and ſtretching it further than by him was meant, are drawn into ſundry as great inconveniencies. The pretending the Scriptures perfection, infer thereupon, that in Scripture all things lawfull to be done muſt needs be contained. We count thoſe things perfect which want nothing requiſite for the end whereto they were inſtituted: as therfore God created every part and particle of man exactly perfect, that is to ſay, in all points ſufficient unto that uſe for which he appointed it; ſo the Scripture, yea every ſentence thereof is perfect, and wanteth nothing requiſite unto that purpoſe for which God delivered the ſame. So that if hereupon we conclude, that becauſe the Scripture is perfect, therefore all things lawfull to be done are comprehended in the Scripture; we may even as well conclude ſo of every ſentence, as of the whole ſum and body therof, unleſſe we firſt of all prove that it was the drift, ſcope, & purpoſe of Almighty God in holy Scripture, to comprize all things which man may practiſe. But admit this, and mark, I beſeech you, what would follow. God in delivering Scripture to his Church, ſhould clean have abrogated amongſt them the Law of Nature; which is an infallible knowledge imprinted in the mindes of

T. C. lib. 2. pag. 9 Where this doctrine is accuſed of bringing men to diſpaire, it hath wrong. For when doubting is the way to diſpaire, againſt which this doctrine offereth the remedy; it muſt needs be that it bringeth comfort, & joy to the conſcience of man.

of all the children of men, whereby both generall principles for directing of humane actions are comprehended, and concluſions derived from them, upon which concluſions groweth in particularity the choice of good and evill in the daily affairs of this life. Admit this, and what ſhall the Scripture be but a ſnare and a torment to weak conſciences, filling them with infinite perplexities, ſcrupuloſities, doubts inſoluble, and extream deſpairs? Not that the Scripture it ſelf doth cauſe any ſuch thing, (for it tendeth to the clean contrary, and the fruit thereof is reſolute aſſurance and certainty in that it teacheth:) but the neceſſities of this life urging men to do that which the light of Nature, common diſcretion, and judgement of it ſelf directeth them unto; on the other ſide, this doctrine teaching them that ſo to do were to ſin againſt their own ſouls, and that they put forth their hands to iniquity, whatſoever they go about, and have not firſt the ſacred Scripture of God for direction; how can it chooſe but bring the ſimple a thouſand times to their wits end, how can it chooſe but vex and amaze them? For in every action of common life to finde out ſome ſentence cleerly and infallibly ſetting before our eyes what we ought to do, (ſeem we in Scripture never ſo expert) would trouble us more than we are aware. In weak and tender minds we little know what miſery this ſtrict opinion would breed, beſides the ſtops it would make in the whole courſe of all mens lives & actions. Make all things ſin which we do by direction of Natures light, and by the rule of common diſcretion without thinking at all upon Scripture; admit this Poſition, and Parents ſhall cauſe their children to ſin, as oft as they cauſe them to do any thing, before they come to yeers of capacity and be ripe for Knowledge in the Scripture. Admit this, and it ſhall not be with Maſters as it was with him in the Goſpell; but ſervants being commanded to go, ſhall ſtand ſtill, till they have their errand warranted unto them by Scripture. Which as it ſtandeth with Chriſtian duty in ſome caſes, ſo in common affaires to require it, were moſt unfit. Two opinions therefore there are concerning ſufficiency of holy Scripture, each extreamly oppoſite unto the other, and both repugnant unto Truth. The Schools of *Rome* teach Scripture to be unſufficient, as if, except Traditions were added, it did not contain all revealed and ſupernaturall Truth, which abſolutely is neceſſary for the Children of Men in this life to know, that they may in the next be ſaved. Others juſtly condemning this opinion, grow likewiſe unto a dangerous extremity, as if Scripture did not only contain all things in that kinde neceſſary, but all things ſimply, and in ſuch ſort that to do any thing according to any other Law, were not only unneceſſary, but even oppoſite unto ſalvation, unlawfull and ſinfull. Whatſoever is ſpoken of God, or things appertaining to God, otherwiſe then as the Truth is, though it ſeem an honour, it is an injury. And as incredible praiſes given unto men, do often abate & impair the credit of their deſerved commendation; ſo we muſt likewiſe take great heed, leſt in attributing unto Scripture more than it can have, the incredibility of that, do cauſe even thoſe things which indeed it hath moſt abundantly, to be leſſe reverendly eſteemed. I therefore leave it to themſelves to conſider, whether they have in this firſt point or not over-ſhot themſelves; which, God doth know, is quickly done, even when our meaning is moſt ſincere, as I am verily perſwaded theirs in this caſe was.

Luke 7. v. 8.

OF

OF THE LAWES OF ECCLESIASTICALL POLITIE:

The third Book.

Concerning their ſecond Aſſertion, *That in Scripture there muſt be of neceſsity contained a forme of Church-Polity, the Lawes whereof may in no wiſe be altered.*

The matter contained in this third Book.

1 WHat the Church is, and in what reſpect Lawes of Polity are thereunto neceſſarily required.

2 Whether it be neceſſary that ſome particular forme of Church-polity be ſet down in Scripture, ſith the things that belong particularly to any ſuch forme are not of neceſsity to ſalvation.

3 That matters of Church-polity are different from matters of faith and ſalvation, and that they themſelves ſo teach which are our reprovers for ſo teaching.

4 That hereby we take not from Scripture any thing, which thereunto with the ſoundneſſe of truth may be given.

5 Their meaning who firſt urged againſt the Polity of the Church of England, that nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church more than is commanded by the word of God.

6 How great injury men by ſo thinking ſhould offer unto all the Churches of God.

7 A ſhift notwithſtanding to maintain it, by interpreting Commanded as though it were meant that greater things only ought to be found ſet down in Scripture particularly, and leſſer framed by the generall rules of Scripture.

8 Another device to defend the ſame, by expounding Commanded as if it did ſignifie grounded in Scripture, and were oppoſed to things found out by light of naturall reaſon only.

9 How Lawes for the Polity of the Church may be made by the advice of men, and how thoſe Lawes being not repugnant to the word of God are approved in his ſight.

10 *That neither God's being the author of Lawes, nor yet his committing of them to Scripture, is any reason ſufficient to prove that they admit no addition or change.*

11 *Whether Chriſt muſt needs intend Lawes unchangeable altogether, or have forbidden any where to make any other Law than himſelf did deliver.*

What the Church is, and in what reſpect Lawes of Polities are thereunto neceſſarily required.

ALbeit the ſubſtance of thoſe Controverſies whereinto we have begun to wade, be rather of outward things appertaining to the Church of Chriſt then of any thing wherein the nature and being of the Church conſiſteth: yet becauſe the ſubject or matter which this poſition concerneth, is *A forme of Church-government or Church Polity*; it therefore behoveth us ſo farre forth to conſider the nature of the Church, as is requiſite for mens more cleer and plain underſtanding, in what reſpect Lawes of Polity or Government are neceſſary thereunto. That Church of Chriſt which we properly term his body myſticall, can be but one; neither can that one be ſenſibly diſcerned by any man, inas much as the parts thereof are ſome in Heaven already with Chriſt, and the reſt that are on Earth (albeit their naturall perſons be viſible) we do not diſcern under this property whereby they are truly and infallibly of that body. Only our mindes by intellectuall conceit are able to apprehend, that ſuch a reall body there is, a body collective, becauſe it containeth an huge multitude; a body myſticall, becauſe the myſtery of their conjunction is removed altogether from ſenſe. Whatſoever we reade in Scripture concerning the endleſſe love and the ſaving mercy, which God ſheweth towards his Church, the only proper ſubject thereof is this Church. Concerning this flock it is that our Lord and Saviour hath promiſed, *I give unto them eternall life, and they ſhall never periſh, neither ſhall any pluck them out of my hands.* They who are of this ſociety have ſuch marks and notes of diſtinction from all others, as are not object unto our ſenſe; only unto God, who ſeeth their hearts and underſtandeth all their ſecret cogitations, unto him they are cleer and manifeſt. All men knew *Nathaniel* to be an Iſraelite. But our Saviour piercing deeper, giveth further teſtimony of him than men could have done with ſuch certainty as he did, *Behold indeed an Iſraelite in whom there is no guile.* If we profeſſe as *Peter* did, that we love the Lord, and profeſſe it in the hearing of men; charity is prone to beleeve all things, and therefore charitable men are likely to think we do ſo, as long as they ſee no proof to the contrary. But that our love is ſound and ſincere, that it commeth from a *pure heart and a good conſcience and a faith unfained*, who can pronounce, ſaving only the ſearcher of all mens hearts, who alone intuitively doth know in this kinde who are his? And as thoſe everlaſting promiſes of Love, Mercy, and Bleſſedneſſe, belong to the myſticall Church; even ſo on the other ſide when we reade of any duty wch the Church of God is bound unto, the Church whom this doth concern is a ſenſible known company. And this viſible Church in like ſort is but one, continued from the firſt beginning of the World to the laſt end.

Iohn 10. 28.

Iohn 1. 47.

Iohn 21. 15.

1 *Tim.* 1. 5.

Which

Which company being divided into two moieties; the one before, the other ſince the comming of Chriſt, that part which ſince the comming of Chriſt, partly hath embraced, and partly ſhall hereafter embrace the Chriſtian Religion, we term as by a more proper name the Church of Chriſt. And therefore the Apoſtle affirmeth plainly of all men Chriſtian, that be they Iewes or Gentiles, bond or free, they are all incorporated into one company, they all make but [a] *one body*. The unity of which viſible body and Church of Chriſt, conſiſteth in that uniformity which all ſeverall perſons thereunto belonging have, by reaſon of that *one Lord*, whoſe Servants they all profeſſe themſelves; that *one Faith*, which they all acknowledge, that *one Baptiſme*, wherewith they are all initiated. The viſible Church of Ieſus Chriſt therefore one, in outward profeſſion of thoſe things which ſupernaturally appertain to the very eſſence of Chriſtianity, and are neceſſarily required in every particular Chriſtian man. *Let all the houſe of Iſrael know for certainty*, ſaith *Peter*, *that God hath made him both Lord and Chriſt, even this Ieſus whom ye have crucified.* Chriſtians therefore they are not, which call not him their Maſter and Lord. And from hence it came, that firſt at *Antioch*, and afterwards throughout the whole World, all that were of the Church viſible were called Chriſtians, even amongſt the Heathen: which name unto them was precious and glorious; but in the eſtimation of the reſt of the World, even Chriſt Ieſus himſelf was [b] execrable, for whoſe ſake all men were ſo likewiſe which did acknowledge him to be their Lord. This himſelf did foreſee, & therfore armed his Church, to the end they might ſuſtain it without diſcomfort: *All theſe things they will do unto you for my names ſake; yea, the time ſhall come, that whoſoever killeth you will think that he doth God good ſervice. Theſe things I tell you, that when the houre ſhall come, ye may then call to minde how I told you beforehand of them.* But our naming of Ieſus Chriſt the Lord is not enough to prove us Chriſtians, unleſſe we alſo imbrace that faith, which Chriſt hath publiſhed unto the World. To ſhew that the Angell of *Pergamus* continued in Chriſtianity, behold, how the Spirit of Chriſt ſpeaketh, *Thou keepeſt my Name, and thou haſt not denyed my Faith.* Concerning which Faith, *The rule thereof*, ſaith *Tertullian*, *is one alone, immoveable, and no way poſſible to be better framed anew.* What rule that is he ſheweth by rehearſing thoſe few Articles of Chriſtian belief. And before *Tertullian*, *Ireney*; *The Church though ſcattered through the whole World unto the uttermoſt borders of the Earth, hath from the Apoſtles and their Diſciples received belief.* The parts of which belief he alſo reciteth in ſubſtance the very ſame with *Tertullian*, and thereupon inferreth; *This faith the Church being ſpread far and wide preſerveth, as if one houſe did contain them; theſe things it equally embraceth, as though it had even one ſoul, one heart, and no more; it publiſheth, teacheth, and delivereth theſe things with uniforme conſent, as if God had given it but one onely tongue wherewith to ſpeak. He which amongſt the guides of the Church is beſt able to ſpeak, uttereth no more than this; and leſſe than this the moſt ſimple doth not utter*, when they make profeſſion of their Faith. Now although we know the Chriſtian Faith, and allow of it, yet in this reſpect wee are but entring; entered wee

[a] *Epheſ.2 16.* That he might reconcile both unto God in one body. *Eph.3.16.* That the Gentiles ſhould be inheritors alſo and of the ſame body. *Vide T.p.3.q.7. art.3.* *1 Cor.12.13.* *Epheſ.4.5.* *Acts 2.6.* *Iohn 13.13.* *Col.3.24.* *Col.4.1.*

[b] *1 Cor.1.23.* *Vide et Tacitum lib. Annal.15. Nero quæſitiſſimis panis afficit quos per flagitia invitos vulgus Chriſtianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Chriſtus, qui Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum ſupplicio affectus erat. Repreſſaq; in præſens exitiabilis ſuperſtitio rurſus erumpebat, non modo per Iudæam originem ejus mali, ſed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undiquè atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque.*

Iohn 15.21. *Iohn 16.2.4.*

Apoc.2.13. *Tertul. de Virgin. veland.*

Iren. adverſ. hær. lib.1.cap.2. & 3.

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are not into the visible Church, before our admittance by the doore of Baptisme. Wherefore immediately upon the acknowledgement of Christian faith, the Eunuch (we see) was baptized by *Philip*, *Paul* by *Ananias*, by *Peter* a huge multitude containing three thousand souls; which being once baptised, were reckoned in the number of souls added to the visible Church. As for those vertues that belong unto morall righteousnesse and honesty of life, we do not mention them, because they are not proper unto Christian men, as they are Christian, but do concern them, as they are men. True it is, the want of these vertues excludeth from salvation. So doth much more the absence of inward belief of heart; so doth despaire & lack of hope; so emptinesse of Christian love & charity. But we speak now of the visible Church, whose children are signed with this mark, *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptisme*. In whomsoever these things are, the Church doth acknowledge them for her Children; them only she holdeth for Aliens, & Strangers, in whom these things are not found. For want of these it is, that Saracens, Iews, and Infidels, are excluded out of the bounds of the Church. Others we may not deny to be of the visible Church, as long as these things are not wanting in them. For apparent it is, that all men are of necessity either Christians or not Christians. If by externall profession they be Christians, then are they of the visible Church of Christ: and Christians by externall profession they are all, whose mark of recognizance hath in it those things which we have mentioned, yea, although they be impious Idolaters, wicked Hereticks, persons excommunicable, yea, and cast out for notorious improbity. Such withall we deny not to be the Imps and limbs of Satan, even as long as they continue such. Is it then possible that the selfe-same men should belong both to the Synagogue of Satan, and to the Church of Iesus Christ? Unto that Church which is his Mysticall Body, not possible; because that body consisteth of none but only true Israelites, true sons of *Abrahã*, true servants & Saints of God. Howbeit of the visible body & Church of Iesus Christ, those may be & oftentimes are, in respect of the main parts of their outward profession; who in regard of their inward disposition of mind, yea of externall conversation, yea even of some parts of their very profession, are most worthily both hatefull in the sight of God himself, and in the eyes of the founder parts of the visible Church most execrable. Our Saviour therefore compareth the Kingdome of Heaven to a Net, whereunto all wᵗ commeth, neither is nor seemeth fish; his Church he compareth unto a field, where Tares manifestly known & seen by all men do grow intermingled with good Corn, and even so shall continue till the finall consummation of the world. God hath had ever, and ever shall have some Church visible upon the earth. When the people of God worshipped the Calf in the Wildernesse; when they adored the brazen Serpent; when they served the Gods of Nations; when they bowed their knees to *Baal*; when they burnt Incense and offered Sacrifice unto Idols; true it is, the wrath of God was most fiercely inflamed against them, their Prophets justly condemned them, as an adulterous seed and a wicked generation of Miscreants, which had forsaken the living God; and of him were likewise forsaken, in respect of that singular mercy wherewith he kindly and lovingly imbraceth his faithfull Children. Howbeit retaining the Law of God, and the holy Seale of his Covenant, the Sheep

Acts 8.38. *Acts* 12.16. *Acts* 1.41.

Matth. 13.25. *Matth.* 13.24.

Exod. 32. *Psal.* 106.19,20. 2 *Kings* 18.4. *Ier* 11.14. 2 *Kings* 22.17. *Esay* 57.3. *Esay* 1.4. *Esay* 60.15.

Ier. 13.11. 1 *Kings* 19.8.

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of his viſible Flock they continued even in the depth of their Diſobedience and Rebellion. Wherefore not only *amongſt* them God alwayes had his Church, becauſe he had thouſands which never bowed their knees to *Baal*; but whoſe knees were bowed unto *Baal*, even they were alſo of the viſible Church of God. Nor did the Prophet ſo complain, as if that Church had been quite and clean extinguiſhed; but he took it as though there had not been remaining in the World any beſides himſelf, that carried a true and an upright heart towards God, with care to ſerve him according to his Holy Will. For lack of diligent obſerving the difference, firſt, between the Church of God myſticall and viſible, then between the viſible ſound and corrupted, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſſe; the overſights are neither few nor light that have been committed. This deceiveth them, and nothing elſe, who think that in the time of the firſt World, the Family of *Noah* did contain all that were of the viſible Church of God. From hence it grew and from no other cauſe in the World, that the Affricane Biſhops in the Councell of Carthage, knowing how the adminiſtration of Baptiſme belongeth only to the Church of Chriſt, and ſuppoſing that Hereticks which were apparantly ſevered from the ſound beleeving Church, could not poſſibly be of the Church of Ieſus Chriſt; thought it utterly againſt reaſon, that Baptiſme adminiſtred by men of corrupt belief, ſhould be accounted as a Sacrament. And therefore in maintenance of rebaptization, their arguments are built upon the fore-alleadged ground, *That Hereticks are not at all* any part of the Church of Chriſt. *Our Saviour founded his Church on a Rock, and not upon Hereſie; power of baptizing he gave to his Apoſtles, unto Hereticks he gave it not. Wherefore they that are without the Church, and oppoſe themſelves againſt Chriſt, do but ſcatter his Sheep and Flock; without the Church baptize they cannot.* Again, *are Hereticks Chriſtians, or are they not? If they be Chriſtians, wherefore remain they not in Gods Church? If they be no Chriſtians, how make they Chriſtians? Or to what purpoſe ſhall thoſe words of the Lord ſerve, He which is not with me, is againſt me:* and, *He which gathereth not with me, ſcattereth? Wherefore evident it is, that upon misbegotten children and the brood of Antichriſt, without rebaptization the Holy Ghoſt cannot deſcend.* But none in this caſe ſo earneſt as *Cyprian*; *I know no Baptiſme but one, and that in the Church only; none without the Church, where he that doth caſt out the Devill, hath the Devill: He doth examine about belief, whoſe lips and words do breathe forth a Canker: The faithleſſe doth offer the Articles of Faith, a wicked creature forgiveth wickedneſſe; in the Name of Chriſt, Antichriſt ſigneth; he which is curſed of God, bleſſeth; a dead carrion promiſeth life, a man unpeaceable giveth peace, a blaſphemer calleth upon the Name of God, a profane perſon doth exerciſe Prieſthood, a Sacrilegious wretch doth prepare the Altar, and in the neck of all theſe that evill alſo commeth, the Euchariſt a very Biſhop of the Devill doth preſume to conſecrate.* All this was true, but not ſufficient to prove that Hereticks were in no ſort any part of the viſible Church of Chriſt, and conſequently their Baptiſme no Baptiſme. This opinion therefore was afterwards both condemned by a better adviſed Counſell, and alſo revoked by the chiefeſt of the Authours thereof themſelves. What is it but only the ſelf-ſame errour and miſconceit, wherewith others being at this day likewiſe poſſeſt, they aſk us where our Church did lurk, in what Cave of the Earth it ſlept for

Ier. 13. 11.
1 *King.* 19. 18.

Fortunat. in Concil. Car.
Matth. 7. 24.
Matth. 16. 18.
Matth. 2. 8. 19.

Secundinus in eodem Concil.
Matth. 12. 30.

In Concilio Niceno. Vide Hieron. dial. adverſ. Luciferia.

ſo many hundreds of yeers together before the birth of *Martin Luther*? As if we were of opinion that *Luther* did erect a new Church of Chriſt. No, the Church of Chriſt which was from the beginning, is, and continueth unto the end. Of which Church all parts have not been alwayes equally ſincere & ſound. In the dayes of *Abia* it plainly appeareth, that *Iuda* was by many degrees more free from pollution than *Iſrael*, as that ſolemn Oration ſheweth, wherein he pleadeth for the one againſt the other in this wiſe: O
2 *Chron.* 13. Ieroboam, *and all Iſrael, hear you me; Have ye not driven away the Prieſts of the Lord, the ſonne of* Aaron, *and the Levites, and have made you Prieſts like the people of Nations? Whoſoever commeth to conſecrate with a young Bullock and ſeven Rammes, the ſame may be a Prieſt of them that are no Gods. But we belong unto the Lord our God, and have not forſaken him; and the Prieſts the ſons of* Aaron *miniſter unto the Lord every morning and every evening burnt Offerings and ſweet Incenſe, and the Bread is ſet in order upon the pure Table, and the Candleſtick of Gold with the Lamps thereof to burn every Evening; for we keep the watch of the Lord our God, but ye have forſaken him.* In S. *Pauls* time the integrity of *Rome* was famous; *Corinth* many wayes reproved; they of *Galatia* much more out of ſquare. In S. *Iohns* time, *Epheſus* and *Smyrna* in far better ſtate than *Thyatira* and *Pergamus* were. We hope therefore, that to reform our ſelves, if at any time we have done amiſſe, is not to ſever our ſelves from the Church we were of before. In the Church we were, and we are ſo ſtill. Other difference between our eſtate before and now, we know none but only ſuch as we ſee in *Iuda*, which having ſometime been Idolatrous, became afterwards more ſoundly religious, by renouncing Idolatry
Hoſ. 14.15.& 17. and Superſtition. If *Ephraim be joyned unto Idols*, the counſell of the Pro-
Ioſ. 24.15. phet is, *Let him alone. If* Iſrael *play the Harlot, let not* Iuda *ſinne.* If it ſeem evill unto you, ſaith *Ioſhua*, to ſerve the Lord, *chooſe you this day whom you will ſerve, whether the gods whom your Fathers ſerved beyond the Flood, or the gods of the Amorites in whoſe Land ye dwell: but I and mine houſe will ſerve the Lord.* The indiſpoſition therefore of the Church of *Rome* to reform her ſelf, muſt be no ſtay unto us from performing our duty to God; even as deſire of retaining conformity with them, could be no excuſe if we did not performe that duty. Notwithſtanding ſo farre as lawfully we may, we have held, and do hold fellowſhip with them. For
Rom. 11.28. even as the Apoſtle doth ſay of Iſrael, that they are in one reſpect enemies, but in another beloved of God: In like ſort with *Rome* we dare not communicate concerning ſundry her groſſe and grievous abominations; yet touching thoſe main parts of Chriſtian truth wherein they conſtantly ſtill perſiſt, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the Family of Ieſus Chriſt; and our hearty prayer unto God Almighty is, that being conjoyned ſo farre forth with them, they may at the length, (if it be his will) ſo yeeld to frame and reform themſelves, that no diſtraction remain in any thing, but that we all may with one heart and one mouth, glorifie God the Father of our Lord and Saviour, whoſe Church we are. As there are which make the Church of *Rome* utterly no Church at all, by reaſon of ſo many, ſo grievous errours in their Doctrines: ſo we have them amongſt us, who under pretence of imagined corruptions in our Diſcipline, do give even as hard a judgement of the Church of *England* it ſelf. But whatſoever either the one ſort or the other teach, we muſt acknowledge even Here-

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ticks themſelves to be though a maimed part, yet a part of the viſible Church. If an Infidell ſhould purſue to death an Heretick profeſſing Chriſtianity, only for Chriſtian profeſſion ſake: could we deny unto him the honor of Martyrdome? Yet this honour all men know to be proper unto the Church. Hereticks therfore are not utterly cut off from the viſible Church of Chriſt. If the Fathers do any where, as oftentimes they do, make the true viſible Church of Chriſt and Hereticall companies oppoſite, they are to be conſtrued as ſeparating Hereticks not altogether from the company of Beleevers, but from the fellowſhip of ſound Beleevers. For where profeſt unbelief is, there can be no viſible Church of Chriſt; there may be, where ſound belief wanteth. Infidels being clean without the Church, deny directly and utterly reject the very Principles of Chriſtianity; which Hereticks imbrace, and erre only by miſconſtruction; whereupon their opinions, although repugnant indeed to the Principles of Chriſtian Faith, are notwithſtanding by them held otherwiſe, & maintained as moſt conſonant thereunto. Wherefore being Chriſtians in regard of the generall Truth of Chriſt which they openly profeſſe; yet they are by the Fathers every where ſpoken of, as men clean excluded out of the right beleeving Church, by reaſon of their particular Errours, for which all that are of a ſound belief muſt needs condemne them. In this conſideration the anſwer of *Calvin* unto *Farell*, concerning the children of Popiſh Parents doth ſeem crazed; *whereas* ſaith he, *you aſk our judgement about a matter, whereof there is doubt amongſt you, whether Miniſters of our order profeſſing the pure Doctrine of the Goſpell, may lawfully admit unto Baptiſme an Infant whoſe Father is a ſtranger unto our Churches, and whoſe Mother hath fallen from us unto the Papacy, ſo that both the Parents are Popiſh; thus we have thought good to anſwer, namely, that it is an abſurd thing for us to baptize them which cannot be reckoned members of our body. And ſith Papiſts children are ſuch, we ſee not how it ſhould be lawfull to miniſter Baptiſme unto them.* Sounder a great deale is the anſwer of the Eccleſiaſticall Colledge of *Geneva* unto *Knox*, who having ſignified unto them, that himſelf did not think it lawfull to baptize Baſtards, or the Children of Idolaters (he meaneth Papiſts) or of Perſons Excommunicate, till either the Parents had by repentance ſubmitted themſelves unto the Church, or elſe their Children being grown unto the yeers of underſtanding, ſhould come and ſue for their own Baptiſme: *For thus thinking,* ſaith he, *I am thought to be over ſevere, and that not only by them which are Popiſh. but even in their judgements alſo who think themſelves Maintainers of Truth.* Maſter *Knoxes* over-ſight herein they controuled. Their Sentence was, *whereſoever the profeſſion of Chriſtianity hath not utterly periſhed and been extinct, Infants are beguiled of their Right, if the common Seale be denied them.* Which concluſion in it ſelf is ſound, although it ſeemeth the ground is but weak whereupon they build it. For the reaſon which they yeeld of their Sentence is this; *The promiſe which God doth make to the Faithfull concerning their Seed, reacheth unto a thouſand Generations; it reſteth not onely in the firſt Degree of Deſcent. Infants therefore whoſe great Grandfathers have been holy and godly, do in that reſpect belong to the body of the Church, although the Fathers and Grandfathers of whom they deſcend, have been Apoſtates: Becauſe the tenure of the grace of God which did adopt them three hundred yeeres agoe and more in their Ancient Predeceſſours,*

Calvin. Epiſt. 1.

Epiſt. 283.

Epiſt. 285.

cannot with juſtice be defeated and broken off by their Parents impiety comming between. By which reaſon of theirs, although it ſeem that all the World may be baptized, inaſmuch as no man living is a thouſand Deſcents removed from *Adam* himſelf; yet we mean not at this time either to uphold or to overthrow it: only their alleadged concluſion we imbrace, ſo it be conſtrued in this ſort. *That foraſmuch as men remain in the viſible Church, till they utterly renounce the profeſſion of Chriſtianity; we may not deny unto Infants their right, by with-holding from them the publick ſigne of holy Baptiſme, if they be born where the outward acknowledgement of Chriſtianity is not clean gone and extinguiſhed.* For being in ſuch ſort born, their Parents are within the Church, and therefore their birth doth give them intereſt and right in Baptiſme. Albeit not every errour and fault, yet Hereſies and Crimes which are not actually repented of and forſaken, exclude quite and clean from that ſalvation, which belongeth unto the Myſticall Body of Chriſt; yea, they alſo make a ſeparation from the viſible ſound Church of Chriſt; altogether from the viſible Church neither the one nor the other doth ſever. As for the act of Excommunication, it neither ſhutteth out from the Myſticall, nor clean from the viſible, but only from fellowſhip with the viſible in holy Duties. With what congruity then doth the Church of *Rome* deny, that her Enemies, whom ſhe holdeth alwayes for Hereticks, do at all appertain to the Church of Chriſt; when her own do freely grant, that albeit the *Pope* (as they ſay) cannot teach Hereſie nor propound Errour, he may notwithſtanding himſelf worſhip Idols, think amiſſe concerning matters of Faith, yea, give himſelf unto acts Diabolicall, even being *Pope?* How exclude they us from being any part of the Church of Chriſt under the colour and pretence of Hereſie, when they cannot but grant it poſſible even for him to be as touching his own perſonall perſwaſion Hereticall, who in their opinion not only is of the Church, but holdeth the chiefeſt place of authority over the ſame? But of theſe things we are not now to diſpute. That which already we have ſet down, is for our preſent purpoſe ſufficient. By the Church therefore in this queſtion we underſtand no other than only the viſible Church. For preſervation of Chriſtianity there is not any thing more needfull, then that ſuch as are of the viſible Church, have mutuall fellowſhip and ſociety one with another. In which conſideration, as in the main body of the Sea being one, yet within divers Precincts hath divers names; ſo the Catholick Church is in like ſort divided into a number of diſtinct Societies, every of wch is termed a Church within it ſelf. In this ſenſe the Church is always a viſible ſociety of men; not an aſſembly, but a ſociety. For although the name of the Church be given unto Chriſtian aſſemblies, although any multitude of Chriſtian men congregated may be termed by the name of a Church; yet aſſemblies properly are rather things that belong to a Church. Men are aſſembled for performance of publick actions; wch actions being ended, the aſſembly diſſolveth it ſelf, and is no longer in being; whereas the Church which was aſſembled, doth no leſſe continue afterwards then before. *Where but three are, and they of the Laity alſo,* ſaith *Tertullian*, *yet there is a Church*, that is to ſay, a Chriſtian aſſembly. But a Church, as now we are to underſtand it, is a ſociety, that is, a number of men belonging unto ſome Chriſtian fellowſhip, the place and limits whereof are certain. That wherein they have communion,

Tertul. Exhort. ad caſtit. Vltres, eccleſia eſt, Loet Laici.

communion, is the publick exerciſe of ſuch duties as thoſe mentioned in the Apoſtles Acts, *Inſtruction*, *Breaking of Bread*, and *Prayers*. As therefore they that are of the Myſticall Body of Chriſt, have thoſe inward Graces and Vertues, whereby they differ from all others which are not of the ſame body; again, whoſoever appertain to the viſible Body of the Church, they have alſo the notes of externall Profeſſion, whereby the World knoweth what they are: after the ſame manner, even the ſeverall Societies of Chriſtian men, unto every of which the name of a Church is given, with addition betokening ſeverally, as the Church of *Rome*, *Corinth*, *Epheſus*, *England*, and ſo the reſt; muſt be indued with correſpondent generall properties belonging unto them, as they are publick Chriſtian Societies. And of ſuch properties common unto all Societies Chriſtian, it may not be denied, that one of the very chiefeſt is Eccleſiaſticall Polity. Which word I therefore the rather uſe, becauſe the name of Government, as commonly men underſtand it in ordinary ſpeech, doth not comprize the largeneſſe of that whereunto in this queſtion it is applyed. For when we ſpeak of Government, what doth the greateſt part conceive thereby, but only the exerciſe of Superiority peculiar unto Rulers and Guides of others? To our purpoſe therefore the name of Church-Polity will better ſerve, becauſe it containeth both Government, and alſo whatſoever beſides belongeth to the ordering of the Church in publick. Neither is any thing in this degree more neceſſary than Church-Polity, which is a form of ordering the publick ſpirituall affairs of the Church of God.

Acts 2. 47.

2 But we muſt note, that he which affirmeth ſpeech to be neceſſary amongſt all men throughout the World, doth not thereby import that all men muſt neceſſarily ſpeak one kinde of Language; Even ſo the neceſſity of Polity, and Regiment in all Churches may be held, without holding any one certain form to be neceſſary in them all. Nor is it poſſible that any form of Polity, much leſſe of Polity Eccleſiaſticall, ſhould be good, unleſſe God himſelf be Author of it. *Thoſe things that are not of God* (ſaith *Tertullian*) *they can have no other than Gods Adverſary for their Author*. Be it whatſoever in the Church of God, if it be not of God, we hate it. Of God it muſt be, either as thoſe things ſometimes were, which God ſupernaturally revealed, and ſo delivered thē unto *Moſes* for Government of the Common-wealth of Iſrael; or elſe as thoſe things which men finde out by help of that light, which God hath given them unto that end. The very law of Nature it ſelf, which no man can deny but God hath inſtituted, is not of God, unleſſe that be of God, whereof God is the Author as well this later way as the former. But foraſmuch as no form of Church-Polity is thought by them to be lawfull, or to be of God, unleſſe God be ſo the Author of it, that it be alſo ſet down in Scripture; they ſhould tell us plainly, whether their meaning be that it muſt be there ſet down in whole, or in part. For if wholly, let them ſhew what one form of Polity ever was ſo. Their own to be ſo taken out of Scripture they will not affirme; neither deny they that in part, even this which they ſo much oppugne is alſo from thence taken. Again, they ſhould tell us, whether only that be taken out of Scripture, which is actually and particularly there ſet down; or elſe that alſo, which the generall Principles and Rules of Scripture potentially contain. The

Whether it be neceſſary that ſome particular forme of Church-Polity be ſet down in Scripture, ſith the things that belong particularly unto any ſuch form, are not of neceſſity to Salvation.

Tertul. de habitu mul. Æmuli ſint neceſſe eſt, quæ Dei non ſunt.

Rom. 2. 15.

Lact. lib. 6. *c.* 8.

Ille legis hujus inventor, diſceptator, lator. Cic. 3. de Repub.

one way they cannot as much as pretend, that all the parts of their owne Diſcipline are in Scripture; and the other way their mouths are ſtopped, when they would plead againſt all other formes beſides their owne; ſeeing the generall Principles are ſuch, as doe not particularly preſcribe any one, but ſundry may equally be conſonant unto the generall Axiomes of the Scripture. But to give them ſome larger ſcope, and not to cloſe them up in theſe ſtreights: let their allegations be conſidered, wherewith they earneſtly bend themſelves againſt all, which deny it neceſſary that any one compleat forme of Church-Polity ſhould be in Scripture. Firſt therefore, whereas it hath been told them, that matters of Faith, and in generall, matters neceſſary unto Salvation, are of a different nature from Ceremonies, Order, and the kind of Church-government; that the one are neceſſary to be expreſly contained in the Word of God, or elſe manifeſtly collected out of the ſame, the other not ſo; that it is neceſſary not to receive the one, unleſſe there be ſomething in Scripture for them, the other free, if nothing againſt them may thence bee alleadged: although there doe not appeare any juſt or reaſonable cauſe to reject or diſlike of this, nevertheleſſe, as it is not eaſie to ſpeake to the contentation of minds exulcerated in themſelves, but that ſomewhat there will bee alwayes which diſpleaſeth, ſo herein for two things wee are reprooved; the firſt *miſdiſtinguiſhing*, becauſe matters of Diſcipline and Church-government are (as they ſay) matters neceſſaty to ſalvation, and of Faith, whereas wee put a difference betwixt the one and the other; our ſecond fault is *injurious dealing* with the Scripture of God, as if it contained onely the principall points of Religion, ſome rude and unfaſhioned matter of building the Church, but had left out that which belongeth unto the forme and faſhion of it; as if there were in the Scripture no more than onely to cover the Churches nakedneſſe, and not Chaines, Bracelets, Rings, Jewels to adorne her; ſufficient to quench her thirſt, to kill her hunger, but not to miniſter a more liberall and (as it were) a more delicious and dainty dyet. In which caſe our Apologie ſhall not need to be very long.

Two things miſliked, the one, that wee diſtinguiſh matters of Diſcipline or Church-government from matters of faith and neceſſary unto Salvation; the other, that wee are injurious to the Scripture of God, in abridging the large and rich contents thereof; Their words are theſe: You which diſtinguiſh betweene theſe, and ſay that matters of Faith and neceſſary unto Salvation may not bee tolerated in the Church, unleſſe they bee expreſly contained in the Word of God, or manifeſtly gathered; but that Ceremonies, Order, Diſcipline, Government in the Church, may not bee received againſt the Word of God, and conſequently may be received if there be no word againſt them, although there bee none for them; you (I ſay) diſtinguiſhing or dividing after this ſort, doe proove your ſelfe an evill divider. As though matters of Diſcipline and kinde of Government were not matters neceſſary to Salvation, and of Faith. It is no ſmall injury which you doe unto the Word of God to pinne it in ſo narrow roome, as that it ſhould be able to direct us but in the principall points of our Religion, or as though the ſubſtance of Religion, or ſome rude and unfaſhioned matter of building of the Church were uttered in them, and thoſe things were left out that ſhould pertaine to the forme and faſhion of it, or as if there were in the Scriptures only to cover the Churches nakedneſſe and not alſo Chaynes, and Bracelets and Rings and other Iewels to adorne her and ſet her out: or that to conclude, there were ſufficient to quench her thirſt and kill her hunger, but not to miniſter unto her a more liberall, and (as it were) a more delicious and dainty dyet. Theſe things you ſeeme to ſay, when you ſay that matters neceſſary to Salvation, and of Faith, are contained in Scripture, eſpecially, when you oppoſe theſe things to Ceremonies, Order, Diſcipline, and Government. *T. C. lib. 1. pag. 26.*

3 * The mixture of thoſe things by ſpeech, which by nature are divided, is the Mother of all Error. To take away therfore that error which Confuſion breedeth, diſtinction is requiſite. Rightly to diſtinguiſh, is by conceit of mind to ſever things different in Nature, and to diſcern wherin they differ. So that if we imagine a difference where there is none, becauſe we diſtinguiſh

* That matters of Diſcipline are different, from matters of Faith and Salvation, and that they theſelves ſo teach which are our Reproovers.

guiſh where we ſhould not, it may not be denied that we miſ-diſtinguiſh. The one triall whether we do ſo, yea or no, dependeth upon compariſon between our conceit and the nature of things conceived. Touching matters belonging to the Church of Chriſt this we conceive, that they are not of one ſute. Some things are *meerly* of Faith, which things it doth ſuffice that we know and beleeve: ſome things not only to be known, but done becauſe they concerne the actions of Men. Articles about the Trinity are matters of meer Faith, and muſt bee beleeved. Precepts concerning the works of Charity, are matters of action, which to know, unleſſe they be practiſed, is not enough. This being ſo cleer to all mens underſtanding, I ſomewhat marvaile that they eſpecially ſhould thinke it abſurd to oppoſe *Church-government*, a plain matter of action, unto matter of Faith, who know that themſelves divide the Goſpell into Doctrine and Diſcipline. For if matters of Diſcipline bee rightly by them diſtinguiſhed from matters of Doctrine, why not matters of Government by us as reaſonably ſet againſt matters of Faith? Doe not they under Doctrine comprehend the ſame which we intend by matters of Faith? Doe not they under Diſcipline comprize the Regiment of the Church? When they blame that in us, which themſelves follow, they give men great cauſe to doubt that ſome other thing than Judgement doth guide their ſpeech. What the Church of God ſtandeth bound to know or doe, the ſame in part Nature teacheth. And becauſe Nature can teach them but onely in part, neither ſo fully, as is requiſite for mans ſalvation, nor ſo eaſily, as to make the way plaine and expedite enough, that many may come to the knowledge of it and ſo bee ſaved; therefore in Scripture hath God both collected the moſt neceſſary things, that the Schoole of Nature teacheth unto that end, and reveleth alſo whatſoever we neither could with ſafety be ignorant of, nor at all bee inſtructed in but by ſupernaturall Revelation from him. So that Scripture containg all things that are in this kind any way needfull for the Church, and the principall of the other ſort; this is the next thing wherewith wee are charged as with an errour: wee teach that whatſoever is unto ſalvation termed *neceſſary* by way of excellency, whatſoever it ſtandeth all men upon to know or doe that they may bee ſaved, whatſoever there is whereof it may truly bee ſaid, *This not to beleeve is eternall death and damnation*, or, *This every ſoule that will live muſt duly obſerve*, of which ſort the Articles of Chriſtian Faith, and the Sacraments of the Church of Chriſt are; all ſuch things if Scripture did not comprehend, the Church of God ſhould not bee able to meaſure out the length and breadth of that way wherein for ever ſhee is to walke; Heretiques and Schiſmatiques never ceaſing, ſome to abridge, ſome to enlarge, all to pervert and obſcure the ſame. But as for thoſe things that are acceſſary hereunto, thoſe things that ſo belong to the way of ſalvation, as to alter them is no otherwiſe to change that way, than a path is changed by altering onely the uppermoſt face thereof, which be it laid with gravell, or ſet with graſſe, or paved with ſtones, remaineth ſtill the ſame path; in ſuch things becauſe diſcretion may.

T.C. lib. 2. pa. 1. We offer to ſhew the Diſcipline to be a part of the Goſpell. And againe, *pag. 5.* I ſpeake of the Diſcipline as of a part of the Goſpell. If the Diſcipline be one part of the Goſpell, what other part can they aſſigne but Doctrine, to anſwer in diviſion to the Diſcipline.

may teach the Church what is convenient, we hold not the Church further tyed herein unto Scripture, than that against Scripture nothing be admitted in the Church, leſt that path which ought alwayes to be kept even, do thereby come to be over-grown with Brambles and Thorns. If this be unſound, wherein doth the point of unſoundneſſe lye? It is not that we make ſome things *neceſſary*, ſome things *acceſſory* and appendant only. For our Lord and Saviour himſelf doth make that difference, by terming Judgement, and Mercy, and Fidelity, with other things of like nature, *The greater and weightier matters of the Law.* Is it then in that we account *Ceremonies* (wherein we do not comprize Sacraments, or any other the like ſubſtantiall duties in the exerciſe of Religion, but only ſuch externall Rites as are uſually annexed unto Church actions,) is it an overſight, that we reckon theſe things and [a] matters of Government in the number of things acceſſory, not things neceſſary in ſuch ſort as hath been declared? Let them which therefore think us blameable, conſider well their own words. Do they not plainly compare the one unto Garments, which cover the body of the Church, the other unto Rings, Bracelets, and Jewels that only adorn it? the one to that Food which the Church doth live by, the other to that which maketh her Diet liberall, dainty, and more delicious? Is dainty fare a thing neceſſary to the ſuſtenance, or to the clothing of the body rich Attire? If not, how can they urge the neceſſity of that which themſelves reſemble by things not neceſſary? Or by what conſtruction ſhall any man living be able to make thoſe compariſons true, holding that diſtinction untrue, which putteth a difference between things of externall Regiment in the Church, and things neceſſary unto ſalvation?

Matth. 23. 23.

[a] The Government of the Church of Chriſt granted by *Fennar* himſelf to be thought a matter of great moment, yet not of the ſubſtance of Religion. Againſt Doctor *Bridges, pag.* 121. if it be *Fennar* which was the Author of that Book.

4 Now as it can be to Nature no injury, that of her we ſay the ſame which diligent beholders of her works have obſerved; namely, that ſhe provideth for all living Creatures nouriſhment which may ſuffice, that ſhe bringeth forth no kinde of creature where to ſhe is wanting in that which is needfull; although we do not ſo far magnifie her exceeding bounty, as to affirme that ſhe bringeth into the World the ſonnes of men adorned with gorgeous attire, or maketh coſtly buildings to ſpring up out of the Earth for them: So I truſt that to mention what the Scripture of God leaveth unto the Churches diſcretion in ſome things, is not in any thing to impaire the honour which the Church of God yeeldeth to the ſacred Scriptures perfection. Wherein ſeeing that no more is by us maintained, that only that Scripture muſt needs teach the Church whatſoever is in ſuch ſort neceſſary as hath been ſet down; and that it is no more diſgrace for Scripture to have left a number of other things free to be ordered at the diſcretion of the Church, than for Nature to have left it unto the wit of man to deviſe his own attire, and not to look for it as the beaſts of the field have theirs. If neither this can import, nor any other proof ſufficient bee brought forth, that we either will at any time, or ever did affirme the ſacred Scripture to comprehend no more than only thoſe bare neceſſaries; if we acknowledge that as well for particular application to ſpeciall occaſions,

That we do not take from Scripture any thing which may be thereunto given with ſoundneſſe of truth. *Ariſt. Pol. lib.* 1. *cap.* 8. *& Plato in Menex: Ariſt. lib.* 3. *de Anima, cap.* 45.

as

as alſo in other manifold reſpects infinite Treaſures of Wiſedome are over and beſides abundantly to be found in the Holy Scripture; yea, that ſcarcely there is any noble part of knowledge, worthy the mind of man, but from thence it may have ſome direction and light; yea that although there bee no neceſſitie it ſhould of purpoſe preſcribe any one particular forme of Church-Government; yet touching the manner of governing in generall, the Precepts that Scripture ſetteth down are not few, and the Examples many which it propoſeth for all Church-Governours, even in particularities to follow; yea, that thoſe things, finally, which are of principall weight in the very particular forme of Church-Politie, (although not that forme which they imagine, but that which wee againſt them uphold) are in the ſelfe-ſame Scriptures contained: if all this bee willingly granted by us, which are accuſed to pinne the Word of God in ſo narrow roome, as that it ſhould be able to direct us but in principall points of our Religion, or as though the ſubſtance of Religion or ſome rude or unfaſhioned matter of building the Church were uttered in them, and thoſe things left out that ſhould pertaine to the forme and faſhion of it; let the cauſe of the accuſed be referred to the Accuſers owne conſcience, and let that judge whether this accuſation be deſerved where it hath beene layd.

5 But ſo eaſie it is for every man living to erre, and ſo hard to wreſt from any mans mouth the plaine acknowledgement of errour, that what hath bin once inconſiderately defended, the ſame is commonly perſiſted in, as long as wit by whetting it ſelfe is able to find out any ſhift, be it never ſo ſleight, whereby to eſcape out of the hands of preſent contradiction. So that it commeth herein to paſſe with men unadviſedly falne into errour, as with them whoſe ſtate hath no ground to uphold it, but onely the helpe which by ſubtill conveyance they draw out of caſuall events ariſing from day to day, till at length they be cleane ſpent. They which firſt gave out, that *Nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church which is not commanded by the Word of God*, thought this Principle plainly warranted by the manifeſt words of the Law; *Yee ſhall put nothing unto the word which I command you, neither ſhall yee take ought there from, that ye may keep the Commandements of the Lord our God, which I command you.* Wherfore having an eye to a number of Rites and Orders in the Church of England, as marrying with a Ring, Croſſing in the one Sacrament, kneeling at the other, obſerving of Feſtivall dayes more than onely that which is called the *Lords Day*, inioyning Abſtinence at certain times from ſome kindes of Meate, Churching of Women after Childbirth, Degrees taken by Divines in Vniverſities, ſundry Church-offices, Dignities, and Callings, for which they found no Commandement in the holy Scripture, they thought by the one onely ſtroke of that Axiome to have cut them off. But that which they tooke for an Oracle, being ſifted was repeld. True it is concerning the Word of God, whether it be by miſconſtruction of the ſenſe, or by falſification of the words, wittingly to endevor that any thing may ſeem Divine which is not, or any thing not ſeem which is, were plainly to abuſe and even to falſifie Divine Evidence, which injurie offered but unto men is moſt worthily counted ſinnous. Which point I wiſh they did well obſerve; with whom nouling is more familiar than to plead in theſe Cauſes, *the Law of God, the Word of the Lord*: who notwithſtanding

Their meaning who firſt did plead againſt the Politie of the Church of England, urging that, *Nothing ought to be eſtabled in the Church, which is not commanded by the word of God*: and what Scripture they thought they might ground this Aſſertion upon.

Deut. 4. 2. & *Deut.* 12. 32. Whatſoever I command you take heed you doe it: thou ſhalt put nothing thereto, nor take ought there from.

ſtanding when they come to alleage what Word and what Law they meant, their common ordinary practice is, to quote by-ſpeeches in ſome hiſtoricall Narration or other, and to urge them as if they were writren in moſt exact forme of Law. What is to adde to the Law of God, if this bee not? When that which the Word of God doth but deliver hiſtorically, we conſter without any warrant as if it were legally meant, and ſo urge it further then wee can prove that it was intended, doe wee not adde to the Lawes of God, and make them in number ſeeme more then they are? It ſtandeth us upon to be carefull in this caſe. For the ſentence of God is heavy againſt them, that wittingly ſhall preſume thus to uſe the Scripture.

6 But let that which they doe hereby intend be granted them; let it once ſtand as conſonant to reaſon, that becauſe we are forbidden to adde to the Law of God any thing, or to take ought from it, therefore wee may not for matters of the Church make any Law more than is already ſet downe in Scripture: who ſeeth not what ſentence it ſhall enforce us to give againſt all Churches in the World, inaſmuch as there is not one, but hath had many things eſtabliſhed in it, which though the Scripture did never command, yet for us to condemne were raſhneſſe. Let the Church of God even in the time of our Saviour Chriſt ſerve for example unto all the reſt. In their Domeſticall Celebration of the Paſſeover, which Supper they divided (as it were) into two courſes, what Scripture did give Commandement that betweene the firſt and the ſecond, hee that was Chiefe ſhould put off the reſidue of his Garments, and keeping on his Feaſt-robe onely, waſh the feete of them that were with him? What Scripture did command them never to lift up their hands unwaſht in Prayer unto God; which cuſtome *Ariſtæus* (be the credit of the Author more or leſſe) ſheweth wherefore they did ſo religiouſly obſerve? What Scripture did command the Iewes every feſtivall day to faſt till the ſixt houre? The cuſtome both mentioned by *Ioſephus* in the Hiſtorie of his owne life, and by the words of *Peter* ſignified. Tedious it were to rip up all ſuch things, as were in that Church eſtabliſhed, yea by Chriſt himſelfe and by his Apoſtles obſerved though not commanded any where in Scripture.

7 Well, yet a Gloſſe there is to colour that paradox and notwithſtanding all this, ſtill to make it appear in ſhew not to be altogether unreaſonable. And therefore till further reply come, the cauſe is held by a feeble diſtinction; that the Commandements of God being either generall or ſpeciall, although there bee no expreſſe word for every thing in ſpecialtie, yet there are generall Commandements for all things, to the end that even ſuch caſes as are not in Scripture particularly mentioned might not bee left to any to order at their pleaſure, onely with caution that nothing bee done againſt the Word of God: and that for this cauſe the Apoſtle hath ſet downe in Scripture foure generall Rules, requiring ſuch things alone to be received in the Church, as do beſt and neereſt agree with the ſame Rules, that ſo all things in the Church may be appointed, not only *not againſt*, but *by* and *according* to the Word of God. The Rules are theſe, *Nothing ſcandalous* or offenſive unto any, eſpecially unto the Church of God; *All things* in order and with ſeemelineſſe; *All unto edification*; finally,

The ſame aſſertion we cannot hold, without doing wrõg unto all Churches.

Iohn 13. *Canatorium: de quo Mat.* 22. 12. *ibi de cœnatorio nuptiali.*

Acts 2.

a A ſhift to maintain that, Nothing ought to bee eſtabliſhed in the Church, which is not commanded in the Word of God: Namely, that Commandements are of two ſorts; and that all things lawfull in the Church are cõmanded, if not by ſpeciall Precepts, yet by generall Rules in the Word

1. *Cor.* 10. 32. 1. *Cor.* 14. 40.

All

All to the glory of God. Of which kind how many might be gathered out of the Scripture, if it were neceſſary to take ſo much pains? Which Rules they that urge, minding therby to prove that nothing may be done in the Church but what Scripture commandeth, muſt needs hold that they tye the Church of Chriſt no otherwiſe, than only becauſe we finde them there ſet down by the finger of the holy Ghoſt. So that unleſſe the Apoſtle by writing had delivered thoſe Rules to the Church, we ſhould by obſerving them have ſinned, as now by not obſerving them. In the Church of the Iewes is it not granted, that *the appointment of the houre for daily Sacrifices*; the building of *Synagogues* throughout the Land to heare the Word of God and to pray in, when they came not up to *Ieruſalem*; the erecting of *Pulpits and Chaires* to teach in; the order of *Buriall*, the *Rites of Marriage*, with ſuch like, being matters appertaining to the Church, yet are not any where preſcribed in the Law, but were by the Churches diſcretion inſtituted? What then ſhall we think? Did they hereby adde to the Law, and ſo diſpleaſe God by that which they did? None ſo hardly perſwaded of them. Doth their Law deliver unto them the ſelf-ſame generall rules of the Apoſtles, that framing thereby their Orders, they might in that reſpect cleer themſelves from doing amiſſe? S. *Paul* would then of likelihood have cited them out of the Law, which we ſee he doth not. The truth is, they are rules and Canons of that Law which is written in all mens hearts; the Church had for ever no leſſe then now ſtood bound to obſerve them, whether the Apoſtle had mentioned them or no. Seeing therefore thoſe Canons do binde as they are edicts of Nature, which the Iewes obſerving as yet unwritten, and thereby framing ſuch Church-orders as in their Law were not preſcribed, are notwithſtanding in that reſpect unculpable; it followeth, that ſundry things may be lawfully done in the Church, ſo as they be not done againſt the Scripture, although no Scripture do command them, but the Church only following the Light of Reaſon, judge them to be in diſcretion meet. Secondly, unto our purpoſe and for the queſtion in hand, whether the commandements of God in Scripture be Generall or Speciall, it skilleth not. For if being particularly applyed, they have in regard of ſuch particulars a force conſtraining us to take ſome one certain thing of many, and to leave the reſt, whereby it would come to paſſe, that any other particular but that one being eſtabliſhed, the generall Rules themſelves in that caſe would be broken; then is it utterly impoſſible that God ſhould leave any thing great or ſmall free for the Church to eſtabliſh or not. Thirdly, if ſo be they ſhall grant, as they cannot otherwiſe do, that theſe rules are no ſuch Lawes as require any one particular thing to be done, but ſerve rather to direct the Church in all things which ſhe doth; ſo that free and lawfull it is to deviſe any Ceremony, to receive any Order, and to authorize any kinde of Regiment, no ſpeciall Commandement being thereby violated; and the ſame being thought ſuch by them to whom the judgement thereof appertaineth, as that it is not ſcandalous, but decent, tending unto edification, and ſetting forth the glory of God, that is to ſay, agreeable unto the generall Rules of the Scripture; this doth them no good in the World for the furtherance of their purpoſe. That which ſhould make for them, muſt prove that men ought not to make Lawes for Church-Regiment, but only

1 *Cor.* 14. 26. *Rom.* 14, 6, 7.

T. C. Lp. 38.

keep

keep thoſe Lawes which in Scripture they finde made. The plain intent of the Book of Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline is to ſhew, that men may not deviſe Lawes of Church-government; but are bound for ever to uſe and execute only thoſe, which God himſelf hath already deviſed and delivered in the Scripture. The ſelf-ſame drift the Admonitioners alſo had, in urging that nothing ought to be done in the Church according unto any Law of mans deviſing, but all according to that which God in his Word hath commanded. Which not remembring, they gather out of Scripture generall Rules to be followed in making Lawes; and ſo in effect they plainly grant, that we our ſelves may lawfully make Lawes for the Church, and are not bound out of Scripture only to take Lawes already made, as they meant who firſt alleadged that Principle whereof we ſpeak. One particular platforme it is which they reſpected, and which they laboured thereby to force upon all Churches; whereas theſe generall rules do not lett, but that there may well enough be ſundry. It is the particular order eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, which thereby they did intend to alter, as being not commanded of God; whereas unto thoſe generall Rules they know, we do not defend that we may hold any thing unconformable. Obſcure it is not what meaning they had, who firſt gave out that grand Axiome: and according unto that meaning, it doth prevaile far and wide with the Favourers of that part. Demand of them, wherefore they conforme nor themſelves unto the Order of our Church? and in every particular their anſwer for the moſt part is, *We finde no ſuch thing commanded in the Word.* Whereby they plainly require ſome ſpeciall Commandement for that which is exacted at their hands; neither are they content to have matters of the Church examined by generall Rules and Canons. As therefore in controverſies between us and the Church of *Rome*, that which they practiſe, is many times even according to the very groſſeneſſe of that which the vulgar ſort conceiveth; when that which they teach to maintain it, is ſo nice and ſubtill, that hold can very hardly be taken thereupon; in which caſes we ſhould do the Church of God ſmall benefit, by diſputing with them according unto the fineſt points of their dark conveyance, and ſuffering that ſenſe of their Doctrine to go uncontrolled, wherein by the common ſort it is ordinarily received and practiſed. So conſidering what diſturbance hath grown in the Church among our ſelves, and how the Authours thereof do commonly build altogether on this as a ſure foundation, *Nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church, which in the Word of God is not commanded*; were it reaſon that we ſhould ſuffer the ſame to paſſe without controlment, in that currant meaning whereby everywhere it prevaileth, and ſtay till ſome ſtrange conſtruction were made thereof, which no man would lightly have thought on, but being driven thereunto for a ſhift?

Another anſwer in defence of the former aſſertion, whereby the meaning thereof is opened in this ſort. All Church-orders muſt be commanded in the Word, that is to ſay, grounded upon the Word, and made according at the leaſt-wiſe unto the generall Rules of holy Scripture. As for ſuch things as are found out by any Star or light of Reaſon, and are in that reſpect received, ſo they bee not againſt the Word of God, all ſuch things it holdeth unlawfully received.

8 The laſt refuge in maintaining this Poſition, is thus to conſter it; *Nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church, but that which is commanded in the Word of God*; that is to ſay, All Church-orders muſt be *grounded upon the Word of God*, in ſuch ſort grounded upon the Word, not that being found out by ſome *Starre or light of Reaſon or Learning, or other help*, they may be received, ſo they be not againſt the Word of God; but according at leaſt-wiſe unto the generall Rules of Scripture

ture they muſt be made. Which is in effect aſmuch as to ſay, *we know not what to ſay well in defence of this Poſition: and therefore leſt we ſhould ſay it is falſe, there is no remedy but to ſay that in ſome ſenſe or other it may be true, if we could tell how.* For that *Scholie* had need of a very favourable Reader, and a tractable, that ſhould think it plain conſtruction, when to be *commanded in the word*, and *grounded upon the Word* are made all one. If when a man may live in the ſtate of Matrimony, ſeeking that good thereby which nature principally deſireth, he make rather choice of a contrary life in regard of *S. Pauls* judgement; that which he doth is manifeſtly *grounded* upon the Word of God, yet *not commanded* in his Word, becauſe without breach of any commandement he might do otherwiſe. Secondly, whereas no man in juſtice and reaſon can be reproved, for thoſe actions which are framed according unto that known will of God, whereby they are to be judged; and the will of God which we are to judge our actions by, no ſound Divine in the World ever denied to be in part made manifeſt even by light of nature, and not by Scripture alone; if the Church being directed by the former of theſe two, (which God hath given who gave the other, that man might in different ſort be guided by them both,) if the Church, I ſay, do approve and eſtabliſh that which thereby it judgeth meet, and findeth not repugnant to any word or ſyllable of holy Scripture, who ſhall warrant our preſumptuous boldneſſe, controlling herein the Church of Chriſt? But ſo it is, the name of the light of nature is made hatefull with men; *the Starre of reaſon and learning*, and all other ſuch like helps, beginneth no otherwiſe to be thought of, then if it were an unlucky Comet, or as if God had ſo accurſed it, that it ſhould never ſhine or give light in things concerning our duty any way towards him, but be eſteemed as that *Starre* in the Revelation called *Wormewood*, which being fallen from Heaven, maketh Rivers and Waters in which it falleth, ſo bitter, that men taſting them die thereof. A number there are, who think they cannot admire as they ought the power and authority of the Word of God, if in things divine they ſhould attribute any force to mans reaſon. For which cauſe they never uſe reaſon ſo willingly as to diſgrace reaſon. Their uſuall and common diſcourſes are unto this effect: Firſt, *The naturall man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are fooliſhneſſe unto him, neither can he know them, becauſe they are ſpiritually diſcerned.* Secondly, it is not for nothing that S. *Paul* giveth charge to *beware of Philoſophy*, that is to ſay, ſuch knowledge as men by naturall reaſon attain unto. Thirdly, Conſider them that have from time to time oppoſed themſelves againſt the Goſpell of Chriſt, and moſt troubled the Church with Hereſie. Have they not alwayes been great admirers of humane reaſon? Hath their deep and profound skill in ſecular learning, made them more obedient to the Truth, and not armed them rather againſt it? Fourthly, They that fear God will remember how heavie his ſentences are in this caſe; *I will deſtroy the wiſdome of the wiſe, and will caſt away the underſtanding of the prudent. Where is the wiſe? where is the Scribe? where is the diſputer of this World? Hath not God made the wiſdome of this World fooliſhneſſe? Seeing the World by wiſdome knew not God in the wiſdome of God, it pleaſed God by the fooliſhneſſe of preaching to ſave Beleevers.* Fifthly, the Word of God in it ſelf is abſolute,

Ariſt. polit. 1.

1 Cor. 7.

Apoc. 8. 10.

1 Cor. 2. 14.

Col. 2. 8.

1 Cor. 19.

exact, and perfect. The Word of God is a two-edged ſword: as for the weapons of naturall reaſon, they are as the armour of *Saul*, rather cumberſome about the ſouldier of Chriſt than needfull. They are not of force to do that, which the Apoſtles of Chriſt did by the power of the holy Ghoſt, *My preaching* therefore ſaith *Paul, hath not been in the inticing ſpeech of mans wiſdome, but in plain evidence of the ſpirit of power; that your faith might not be in the wiſdome of men, but in the power of God.* Sixthly, if I beleeve the Goſpell, there needeth no reaſoning about it to perſwade me: if I do not beleeve, it muſt be the Spirit of God, and not the reaſon of man that ſhall convert my heart unto him. By theſe and the like diſputes an opinion hath ſpread it ſelf very far in the world, as if the way to be ripe in faith, were to be raw in wit and judgement; as if reaſon were an enemy unto Religion, childiſh ſimplicity the mother of ghoſtly and divine wiſdome. The cauſe why ſuch declamations prevaile ſo greatly, is, for that men ſuffer themſelves in two reſpects to be deluded; one is, that the wiſdome of men being debaſed, either in compariſon with that of God, or in regard of ſome ſpeciall thing, exceeding the reach and compaſſe thereof, it ſeemeth to them (not marking ſo much) as if ſimply it were condemned: an other, that learning, knowledge, or wiſdome falſly ſo termed, uſurping a name whereof they are not worthy, and being under that name controlled, their reproof is by ſo much the more eaſily miſapplied, and through equivocation wreſted againſt thoſe things whereunto ſo precious names do properly and of right belong. This duly obſerved, doth to the former allegations it ſelf make ſufficient anſwer.

1 Cor. 2. 5.

1 Howbeit for all mens plainer and fuller ſatisfaction, Firſt, concerning the inhability of reaſon to ſearch out and to judge of things divine; if they be ſuch as thoſe properties of God, and thoſe duties of men towards him, which may be conceived by attentive conſideration of Heaven and Earth:

Rom. 1. 21. 31. we know that of meer naturall men, the Apoſtle teſtifieth, how they *knew both God, and the Law of God.* Other things of God there be, which are neither ſo found, nor though they be ſhewed, can ever be approved without the *ſpeciall* operation of Gods good grace and ſpirit. Of ſuch things ſometime ſpake the Apoſtle S. *Paul*, declaring how Chriſt had called him to be a witneſſe of his death and reſurrection from the dead, according to that

Acts 25. 19. which the Prophets and *Moſes* had fore-ſhewed. *Feſtus* a meer naturall man, an Infidell, a Romane, one whoſe eares were unacquainted with ſuch mat-

Acts 26. 24. ter, heard him, but could not reach unto that whereof he ſpake; the ſuffering and the riſing of Chriſt from the dead, he rejected as idle ſuperſtitious

1 Cor. 2. 14. phanſies, not worth the hearing. The Apoſtle that knew them by the ſpirit, and ſpake of them with power of the holy Ghoſt, ſeemed in his eyes but learnedly mad. Which example maketh manifeſt what elſewhere the ſame Apoſtle teacheth, namely, that nature hath need of grace, whereunto I hope

2 we are not oppoſite, by holding that grace hath uſe of nature. Secondly, Philoſophy we are warned to take heed of; not that Philoſophy, which is true and ſound knowledge attained by naturall diſcourſe of reaſon; but that Philoſophy which to bolſter hereſie or error, caſteth a fraudulent ſhew of reaſon upon things which are indeed unreaſonable, & by that meanes by a ſtratageme ſpoileth the ſimple which are not able to withſtand ſuch cunning.

Col. 2. 8. *Take heed leſt any ſpoile you through Philoſophy and vain deceit.* He that exhorteth

teth to beware of an enemies policy, doth not give counſell to be impolitick; but rather to uſe all prudent foreſight and circumſpection, leſt our ſimplicity be over-reacht by cunning ſleights. The way not to be enveigled by them that are ſo guilefull through skill, is throughly to be inſtructed in that which maketh skilfull againſt guile, and to be armed with that true and ſincere Philoſophy, which doth teach againſt that deceitfull and vain, which ſpoileth. Thirdly, But many great Philoſophers have been very unſound in belief. And many ſound in belief have been alſo great Philoſophers. Could ſecular knowledge, bring the one ſort unto the love of Chriſtian faith? Nor Chriſtian faith the other ſort out of love with ſecular knowledge. The harme that Hereticks did, they did it unto ſuch as were unable to diſcern between ſound and deceitfull reaſoning; and the remedy againſt it, was ever the skill which the ancient Fathers had to diſcry and diſcover ſuch deceit. Inſomuch that *Creſconius* the Heretick complained greatly of S. *Auguſtine*, as being too full of Logicall ſubtilties. Hereſie prevaileth only by a counterfeit ſhew of reaſon; whereby notwithſtanding it becommeth invincible, unleſſe it be convicted of fraud by manifeſt remonſtrance, cleerly true, and unable to be withſtood. When therefore the Apoſtle requireth hability to convict Hereticks, can we think he judgeth it a thing unlawfull, and not rather needfull to uſe the principall inſtrument of their conviction, the light of reaſon? It may not be denied but that in the Fathers writings, there are ſundry ſharp invectives againſt Hereticks, even for their very Philoſophicall reaſonings. The cauſe whereof *Tertullian* confeſſeth, not to have been any diſlike conceived againſt the kinde of ſuch reaſonings, but the end. *We may* (ſaith he) *even in matters of God, be made wiſer by reaſons drawn from the publick perſwaſions which are grafted in mens mindes, ſo they be uſed to further the truth, not to bolſter errour; ſo they make with, not againſt that which God hath determined. For there are ſome things even known by nature, as the immortality of the ſoul unto many, one God unto all. I will therefore my ſelf alſo uſe the ſentence of ſome ſuch as* Plato, *pronouncing every ſoul immortall. I my ſelf too will uſe the ſecret acknowledgement of the communalty bearing record of the God of gods. But when I hear men alleadge, That which is dead is dead: and, While thou art alive, be alive: and, After death an end of all, even of death it ſelf: then will I call to minde both that the heart of the people with God is accounted duſt, and that the very wiſdome of the World is pronounced folly. If then an Heretick flie alſo unto ſuch vicious, popular, and ſecular conceits, my anſwer unto him ſhall be, Thou Heretick, avoid the Heathen, although in this ye be one, that ye both bely God: yet thou that doſt this under the Name of Chriſt, differeſt from the Heathen, in that thou ſeemeſt to thy ſelf a Chriſtian. Leave him therefore his conceits, ſeeing that neither will he learn thine. Why doſt thou, having ſight, truſt to a blinde guide; thou which haſt put on Chriſt, take raiment of him that is naked? If the Apoſtle have armed thee, why doſt thou borrow a ſtrangers ſhield? Let him rather learn of thee to acknowledge, than thou of him to renounce the reſurrection of the fleſh.* In a word, the Catholick Fathers did good unto all by that knowledge, whereby Hereticks hindering the truth in many, might have furthered therewith themſelves, but that obſtinately following their own ambitious or otherwiſe corrupted affections, inſtead of framing their wils to maintain that which reaſon taught, they bent their wits to finde how reaſon might ſeem to teach that which their

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Tit. 1. 9.

Tertul. de Reſur. carnis.

wils were ſet to maintain. For which cauſe the Apoſtle ſaith of them juſt-
Tit.3.11. ly, that they are for the moſt part αὐτοκατάκριτοι, men condemed even in and of themſelves. For though they be not all perſwaded that it is truth which they withſtand; yet that to be errour which they uphold, they might undoubtedly the ſooner a great deal attain to know, but that their ſtudy is more to defend what once they have ſtood in, than to finde out ſincerely
4 and ſimply what truth they ought to perſiſt in for ever. Fourthly, there is in the world no kinde of knowledge, whereby any part of truth is ſeen, but we juſtly account it precious; yea, that principall truth, in compariſon whereof all other knowledge is vile, may receive from it ſome kinde of light, whether it be that Egyptian and Chaldean wiſdome Mathematical,
Acts 7.22. wherwith *Moſes* & *Daniel* were furniſht; or that naturall, morall, and civill
Dan.1.17. wiſdom wherewith *Salomon* excelled all men; or that rationall and oratoriall
1 Kin.4.29,30. wiſdome of the Grecians, which the Apoſtle S. *Paul* brought from *Tarſus*,
Acts 22.3. or that Iudaicall, which he learned in *Ieruſalem*, ſitting at the feet of *Gamaliel*: to detract from the dignity thereof, were to injure even God himſelf, who being that light which none can approach unto, hath ſent out theſe lights whereof we are capable, even as ſo many ſparkles reſembling the bright fountain from which they riſe. But there are that bear the title of wiſe men, and Scribes, and great Diſputers of the World, and are nothing indeed leſſe than what in ſhew they moſt appear. Theſe being wholly addicted unto their own wils, uſe their wit, their learning, and all the wiſdome they have, to maintain that which their obſtinate hearts are delighted with, eſteeming in the frantick errour of their mindes, the greateſt madneſſe in the world to be wiſdome, and the higheſt wiſdome fooliſhneſſe. Such were both *Iewes* and *Grecians* which profeſſed; the one ſort legall, & the other ſecular skil, neither induring to be taught the myſtery of Chriſt: unto the glory of whoſe moſt bleſſed Name, who ſo ſtudy to uſe both their reaſon and all other gifts, as well which nature as which grace hath indued them with; let them never doubt but that the ſame God, who is to deſtroy & confound utterly that wiſdome falſely ſo named in others, doth make reckoning of
Matth.13.52. them as of true Scribes, Scribes by wiſdome inſtructed to the Kingdome of Heaven, Scribes againſt that Kingdome hardned in a vain opinion of wiſdome, which in the end being proved folly, muſt needs periſh; true under-
5. ſtanding, knowledge, judgement, & reaſon, continuing for evermore. Fifthly, unto the Word of God, being in reſpect of that end for which God ordained it, perfect, exact, and abſolute in it ſelf, we do not adde reaſon as a ſupplement of any maim or defect therein, but as a neceſſary inſtrument, without which we could not reap by the Scriptures, perfection, that fruit & bene-
Heb 4.12. fit wch it yeeldeth. The word of God is a two-edged ſword, put in the hands of reaſonable men, and reaſon as the weapon that ſlew *Goliah*, if they be as *David* was that uſe it. Touching the Apoſtles, he wch gave them fro above ſuch power for miraculous confirmation of that which they taught, endued them alſo with wiſdome from above to teach that which they ſo did confirme. Our Saviour made choice of twelve ſimple & unlearned men, that the greater their lack of naturall wiſdome was, the more admirable that might appear, which God ſupernaturally endued them with from Heaven. Such therfore as knew the poor and ſilly eſtate wherein they have lived, could not but wonder to hear the wiſdome of their ſpeech, and be ſo much the more

attentive

more attentive unto their teaching. They ſtudied for no toung they ſpake withall; of themſelves they were rude, and knew not ſo much as how to premeditate; the Spirit gave them ſpeech and eloquent utterance. But becauſe with S. *Paul* it was otherwiſe than with the reſt, in as much as he never converſed with Chriſt upon earth as they did; and his education had been ſcholaſticall altogether, which theirs was not: hereby occaſion was taken by certain Malignants, ſecretly to undermine his great authority in the Church of Chriſt, as though the Goſpel had been taught him by others than by Chriſt himſelf, & as if the cauſe of the *Gentiles* converſion and belief through his meanes, had been the learning and skill which he had by being converſant in their Books, which thing made them ſo willing to herae him, & him ſo able to perſwade them; whereas the reſt of the Apoſtles prevailed becauſe God was with them, and by miracle from Heaven confirmed his Word in their mouths. They were mighty in *deeds*: As for him, being abſent, his writings had ſome force; in preſence his power not like unto theirs. In ſumme, concerning his preaching, their very byword was Λόγος ἐξουθενημένος, *addle ſpeech, empty talk*. His writings ful of great words, but in the power of miraculous operations, his preſence not like the reſt of the Apoſtles. Herupon it ariſeth that *S. Paul* was ſo often driven to make his Apologies. Herupon it ariſeth, that whatſoever time he had ſpent in the ſtudy of humane learning, he maketh earneſt proteſtation to them of Corinth, that the Goſpel which he had preached amongſt them, did not by other meanes prevaile with them, than with others the ſame Goſpel taught by the reſt of the Apoſtles of Chriſt. 2 Cor. 10. 10.

My preaching, ſaith he, *hath not been in the perſwaſive ſpeeches of humane wiſdom, but in demonſtration of the ſpirit and power, that your faith may not be in the wiſdom of men, but in the power of God*. What is it which the Apoſtle doth here deny? Is it denied that his ſpeech amongſt them had been *perſwaſive*? No, for of him the ſacred Hiſtory plainly teſtifieth, that for the ſpace of a yeare and a halfe he ſpake in the Synagogue every Sabbath, and *perſwaded* both Iewes and Grecians. How then is the ſpeech of men made perſwaſive? Surely there can be but two ways to bring this to paſſe, the one humane, the other divine. Either St. *Paul* did *only* by art and naturall induſtry cauſe his own ſpeech to be credited; or elſe God by miracle did authorize it, and ſo bring credit therunto, as to the ſpeech of the reſt of the Apoſtles. Of which two, the former he utterly denieth. For why? If the preaching of the reſt had been effectuall by miracle, his *only* by force of his own learning; ſo great inequality between him and the other Apoſtles in this thing, had been enough to ſubvert their faith. For might they not with reaſon have thought, that if he were ſent of God as well as they, God would have furniſhed them and not him, with the power of the holy Ghoſt? Might not a great part of them being ſimple haply have feared, leſt their aſſent had been cunningly gotten unto his doctrine, rather through the weakneſſe of their own wits, than the certainty of that truth which he had taught them? How unequall had it been, that all believers through the preaching of other Apoſtles, ſhould have their faith ſtrongly built upon the evidence of Gods own miraculous approbation, and they whom he had converted, ſhould have their perſwaſion built only upon his skill and wiſdom who perſwaded them? As therefore calling from men may authorize us to teach, although it could not authorize him to teach as other Apoſtles did: ſo although the wiſdom of man had not been ſufficient to inable him ſuch a Teacher as the reſt of the Apo- 1 Cor. 2. 4.

Acts 18. v. 4. 11.

ſtles were, unleſſe Gods miracles had ſtrengthened both the one and the others Doctrine; yet unto our ability both of teaching and learning the truth of Chriſt, as we are but meer Chriſtian men, it is not a little which the wiſ-
6. dom of man may adde. Sixtly, yea, what ſoever our hearts be to God & to his truth, be leeve we, or be we as yet faithleſſe, for our converſion or confirmation, the force of natural reaſon is great. The force whereof unto thoſe effects is nothing without grace. What then? To our purpoſe it is ſufficient, that whoſoever doth ſerve, honour and obey God, whoſoever beleeveth in him; that man would no more do this than innocents & infants do, but for the light of naturall reaſon that ſhineth in him, and maketh him apt to apprehend thoſe things of God, which being by grace diſcovered, are effectuall to perſwade reaſonable minds & none other, that honour, obedience and
Hebr. 11. 6. credit belong aright unto God. No man commeth unto God to offer him Sacrifice, to powre out Supplications and Prayers before him, or to do him any ſervice, which doth not firſt beleeve him both to be, & to be a rewarder of them who in ſuch ſort ſeek unto him. Let men be taught this either by revelation from Heaven, or by inſtruction upon Earth, by labour, ſtudy and meditation, or by the only ſecret inſpiration of the holy Ghoſt; what ſoever the mean be they know it by, if the knowledge thereof were poſſible without diſcourſe of naturall reaſon, why ſhould none be found capable thereof but only men, nor men till ſuch time as they come unto ripe & full abilitie to work by reaſonable underſtanding? The whole drift of the Scripture of God, what is it but only to teach *Theologie*? *Theologie* what is it, but the ſcience of things divine? what Science can be attained unto without the help
1 Cor. 10. 15. of naturall diſcourſe and reaſon? *Iudge you of that which I ſpeak*, ſaith the Apoſtle. In vain it were to ſpeak any thing of God, but that by reaſon men are able ſomewhat to judge of that they heare, and by diſcourſe to diſcerne how conſonant it is to truth. Scripture indeed teacheth things above nature, things which our reaſon by it ſelfe could not reach unto. Yet thoſe things alſo we beleeve, knowing by reaſon that the Scripture is the Word of God. In the preſence of *Feſtus* a Roman, and of King *Agrippa* a Iew, S. *Paul* omitting the one, who neither knew the Iewes Religion, nor the Books whereby they were taught it, ſpeakes unto the other of things foreſhewed by *Moſes* & the Prophets, and performed in Ieſus Chriſt, intending thereby to prove himſelfe ſo unjuſtly accuſed, that unleſſe his Iudges did condemne both *Moſes* & the Prophers, him they could not chuſe but acquite, who taught only that fulfilled, which they ſo long ſince had foretold. His cauſe was eaſie to be diſcerned; what was done, their eyes were witneſſe: what *Moſes* & the Prophets did ſpeak, their Books could quickly ſhew; it was no hard thing for him to compare them, which knew the one, and be-
Act. 26. 22. leeved the other; *King Agrippa, beleeveſt thou the Prophets? I know thou doſt.* The queſtion is, how the bookes of the Prophets came to be credited of King *Agrippa*. For what with him did authorize the Prophets, the like with us doth cauſe the reſt of the Scripture of God to be of credit. Becauſe we maintain, that in Scripture we are taught all things neceſſary unto Salvation; hereupō very childiſhly it is by ſome demaded, what Scripture can teach us the Sacred Authoritie of the Scripture, upon the knowledge whereof our whole Faith and Salvation dependeth. As though there were any kind of Science in the World, which leadeth men unto knowledge, without preſuppoſing a number of things alreadie known. No Science doth make

known

known the firſt Principles whereon it buildeth; but they are alwayes either taken as plain and manifeſt in themſelves, or as proved and granted already, ſome former knowledge having made them evident. Scripture teacheth all ſupernaturally revealed truth without the knowledge whereof Salvation cannot be attained. The main Principle whereupon our beliefe of all things therein contained dependeth, is, That the Scriptures are the Oracles of God himſelfe. This in it ſelfe we cannot ſay is evident. For then all men that heare it would acknowledge it in heart, as they doe when they heare that *every whole is more than any part of that whole*, becauſe this in it ſelfe is evident. The other we know that all do not acknowledge when they heare it. There muſt be therefore ſome former knowledge preſuppoſed, which doth herein aſſure the hearts of all Beleevers. Scripture teacheth us that ſaving Truth which God hath diſcovered unto the World by Revelation: and it preſumeth us taught otherwiſe that it ſelfe is Divine and Sacred. The queſtion then being, by what meanes we are taught this: ſome anſwer, that to learne it we have no other way than onely Tradition: as namely, that ſo wee beleeve, becauſe both wee from our Predeceſſours, and they from theirs have ſo received. But is this enough? That which all mens experience teacheth them, may not in any wiſe be denyed. And by experience we all know, that the firſt outward Motive leading men ſo to eſteeme of the Scripture, is the authoritie of Gods Church. For when we know the whole Church of God hath that opinion of the Scripture, we judge it even at the firſt an impudent thing for any man bred and brought up in the Church, to be of a contrary minde without cauſe. Afterwards the more wee beſtow our labour in reading or hearing the Myſteries thereof, the more wee finde that the thing it ſelfe doth anſwer our received opinion concerning it. So that the former inducements prevailing ſomewhat with us before, doe now much more prevaile, when the very thing hath miniſtred farther Reaſon. If Infidels or Atheiſts chance at any time to call it in queſtion, this giveth us occaſion to ſift what reaſon there is, whereby the teſtimony of the Church concerning Scripture, and our own perſwaſion which Scripture it ſelfe hath confirmed, may be proved a truth infallible. In which caſe the ancient Fathers being often conſtrained to ſhew, what warrant they had ſo much to rely upon the Scriptures, endevoured ſtil to maintain the authority of the Books of God, by arguments ſuch as unbeleevers themſelves muſt needs thinke reaſonable, if they judged thereof as they ſhould. Neither is it a thing impoſſible or greatly hard, even by ſuch kinde of prooſes ſo to manifeſt and cleere that point, that no man living ſhall be able to deny it, without denying ſome apparant Principle, ſuch as all men acknowledge to be true. Wherefore if I beleeve the Goſpell, yet is reaſon of ſingular uſe, for that it confirmeth mee in this my beliefe the more. If I doe not as yet beleeve, nevertheleſſe to bring me into the number of Beleevers, except reaſon did ſomewhat helpe, and were an inſtrument which God doth uſe unto ſuch purpoſes, what ſhould it boot to diſpute with Infidels, or godleſſe perſons for their converſion & perſwaſion in that point? Neither can I think that when grave and learned men do ſometime hold, that of this Principle there is no prooſe but by the teſtimony of the Spirit, wch aſſureth our hearts therein, it is their meaning to exclude utterly all force wch any kind of reaſon may have in that behalf: but I rather

incline

incline to interpret ſuch their ſpeeches, as if they had more expreſly ſet down, that other motives & inducements, be they never ſo ſtrong & conſonant unto reaſon, are notwithſtanding effectual of themſelves to work faith concerning this Principle, if the ſpeciall grace of the holy Ghoſt concur not to the inlightning of our minds. For otherwiſe, I doubt not but men of wiſdome and judgement will grant, that the Church in this point eſpecially is furniſhed with reaſon, to ſtop the mouths of her impious Adverſaries: and that as it were altogether bootleſſe to alleage againſt them, what the Spirit hath taught us; ſo likewiſe that even to our owne ſelves it needeth caution & explication, how the teſtimony of the Spirit may be diſcerned, by what means it may be known, leſt men think that the Spirit of God doth teſtifie thoſe things which the ſpirit of Error ſuggeſteth. The operations of the Spirit, eſpecially theſe ordinary wch be common unto all true Chriſtian men, are, as we know, things ſecret & undiſcernable even to the very ſoule where they are, becauſe their nature is of another & an higher kinde than that they can be by us perceived in this life. Wherfore albeit the Spirit lead us into all truth, and direct us in all goodneſſe; yet becauſe theſe workings of the Spirit in us are ſo privy and ſecret, we therfore ſtand on a plainer ground, when we gather by reaſon from the quality of things beleeved or done, that the Spirit of God hath directed us in both; than if we ſettle our ſelves to beleeve, or to doe any certain particular thing, as being moved thereto by the Spirit. But of this enough. To go from the books of Scripture to the ſenſe and meaning thereof, becauſe the Sentences which are by the Apoſtles recited out of the *Pſalmes* to prove the Reſurrection of Ieſus Chriſt, did not prove it, if ſo be the Prophet *David* meant them of himſelf; this Expoſition therfore they plainly diſprove, and ſhew by manifeſt reaſon, that of *David* the words of *David* could not poſſibly be meant. Exclude the uſe of natural reaſoning about the ſenſe of holy Scripture cõcerning the Articles of our Faith, and then that the Scripture doth cõcern the Articles of our Faith, who can aſſure us? That which by right expoſition buildeth up Chriſtian Faith, being miſconſtrued breedeth Error: between true and falſe conſtruction, the difference, reaſon muſt ſhew. Can Chriſtian men perform that which *Peter* requireth at their hands? Is it poſſible they ſhould both beleeve, & be able without the uſe of reaſon, to render a reaſon of their beliefe, a reaſon ſound & ſufficient to anſwer them that demand it, be they of the ſame faith with us, or enemies therunto? May we cauſe our faith without reaſon to appear reaſonable in the eies of men? This being required evẽ of learners in the School of Chriſt, the duty of their Teachers in the bringing them unto ſuch ripenes, muſt needs be ſomwhat more, than only to read the Sentences of Scripture, & then paraphraſtically to ſcholy them, to vary them with ſundry forms of ſpeech, without arguing or diſputing about any thing which they contain. This method of teaching may commend it ſelf unto the World by that eaſines & facility which is in it; but a law or a pattern it is not, as ſome do imagin, for all men to follow that will do good in the Church of Chriſt. Our Lord & Savior himſelf did hope by diſputatiõ to do ſome good, yea by diſputation not only of, but againſt the truth, albeit with purpoſe for the truth. That Chriſt ſhould be the Son of *David*, was truth, yet againſt this truth our Lord in the Goſpell objecteth, If Chriſt be the Son of *David*, how doth *David* call him Lord? There is as yet no way

Acts 13.36. & *cap.* 2.34.

1 *Pet.* 3.15.

Matth. 22.43.

way known how to diſpute, or to determine of things diſputed, without the uſe of naturall reaſon. If we pleaſe to adde unto Chriſt their example, who followed him as neer in all things as they could, the Sermon of *Paul* and *Barnabas* ſet down in the *Acts*, where the people would have offered unto them Sacrifice: in that Sermon what is there but only naturall reaſon to diſprove their act? *O men, why do ye theſe things? we are men even ſubject to the ſelf-ſame paſſions with you: we preach unto you to leave theſe vanities, and to turn to the living God, the God that hath not left himſelf without witneſſe, in that he hath done good to the World, giving rain and fruitfull ſeaſons, filling our hearts with joy and gladneſſe.* Neither did they only uſe reaſon in winning ſuch unto a Chriſtian belief as were yet thereto unconverted, but with beleevers themſelves they followed the ſelf-ſame courſe. In that great and ſolemn Aſſembly of beleeving Iewes, how doth *Peter* prove that the Gentiles were partakers of the grace of God as well as they, but by reaſon drawn from thoſe effects, which were apparantly known amongſt them? *God which knows the hearts hath born them witneſſe in giving unto them the Holy Ghoſt as unto you.* The light therefore which the Star of naturall Reaſon and Wiſdome caſteth, is too bright to be obſcured by the miſt of a word or two, uttered to diminiſh that opinion which juſtly hath been received concerning the force and vertue thereof, even in matters that touch more neerly the principall duties of men, and the glory of the eternall God. In all which hitherto hath been ſpoken touching the force and uſe of mans reaſon in things Divine, I muſt crave that I be not ſo underſtood or conſtrued, as if any ſuch thing by vertue thereof could be done without the aide and aſſiſtance of Gods moſt bleſſed Spirit. The thing we have handled according to the queſtion moved about it: which queſtion is, whether the light of Reaſon be ſo pernicious, that in deviſing lawes for the Church, men ought not by it to ſearch what may be fit and convenient. For this cauſe therefore we have endeavoured to make it appear, how in the nature of reaſon it ſelf there is no impediment, but that the ſelf-ſame Spirit, which revealeth the things that God hath ſet down in his law, may alſo be thought to aide and direct men in finding out by the light of reaſon, what lawes are expedient to be made for the guiding of his Church, over and beſides them that are in Scripture. Here in therefore we agree with thoſe men, by whom humane lawes are defined to be Ordinances which ſuch as have lawfull authority given them for that purpoſe, do probably draw from the lawes of Nature and God, by diſcourſe of reaſon, aided with the influence of divine Grace. And for that cauſe it is not ſaid amiſſe touching Eccleſiaſticall Canons, that by *inſtinct of the holy Ghoſt they have been made, and conſecrated by the reverend acceptation of the World.*

Acts 14. 15.

Acts 15.

c. Violatores 25. *q.* 1.

How lawes for the regiment of the Church may be made by the advice of men, following therein the light of reaſon, & how thoſe lawes being not repugnant to the Word of God are approved in his ſight.

9. Lawes for the Church are not made as they ſhould be, unleſſe the makers follow ſuch direction as they ought to be guided by. Wherein that Scripture ſtandeth not the Church of God in any ſtead, or ſerveth nothing at all to direct, but may be let paſſe as needleſſe to be conſulted with, we judge it profane, impious, and irreligious to think. For although it were in vain to make lawes which the Scripture hath already made, becauſe what we are already there commanded to do, on our parts there reſteth nothing but only that it be executed: yet becauſe both in that which we are commanded,

manded, it concerneth the duty of the Church by law to provide, that the looſeneſſe and ſlackneſſe of men may not cauſe the Commandements of God to be unexecuted; and a number of things there are for which the Scripture hath not provided by any law, but left them unto the carefull diſcretion of the Church; we are to ſearch how the Church in theſe caſes may be well directed, to make that proviſion by lawes which is moſt convenient and fit. And what is ſo in theſe caſes, partly Scripture, and partly reaſon muſt teach to diſcern. Scripture comprehending examples and lawes, lawes ſome Naturall, and ſome Poſitive; examples neither are there for all caſes which require lawes to be made, and when they are, they can but direct as precedents onely. Naturall lawes direct in ſuch ſort, that in all things we muſt for ever do according unto them; Poſitive ſo, that againſt them in no caſe we may do any thing, as long as the will of God is that they ſhould remain in force. Howbeit when Scripture doth yeeld us preſidents, how far forth they are to be followed; when it giveth Naturall lawes, what particular order is thereunto moſt agreeable; when Poſitive, which way to make lawes unrepugnant unto them; yea, though all theſe ſhould want, yet what kinde of Ordinances would be moſt for that good of the Church which is aimed at, all this muſt be by reaſon found out. And therefore *To refuſe the conduct of the light of nature*, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, *is not folly alone, but accompanied with impiety*. The greateſt amongſt the Schoole Divines ſtudying how to ſet down by exact definition the nature of an humane law, (of which nature all the Churches Conſtitutions are) found not which way better to do it then in theſe words: *Out of the Preceps of the law of nature, as out of certain common and undemonſtrable Principles, mans reaſon doth neceſſarily proceed unto certain more particular determinations: which particular determinations being found out according unto the reaſon of man, they have the names of humane lawes, ſo that ſuch other conditions be therein kept as the making of lawes doth require*, that is, if they whoſe authority is thereunto required do eſtabliſh & publiſh them as lawes. And the truth is, that all our Controverſie in this cauſe concerning the Orders of the Church, is, what particulars the Church may appoint. That wch doth finde them out, is the force of mans reaſon. That which doth guide and direct his reaſon, is the firſt generall law of nature, which law of nature, and the morall law of Scripture are in the ſubſtance of law all one. But becauſe there are alſo in Scripture a number of lawes particular & poſitive, which being in force may not by any law of man be violated, we are in making lawes to have thereunto an eſpecial eye. As for example, it might perhaps ſeem reaſonable unto the Church of God, following the generall lawes concerning the nature of Mariage, to ordain in particular that Cozen Germans ſhall not marry. Which law notwithſtanding ought not to be received in the Church, if there ſhould be in the Scripture a law particular to the contrary, forbidding utterly the bonds of Mariage to be ſo far forth abridged. The ſame *Thomas* therfore whoſe definition of humane laws we mentioned before, doth adde thereunto this caution concerning the rule and canon whereby to make them: *Humane laws are meaſures* in reſpect of men whoſe actions they muſt direct; howbeit ſuch meaſures

Luminis naturalis ducatum repellere, non modò ſtultum eſt, ſed & impium. Aug. 4. de Trin. c. 6.

Tho. Aqui. 12. q. 91. art. 3. Ex præceptis Legis naturalis, quaſi ex quibuſdam principiis communibus & indemonſtrabilibus, neceſſe eſt quòd ratio humana procedat ad alia magis particulariter diſponenda. Eſt iſtæ particulares diſpoſitiones adinventæ ſecundùm rationem humanam, dicuntur leges humanæ, obſervatis aliis conditionibus quæ pertinent ad rationem legis.

1. 2. q 95. art 3.

ſures they are, as have alſo their higher rules to be meaſured by, *which rules are two, the Law of God and the Law of Nature.* So that lawes humane muſt be made according to the generall laws of nature, and without contradiction unto any poſitive law in Scripture; Otherwiſe they are ill made. Unto lawes thus made and received by a whole Church, they which live within the boſome of that Church muſt not think it a matter indifferent either to yeeld or not to yeeld obedience. Is it a ſmall offence to deſpiſe the Church of God? *My ſon keep thy fathers commandement,* ſaith *Salomon, and forget not thy mothers inſtruction, binde them both alwayes about thine heart.* It doth not ſtand with the duty which we owe to our heavenly Father, that to the Ordinances of our Mother the Church we ſhould ſhew our ſelves diſobedient. Let us not ſay we keep the Commandements of the one, when we break the law of the other: for unleſſe we obſerve both, we obey neither. And what doth let, but that we may obſerve both, when they are not the one to the other in any ſort repugnant? For of ſuch lawes only we ſpeak, as being made in form and manner already declared, can have in them no contradiction unto the lawes of Almighty God. Yea, that which is more, the lawes thus made, God himſelf doth in ſuch ſort authorize, that to deſpiſe them, is to deſpiſe in them him. It is a looſe and licentious opinion which the Anabaptiſts have imbraced, holding that a Chriſtian mans liberty is loſt, and the ſoul which Chriſt hath redeemed unto himſelf, injuriouſly drawn into ſervitude under the yoke of humane power, if any law be now impoſed beſides the Goſpell of Jeſus Chriſt: in obedience whereunto the Spirit of God, & not the conſtraint of men is to leade us, according to that of the bleſſed Apoſtle, *Such as are led by the Spirit of God are the Sons of God,* and not ſuch as live in thraldome unto men. Their judgement is therefore that the Church of Chriſt ſhould admit no law-makers but the Evangeliſts. The Author of that which cauſeth another thing to be, is Author of that thing alſo which thereby is cauſed. The light of naturall underſtanding, wit, and reaſon, is from God; he it is which thereby doth illuminate every man entring into the World. If there proceed from us any thing afterwards corrupt and naught, the mother thereof is our own darkneſſe, neither doth it proceed from any ſuch cauſe whereof God is the Author. He is the Author of all that we think or do by vertue of that light which himſelf hath given. And therefore the laws which the very Heathens did gather to direct their actions by, ſo far forth as they proceeded from the light of nature, God himſelf doth acknowledge to have proceeded even from himſelf, and that he was the Writer of them in the Tables of their hearts. How much more then is he the Author of thoſe lawes which have been made by his Saints, endued further with the heavenly grace of his Spirit, and directed as much as might be with ſuch inſtruction as his ſacred Word doth yeeld? Surely if we have unto thoſe lawes that dutifull regard which their dignity doth require, it will not greatly need, that we ſhould be exhorted to live in obedience unto them. If they have God himſelf for their Author, contempt which is offered unto them cannot chooſe but redound unto him. The ſafeſt, and unto God the moſt acceptable way of framing our lives therefore is, with all Humility, Lowlineſſe and Singleneſſe of heart to ſtudy, which way our willing obedience both unto God and Man may be yeelded even to the utmoſt of that which is due.

1 Cor. 11. 22. Prov. 6. 20.

Rom. 8. 14.

Iohn 1. 5.

Rom. 1. 19. & 2. 15.

10 Touching

That neither Gods being the Author of lawes, nor his cõmitting thẽ to Scripture, nor the continuance of the end for which they were instituted, is any reason sufficient to prove that they are unchangeable.

10 Touching the mutability of Lawes that concern the Regiment and Polity of the Church, changed they are, when either altogether abrogated, or in part repealed or augmented with farther additions. Wherein we are to note, that this question about the changing of Lawes, concerneth only such Lawes as are positive, and do make that now good or evill by being commanded or forbidden, wch otherwise of it self were not simply the one or the other. Unto such lawes it is expresly sometimes added, how long they are to continue in force. If this be no where expresst, then have we no light to direct our judgements concerning the changeablenesse or immutability of them, but by considering the nature and quality of such laws. The nature of every law must be judged of by the end for which it was made, and by the aptnesse of things there in prescribed unto the same end. It may so fall out, that the reason why some laws of God were given, is neither opened nor possible to be gathered by the wit of man. As why God should forbid *Adam* that one tree, there was no way for *Adam* ever to have certainly understood. And at *Adams* ignorance of this point Satan took advantage, urging the more securely a false cause, because the true was unto *Adam* unknown. Why the Iewes were forbidden to plow their ground with an Oxe and an Asse, why to clothe themselves with mingled attyre of Woll & Linnen, it was both unto them, and to us remaineth obscure. Such lawes perhaps cannot be abrogated, saving only by whom they were made: because the intent of them being known unto none but the Author, he alone can judge how long it is requisite they should endure. But if the reason why things were instituted may be known and being known do appear manifestly to be of perpetuall necessity; then are those things also perpetuall, unlesse they cease to be effectuall unto that purpose for which they were at first instituted. Because when a thing doth cease to be available unto the end which gave it being, the continuance of it must then of necessity appear superfluous. And of this we cannot be ignorant, how sometimes that hath done great good, which afterwards when time hath changed the ancient course of things, doth grow to be either very hurtfull, or not so greatly profitable and necessary. If therefore the end for which a law provideth, be perpetually necessary, & the way whereby it provideth perpetually also most apt, no doubt but that every such law ought for ever to remain unchangeable. Whether God be the Author of lawes, by authorizing that power of men whereby they are made, or by delivering them made immediately from himself, by word only, or in writing also, or howsoever; notwithstanding the authority of their Maker, the mutability of that end for which they are made, maketh them also changeable. The law of Ceremonies came from God. *Moses* had commandement to commit it unto the sacred Records of Scripture, where it continueth even unto this very day and houre; in force still as the Iew surmiseth, because God himself was Author of it; and for us to abolish what he hath established were presumption most intolerable. But (that which they in the blindnesse of their obdurate hearts are not able to discern) sith the end for which that law was ordained is now fulfilled past and gone, how should it but cease any longer to be, which hath no longer any cause of being in force as before? *That which necessity of some speciall time doth cause to be ordayned, bindeth no longer than during that time, but doth afterward become free.* Which thing is also plain, even by that law which

Deut. 22. 10. *Deut.* 22. 11.

Quod pro necessitate temporis statutum est, cessante necessitate debet cessare pariter quod urgebat. 1. q. 1.

which the Apoſtles aſſembled at the councell of Jeruſalem did from thence deliver unto the Church of Chriſt; the preface whereof to authorize it, was, *To the holy Ghoſt and to us it hath ſeemed good:* which ſtile they did not uſe as matching themſelves in power with the holy Ghoſt, but as teſtifying the holy Ghoſt to be the Author, and themſelves but only utterers of that decree. This law therefore to have proceeded from God as the Author thereof, no faithfull man will deny. It was of God, not only becauſe God gave them the power whereby they might make lawes, but for that it proceedeed even from the holy motion and ſuggeſtion of that ſecret divine Spirit, whoſe ſentence they did but only pronounce. Notwithſtanding, as the law of Ceremonies delivered unto the Jewes, ſo this very law which the Gentiles received from the mouth of the holy Ghoſt, is in like reſpect abrogated by deceaſe of the end for which it was given. But ſuch as do not ſtick at this point, ſuch as grant that what hath been inſtituted upon any ſpeciall cauſe, needeth not to be obſerved, that cauſe ceaſing, do notwithſtanding herein fail; they judge the lawes of God only by the author and main end for which they were made, ſo that for us to change that which he hath eſtabliſhed, they hold it execrable pride and preſumption, if ſo be the end and purpoſe for which God by that mean provideth be permanent. And upon this they ground thoſe ample diſputes concerning orders and offices, which being by him appointed for the government of his Church, if it be neceſſary alwayes that the Church of Chriſt be governed, then doth the end for which God provided remain ſtill; and therefore in thoſe means which he by law did eſtabliſh as being fitteſt unto that end, for us to alter any thing, is to lift up our ſelves againſt God, and as it were to countermand him. Wherein they mark not, that lawes are inſtruments to rule by, and that inſtruments are not only to be framed according unto the generall end for which they are provided, but even according unto that very particular which riſeth out of the matter whereon they have to work. The end wherefore lawes were made may be permanent, and thoſe lawes nevertheleſſe require ſome alteration, if there be any unfitneſſe in the means which they preſcribe as tending unto that end and purpoſe. As for example, a law that to bridle theft doth puniſh theeves with a quadruple reſtitution, hath an end which will continue as long as the world it ſelf continueth. Theft will be alwayes, and will alwayes need to be bridled. But that the mean which this law provideth for that end, namely, the puniſhment of quadruple reſtitution, that this will be alwayes ſufficient to bridle and reſtraine that kind of enormity, no man can warrant. Inſufficiency of lawes doth ſometimes come by want of judgement in the makers. Which cauſe cannot fall into any law termed properly and immediately divine, as it may and doth into humane lawes often. But that which hath been once moſt ſufficient, may wax otherwiſe by alteration of time and place; that puniſhment which hath been ſometimes forcible to bridle ſin, may grow afterwards too weak and feeble. In a word, we plainly perceive by the difference of thoſe three lawes which the Jewes received at the hands of God, the morall, ceremoniall, and judiciall, that if the end for which, and the matter according whereunto God maketh his lawes, continue alwayes one and the ſame, his lawes alſo do the like, for which cauſe the morall law

Quod pro neceſſit. Acts 15.

Counterp. p. 8.

cannot be altered: ſecondly, that whether the matter whereon lawes are made, continue or continue not, if their end have once ceaſed, they ceaſe alſo to be of force; as in the law ceremoniall it fareth. Finally, that albeit the end continue, as in that law of theft ſpecified, and in a great part of thoſe ancient Judicials it doth; yet foraſmuch as there is not in all reſpects the ſame ſubject or matter remaining for which they were firſt inſtituted, even this is ſufficient cauſe of change. And therefore lawes, though both ordained of God himſelf, and the end for which they were ordained continuing, may notwithſtanding ceaſe, if by alteration of perſons or times they be found unſufficient to attain unto that end. In which reſpect why may we not preſume, that God doth even call for ſuch change or alteration, as the very condition of things themſelves doth make neceſſary? They which do therefore plead the authority of the Law-maker, as an argument wherefore it ſhould not be lawfull to change that which he hath inſtituted, and will have this the cauſe why all the ordinances of our Saviour are immutable; they which urge the wiſdome of God as a proof, that whatſoever lawes he hath made, they ought to ſtand, unleſſe himſelf from Heaven proclaim them diſanuld, becauſe it is not in man to correct the ordinance of God; may know, if it pleaſe them to take notice therof, that we are far from preſuming to think that men can better any thing which God hath done, even as we are from thiuking that men ſhould preſume to undoe ſome things of men, which God doth know they cannot better. God never ordained any thing that could be bettered. Yet many things he hath, that have been changed, and that for the better. That which ſucceeded as better now when change is requiſite, had been worſe, when that which now is changed was inſtituted. Otherwiſe God had not then left this to chooſe that, neither would now reject that to chooſe this, were it not for ſome new-grown occaſion, making that which hath been better worſe. In this caſe therefore men do not preſume to change Gods ordinance, but they yeeld thereunto, requiring it ſelf to be changed. Againſt this it is objected, that to abrogate or innovate the Goſpell of Chriſt if Men or Angels ſhould attempt, it were moſt hainous and curſed ſacriledge. And the Goſpell, as they ſay, containeth not only doctrine inſtructing men how they ſhould beleeve, but alſo precepts concerning the regiment of the Church. [a] Diſcipline therfore is a part of the Goſpell; and God being the Author of the whole Goſpell, aswell of diſcipline as of doctrine, it cannot be but that both of them have a common cauſe. So that as we are to beleeve for ever the articles of Evangelicall doctrine, ſo the precepts of diſcipline we are in like ſort bound for ever to obſerve. Touching points of doctrine, as for example, the Unity of God, the Trinity of Perſons, Salvation by Chriſt, the Reſurrection of the Body, Life everlaſting, the judgement to come, & ſuch like, they have bin ſince the firſt hour that there was a Church in the World, & till the laſt they muſt be beleeved. But as for matters of regiment, they are for the moſt part of another nature. To make new articles of faith & doctrine, no man thinketh it lawful; new laws of government, what Common-wealth or Church is there wch maketh not either at one time or another? *The rule of faith*, ſaith *Tertullian*, *is but one, and that alone immoveable, and impoſsible to be framed or caſt anew.* The law of outward order and Polity not ſo. There is no reaſon in the World wherefore

[a] We offer to ſhew the diſcipline to be a part of the Goſpell, & therefore to have a cõmon cauſe: ſo that in the repulſe of the diſcipline, the Goſpell receives a check. And again, I ſpeak of the diſcipline as of a part of the Goſpell, and therefore neither under nor above the Goſpell, but the Goſpell. *T. C. l. 2. p. 14. Tertul. de veland. Virg. Mart. in 1. Sam. 14.*

wherefore we ſhould eſteem it as neceſſary alwayes to do, as alwayes to beleeve the ſame things; ſeeing every man knoweth that the matter of faith is conſtant, the matter contrariwiſe of actions daily changeable, eſpecially the matter of action belonging unto Church-Polity. Neither can I finde that men of ſoundeſt judgement have any otherwiſe taught, than that articles of belief, & things which all men muſt of neceſſity do to the end they may be ſaved, are either expreſly ſet down in Scripture, or elſe plainly thereby to be gathered. But touching things which belong to diſcipline and outward polity, the Church hath authority to make Canons, lawes, and decrees, even as we reade that in the Apoſtles times it did. Which kind of laws (foraſmuch as they are not in themſelves neceſſary to ſalvation) may after they are made be alſo changed as the difference of times or places ſhall require. Yea it is not denied I am ſure by themſelves, that certain things in diſcipline are of that nature, as they may be varied by times, places, perſons, and other the like circumſtances. Whereupon I demand, are thoſe changeable points of diſcipline commanded in the Word of God; or no? If they be not commanded, and yet may be received in the Church, how can their former poſition ſtand, condemning all things in the Church which in the Word are not commanded? If they be commanded, and yet may ſuffer change; how can this latter ſtand, affirming all things immutable which are commanded of God? Their diſtinction touching matters of ſubſtance and of circumſtance, though true, will not ſerve. For be they great things, or be they ſmall, if God have commanded them in the Goſpell, and his commanding them in the Goſpell do make them unchangeable, there is no reaſon we ſhould more change the one than we may the other. If the authority of the Maker do prove unchangeableneſſe in the lawes which God hath made; then muſt all lawes which he hath made be neceſſarily for ever permanent, though they be but of circumſtance only and not of ſubſtance. I therefore conclude, that neither Gods being author of lawes for government of his Church, nor his committing them unto Scripture, is any reaſon ſufficient, wherefore all Churches ſhould for ever be bound to keep them without change. But of one thing we are here to give them warning by the way. For whereas in this diſcourſe we have often times proteſt, that many parts of diſcipline or Church-Polity are delivered in Scripture, they may perhaps imagine that we are driven to confeſſe their diſcipline to be delivered in Scripture, and that having no other means to avoide it, we are faine to argue for the changeableneſſe of lawes ordained even by God himſelf, as if otherwiſe theirs of neceſſity ſhould take place, and that under which we live be abandoned: there is no remedy therefore but to abate this errour in them, and directly to let them know, that if they fall into any ſuch conceit, they do but a little flatter their own cauſe. As for us, we think in no reſpect ſo highly of it. Our perſwaſion is, that no age ever had knowledge of it but only ours; that they which defended it, deviſed it; that neither Chriſt nor his Apoſtles at any time taught it, but the contrary. If therefore we did ſeek to maintain that which moſt advantageth our own cauſe, the very beſt way for us, and the ſtrongeſt againſt them, were to hold even as they do, that in Scripture there muſt needs be found ſome particular form of Church-Polity, which God hath inſtituted, and which [a] for that very cauſe belongeth to all

Acts 15.

[a] *Diſciplina eſt chriſtiane Eccleſiæ politia, à Deo ejus rectè adminiſtrandæ cauſâ conſtituta ac propterea ex ejus verbo petenda, & ob eandem cauſam omnium Eccleſiarum communis et omnium temporum. l. 3. de Eccleſ. Diſcip. in Analy.*

all Churches, to all times. But with any ſuch partiall eye to reſpect our ſelves, and by cunning to make thoſe things ſeem the trueſt which are the fitteſt to ſerve our purpoſe, is a thing which we neither like nor mean to follow. Wherefore that which we take to be generally true concerning the mutability of lawes, the ſame we have plainly delivered; as being perſwaded of nothing more than we are of this, [b] that whether it be in matter of ſpeculation or of practice, no untruth can poſſibly availe the patrone & defender long, and that things moſt truly are likewiſe moſt behovefully ſpoken.

b Εοίκασιν ἐκεῖνοι ἀληθεῖς τῶν λόγων, ὃ μόνον πρὸς τὸ εὖδόκιμον χρησιμώτατοι εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν βίον. Συνωφελοῦσι γὰρ ὄντες ἥκιστα, πεισόντα. *Ariſt. Eth.* 10. *cap.* 1.

Whether Chriſt have forbidden all change of thoſe lawes which are ſet down in Scripture.

11 This we hold and grant for truth, that thoſe very lawes which of their own nature are changeable, be notwithſtanding uncapable of change, if he which gave them being of authority ſo to do, forbid abſolutely to change them; neither may they admit alteration againſt the will of ſuch a law-maker. Albeit therefore we do not finde any cauſe why of right there ſhould be neceſſarily an immutable form ſet down in holy Scripture; nevertheleſſe, if indeed there have been at any time a Church-Polity ſo ſet down, the change whereof the ſacred Scripture doth forbid, ſurely for men to alter thoſe lawes which God for perpetuity hath eſtabliſhed, were preſumption moſt intollerable. To prove therefore that the will of Chriſt was to eſtabliſh lawes ſo permanent and immutable that in any ſort to alter them cannot but highly offend God, thus they reaſon. Firſt, if *Moſes* being but a ſervant in the houſe of God, did therin eſtabliſh lawes of government for perpetuity, lawes, which they that were of the houſhold might not alter: ſhall we admit into our thoughts, that the Son of God hath in providing for this his houſhold declared himſelf leſſe faithfull than *Moſes*? *Moſes* delivering unto the Jewes ſuch lawes as were durable, if thoſe be changeable which Chriſt hath delivered unto us, we are not able to avoid it, but (that which to think were heinous impiety) we of neceſſity muſt confeſſe, even the Son of God himſelf to have been leſſe faithfull than *Moſes*. Which argument ſhall need no Touchſtone to try it by, but ſome other of the like making. *Moſes* erected in the wilderneſſe a Tabernacle, which was moveable from place to place; *Salomon* a ſumptuous and ſtately Temple, which was not moveable; Therefore *Salomon* was faithfuller than *Moſes*; which no man indued with reaſon will think. And yet by this reaſon it doth plainly follow. He that will ſee how faithfull the one or the other was, muſt compare the things which they both did, unto the charge which God gave each of them. The Apoſtle in making compariſon between our Saviour and *Moſes*, attributeth faithfulneſſe unto both, & maketh this difference between them; *Moſes in*, but *Chriſt over* the houſe of God; *Moſes* in that houſe which was *his by charge* and commiſſion, though to govern it, yet to govern it *as a ſervant*; but *Chriſt* over this houſe, as being *his own entire poſſeſſion*. Our Lord and Saviour doth make proteſtation, *I have given unto them the words which thou gaveſt me*. Faithfull therefore he was, and concealed not any part of his Fathers will. But did any part of that will require the immutability of lawes concerning Church-Polity? They anſwer, yea. For elſe God ſhould leſſe

Heb. 3. 6. Either that commendation of the Son before the ſervant is a falſe teſtimony, or the Son ordained a permanent government in the Church. If permanent, then not to be changed. What then do they that hold it may be changed at the Magiſtrates pleaſure, but adviſe the Magiſtrate by his poſitive lawes to proclaim that it is his will, that if there ſhall be a Church within his Dominions, he will maim & deform the ſame? *M. M. Pag.* 16. He that was as faithfull as *Moſes*, left as clear inſtruction for the government of the Church. But Chriſt was as faithfull as *Moſes* ergo. *Demonſt. of Diſc. cap.* 1.

Iohn 17.

favour

favour us than the Jewes. God would not have their Churches guided by any lawes but his own. And ſeeing this did ſo continue even till Chriſt; now to eaſe God of that care, or rather to deprive the Church of his patronage what reaſon have we? Surely none, to derogate any thing from the ancient love which God hath born to his Church. An Heathen Philoſopher there is who conſidering how many things beaſts have which men have not, how naked in compariſon of them, how impotent, & how much leſſe able we are to ſhift for our ſelves a long time after we enter into this World, repiningly concluded hereupon, that Nature being a carefull Mother for them, is towards us a hard-hearted Stepdame. No, we may not meaſure the affection of our gracious God towards his by ſuch differences. For even herein ſhineth his wiſdome, that though the wayes of his providence be many, yet the end which he bringeth all at the length unto, is one and the ſelf-ſame. But if ſuch kinde of reaſoning were good, might we not even as directly conclude the very ſame concerning lawes of ſecular regiment? Their own words are theſe. *In the ancient Church of the Iewes, God did command, and Moſes commit unto writing, all things pertinent as well to the Civill as to the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate.* God gave them lawes of Civill regiment, & would not permit their Common-weale to be governed by any other laws than his own. Doth God leſſe regard our temporall eſtate in this world, or provide for it worſe than theirs? To us notwithſtanding he hath not as to them delivered any particular form of temporall regiment, unleſſe perhaps we think, as ſome do, that the grafting of the Gentiles and their incorporating into Iſrael, doth import that we ought to be ſubject unto the rites and lawes of their whole Polity. We ſee then how weak ſuch diſputes are, and how ſmally they make to this purpoſe. That Chriſt did not mean to ſet down particular poſitive lawes for all things in ſuch ſort as *Moſes* did, the very different manner of delivering the lawes of *Moſes* and the lawes of Chriſt doth plainly ſhew. *Moſes* had commandement to gather the ordinances of God together diſtinctly, and orderly to ſet them down according unto their ſeverall kinds; for each publick duty and office, the lawes that belong thereto, as appeareth in the books themſelves written of purpoſe for that end. Contrariwiſe the lawes of Chriſt we find rather mentioned by occaſion in the writings of the Apoſtles, than any ſolemne thing directly written to comprehend them in legall ſort. Again, the poſitive lawes which *Moſes* gave, they were given for the greateſt part with reſtraint to the land of *Iury*; Behold, ſaith *Moſes*, *I have taught you ordinances and lawes as the Lord my God commanded me, that ye ſhould do ſo even within the land whither ye go to poſſeſſe it.* Which lawes and ordinances poſitive he plainly diſtinguiſheth afterward from the lawes of the two Tables which were morall; *The Lord ſpake unto you out of the midſt of the fire, ye heard the voice of the words, but ſaw no ſimilitude, only a voice. Then he declared unto you his Covenant which he commanded you to do, the ten Commandements, and wrote them upon two Tables of ſtone. And the Lord commanded me that ſame time, that I ſhould teach you ordinances and lawes which ye ſhould obſerve in the land whither ye go to poſſeſſe it.* The ſame difference is again ſet down in the next Chapter following. For rehearſall being made of the ten Commandements, it followeth immediately; *Theſe words the Lord ſpake unto all your multitude in the Mount out of the midſt*

Either God hath left a preſcript form of Government now, or elſe he is leſſe carefull under the new Teſtament than under the old. *Demonſt. of Diſc. cap. 1.*

Eccleſiaſt. Diſc. lib. 1.

Rom. 11. 16. Epheſ. 2. 11. 16.

Deut. 4. 5.

Verſe 12. 13. 14.

Deut. 5. 22.

midſt of the fire, the cloud and the darkneſſe, with a great voice, and added no more, and wrote them upon two Tables of ſtone, and delivered them unto me. But concerning other lawes, the people give their conſent to receive them at
27. the hands of *Moſes*, *Go thou neerer, and heare all that the Lord our God ſaith*
28. *unto thee, and we will heare it and do it.* The peoples alacrity herein God
29. highly commendeth with moſt effectuall and hearty ſpeech; *I have heard the voice of the words of this people; they have ſpoken well. O that there were ſuch an heart in them to fear me, and to keep all my Commandements alwayes,*
30. *that it might go well with them, and with their children for ever! Go, ſay unto*
31. *them, Return you to your Tents; But ſtand thou here with me, and I will tell thee all the Commandements and the Ordinances and the Lawes which thou ſhalt teach them, that they may do them in the land which I have given them to poſſeſſe.* From this latter kinde the former are plainly diſtinguiſhed in many things. They were not both at one time delivered, neither both after one ſort, nor to one end. The former uttered by the voice of God himſelf in the hearing of ſix hundred thouſand men; the former written with the finger of God; the former termed by the name of a Covenant; the former given to be kept without either mention of time how long, or of place where. On the other ſide, the latter given after, and neither written by God himſelf, nor given unto the whole multitude immediately from God, but unto *Moſes*, and from him to them both by word and writing; the latter termed Ceremonies, Judgements, Ordinances, but no where Covenants; finally, the obſervation of the latter reſtrained unto the Land where God would eſtabliſh them to inhabit. The Lawes poſitive are not framed without regard had to the place and perſons for the which they are made. If therefore Almighty God in framing their Lawes, had an eye unto the nature of that people, and to the Countrey where they were to dwell; if theſe peculiar and proper conſiderations were reſpected in the making of their lawes, and muſt be alſo regarded in the Poſitive lawes of all other Nations beſides; then ſeeing that Nations are not all alike, ſurely the giving of one kinde of Poſitive lawes unto one only people, without any liberty to alter them, is but a ſlender proof, and therefore one kinde ſhould in like ſort be given to ſerve everlaſtingly for all. But that which moſt of all maketh for the cleering of this point, is, that the Jewes who had lawes ſo particularly determining and ſo fully inſtructing them in all affairs what to do, were notwithſtanding continually inured with cauſes exorbitant, and ſuch as their lawes had not provided for. And in this point much more is granted us than we ask, namely, that for one thing which we have left to the order of the Church, they had twenty which were undecided by the expreſſe Word of God; and that as their Ceremonies and Sacraments were multiplied above ours, even ſo grew the number of thoſe caſes which were not determined by any expreſſe word. So that if we may deviſe one law, they by this reaſon might deviſe twenty: and if their deviſing ſo many were not forbidden, ſhall their example prove us forbidden to deviſe as much as one law for the ordering of the Church? We might not deviſe no not one, if their example did prove that our Saviour hath utterly forbidden all alteration of his lawes, inaſmuch as there can be no law deviſed, but needs it muſt either

T.C.l.1.pag.35. Whereas you ſay that they (the Iewes) had nothing, but was determined by the law, and we have many things undetermined and left to the order of the Church: I will offer for one that you ſhall bring that we have left to the order of the Church, to ſhew you that they had twenty which were undecided of by the expreſſe word of God.

either take away from his, or adde thereunto more or leſſe, and ſo make ſome kinde of alteration. But of this ſo large a grant we are content not to take advantage. Men are oftentimes in a ſudden paſſion more liberall, than they would be if they had leiſure to take advice. And therefore ſo bountifull words of courſe and frank ſpeeches we are contented to let paſſe, without turning them to advantage with too much rigour. It may be they had rather be liſtened unto, when they commend the Kings of Iſrael which attempted nothing in the government of the Church without the expreſſe Word of God; and when they urge that God left nothing in his Word undeſcribed, whether it concerned the worſhip of God or outward Polity, nothing unſet down, and therefore charged them ſtrictly to keep themſelves unto that, without any alteration. Howbeit ſeeing it cannot be denied, but that many things there did belong unto the courſe of their publick affairs, wherein they had no expreſſe word at all to ſhew preciſely what they ſhould do; the difference between their condition and ours in theſe caſes, will bring ſome light unto the truth of this preſent controverſie. Before the fact of the Son of *Shelomith*, there was no law which did appoint any certain puniſhment for Blaſphemers; That wretched creature being therefore deprehended in that impiety, was held in Ward, till the minde of the Lord was known concerning his caſe. The like practice is alſo mentioned upon occaſion of a breach of the Sabbath Day. They finde a poore ſilly creature gathering ſticks in the Wilderneſſe, they bring him unto *Moſes* and *Aaron* and all the Congregation; they lay him in hold, becauſe it was not declared what ſhould be done with him, till God had ſaid unto *Moſes*, *This Man ſhall dye the death*. The law required to keep the Sabbath Day: but for the breach of the Sabbath what puniſhment ſhould be inflicted, it did not appoint. Such occaſions as theſe are rare. And for ſuch things as do fall ſcarce once in many ages of men, it did ſuffice to take ſuch order as was requiſite when they fell. But if the caſe were ſuch as being not already determined by law, were notwithſtanding likely oftentimes to come into queſtion, it gave occaſion of adding lawes that were not before. Thus it fell out in the caſe of thoſe men pollured, and of the Daughters of *Zelophehad*; whoſe cauſes *Moſes* having brought before the Lord, received lawes to ſerve for the like in time to come. The Jewes to this end had the Oracle of God, they had the Prophets. And by ſuch means God himſelf inſtructed them from Heaven what to do in all things that did greatly concern their ſtate, and were not already ſet down in the law. Shall we then heneupon argue even againſt our own experience and knowledge? Shall we ſeek to perſwade men, that of neceſſity it is with us as it was with them, that becauſe God is ours in all reſpects as much as theirs, therefore either no ſuch way of direction hath been at any time, or if it hath been, it doth ſtill continue in the Church, or if the ſame do not continue, that yet it muſt be at the leaſt ſupplyed by ſome ſuch means as pleaſeth us to account of equall force? A more dutifull and religious way for us, were, to admire the wiſdome of God, which ſhineth in the beautifull variety of all things; but moſt in the manifold and yet harmonious diſſimilitude of thoſe wayes, whereby his Church upon Earth is guided from Age to Age throughout all Generations of Men. The Jewes were neceſſarily to continue till the comming of

T.C. In the table to his ſecond Book. *T.C. l.2. p.416.* If he will needs ſeparate the Worſhip of God from the externall Polity; yet as the Lord ſet forth the one, ſo he let nothing undeſcribed in the other.

*Levit.*24.12.

*Num.*15.34.

*Num.*9.
*Num.*27.

*Gen.*49.10.

of Chriſt in the fleſh, and the gathering of Nations unto him. So much the
Gen.48.10. promiſe made unto *Abraham* did import. So much the Prophecy of *Iacob* at the hour of his death did foreſhew. Upon the ſafety therefore of their very outward ſtate and condition for ſo long, the after good of the whole World, and the ſalvation of all did depend. Unto their ſo long ſafety, for two things it was neceſſary to provide, namely, the preſervation of their ſtate againſt forrein reſiſtance, and the continuance of their peace within themſelves. Touching the one, as they received the promiſe of God to be the rock of their defence, againſt which who ſo did violently ruſh, ſhould but bruiſe and batter themſelves; ſo likewiſe they had his Commandement in all their affairs that way, to ſeek direction and counſell from him. Mens conſultations are alwayes perillous. And it falleth out many times that after long deliberation, thoſe things are by their wit even reſolved on, which by triall are found moſt oppoſite to publick ſafety. It is no impoſſible thing for States, be they never ſo well eſtabliſhed, yet by over-ſight in ſome one act or treaty between them and their potent oppoſites, utterly to caſt away themſelves for ever. Wherefore leſt it ſhould ſo fall out to them, upon whom ſo much did depend; they were not permitted to enter into War, nor conclude any league of Peace, nor to wade through any act of moment between them and forreign States, unleſſe the Oracle of God or his Prophets were firſt conſulted with. And leſt domeſtical diſturbance ſhould waſte the within themſelves, becauſe there was nothing unto this purpoſe more effectuall, than if the authority of their lawes & Governours were ſuch, as none might preſume to take exception againſt it, or to ſhew diſobedience unto it, without incurring the hatred and deteſtation of all men that had any ſpark of the fear of God; therefore he gave them even their poſitive lawes from Heaven, and as oft as occaſion required, choſe in like ſort Rulers alſo to leade and govern them. Notwithſtanding ſome deſperately impious there were which adventured to try what harm it could bring upon them, if they did attempt to be Authours of confuſion, and to reſiſt both Governours and lawes. Againſt ſuch Monſters God maintained his own, by fearfull execution of extraordinary judgement upon them. By which means it came to paſſe, that although they were a people infeſted and mightily hated of all others throughout the World, although by nature hard-hearted, querulous, wrathfull, and impatient of reſt and quietneſſe, yet was there nothing of force either one way or other to work the ruine and ſubverſion of their State, till the time before mentioned was expired. Thus we ſee that there
T.C.l.2.p.440. was no cauſe of diſſimilitude in theſe things, between that one only people before Chriſt, and the kingdomes of the World ſince. And whereas it is further alleadged, that albeit in *Civill matters and things pertaining to this preſent life, God hath uſed a greater particularity with them than amongſt us, framing lawes according to the quality of that People and Countrey; yet the leaving of us at greater liberty in things civill, is ſo far from proving the like liberty in things pertaining to the Kingdome of Heaven, that it rather proves a ſtraighter bond. For even as when the Lord would have his favour more appear by temporall bleſsings of this life towards the people under the Law than towards us, he gave alſo politick lawes moſt exactly, whereby they might both moſt eaſily come into, and moſt ſtedfaſtly remain in poſſeſſion of thoſe earthly bene-*

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fits: even ſo at this time, wherein he would not have his favour ſo much eſteemed by thoſe outward commodities, it is required, that as his care in preſcribing lawes for that purpoſe hath ſomewhat fallen in leaving them to mens conſultations which may be deceived; ſo his care for conduct and government of the life to come, ſhould (if it were poſſible) riſe, in leaving leſſe to the order of men than in times paſt. Theſe are but weak and feeble diſputes for the inference of that concluſion which is intended. For ſaving only in ſuch conſideration as hath been ſhewed, there is no cauſe wherefore we ſhould think God more deſirous to manifeſt his favour by temporall bleſſings towards them, than towards us. Godlineſſe had unto them, and it hath alſo unto us, the promiſes both of this life and the life to come. That the care of God hath fallen in earthly things, and therefore ſhould riſe as much in heavenly; that more is left unto mens conſultations in the one, and therefore leſſe muſt be granted in the other; that God having uſed a greater particularity with them then with us for matters pertaining unto this life, is to make amends by the more exact delivery of laws for government of the life to come; theſe are proportions, whereof if there be any rule, we muſt plainly confeſſe that which truth is, we know it not. God which ſpake unto them by his Prophets, hath unto us ſpoke by his only begotten Son; thoſe myſteries of grace & ſalvation which were but darkly diſcloſed unto them, have unto us more cleerly ſhined. Such differences between them and us the Apoſtles of Chriſt have well acquainted us withall. But as for matter belonging to the outward conduct or government of the Church; ſeeing that even in ſenſe it is manifeſt, that our Lord and Saviour hath not by poſitive lawes deſcended ſo far into particularities with us, as *Moſes* with them; neither doth by extraordinary means, Oracles, and Prophets, direct us, as them he did, in thoſe things which riſing daily by new occaſions, are of neceſſity to be provided for; doth it not hereupon rather follow, that although not to them, yet to us there ſhould be freedome and liberty granted to make lawes? Yea, but the Apoſtle S. *Paul* doth fearfully charge *Timothy*, even *in the ſight of God who quickneth all, and of Chriſt Ieſus who witneſſed that famous Confeſſion before Pontius Pilate, to keep what was commanded him, ſafe and ſound till the appearance of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.* This doth exclude all liberty of changing the lawes of Chriſt, whether by abrogation or addition, or howſoever. For in *Timothy* the whole Church of Chriſt receiveth charge concerning her duty. And that charge is to keep the Apoſtles Commandement: And his Commandement did contain the lawes that concerned Church government: And thoſe laws he ſtraightly requireth to be obſerved without breach or blame, till the appearance of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. In Scripture we grant every mans leſſon, to be the common inſtruction of all men, ſo far forth as their caſes are like, and that religiouſly to keep the Apoſtles Commandements in whatſoever they may concern us, we all ſtand bound. But touching that Commandement which *Timothy* was charged with, we ſwerve undoubtedly from the Apoſtles preciſe meaning, if we extend it ſo largely that the arms thereof ſhall reach unto all things which were commanded him by the Apoſtle. The very words themſelves do reſtrain themſelves unto ſome ſpeciall Commandement among many. And therefore it is not ſaid, *Keep the Ordinances, Lawes, and Conſtitutions which thou haſt received*; but τὴν ἐντολὴν *that great Commandement, which doth principally concern thee and thy*

1 *Tim.* 6. 14.
Iohn 18. 37.

thy calling; that Commandement which Christ did so often inculcate unto
Iohn 21.15. *Peter*; that Commandement unto the carefull discharge whereof they of
Acts 20.28. *Ephesus* are exhorted, *Attend to your selves, and to all the flock, wherein the holy Ghost hath placed you Bishops to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased by his own blood*; finally, that Commandement which unto the same *Timothy* is by the same Apostle even in the same form and manner afterwards
2 Tim. 4.1. again urged, *I charge thee in the sight of God and the Lord Iesus Christ, which will judge the quick and dead at his appearance and in his Kingdome, preach the word of God.* When *Timothy* was instituted in that Office, then was the credit and trust of this duty committed unto his faithfull care. The Doctrine
1 Tim. 6.20. *τὴν παραθήκην.* of the Gospell was then given him, *as the precious talent or treasure of Iesus Christ*; then received he for performance of this duty, *the speciall gift of the*
1 Tim. 4.14. *holy Ghost.* To keep this commandement immaculate and blameless, *was to teach the Gospell of Christ without mixture of corrupt and unsound Doctrine*, such as a number even in those times intermingled with the mysteries of Christian Belief. *Till the appearance of Christ to keep it so*, doth not import the time wherein it should be kept, but rather the time whereunto the finall re-
2 Tim. 4.7. ward for keeping it was reserved: according to that of S. *Paul* concerning himself, *I have kept the faith; for the residue, there is laid up for me a crown of Righteousnesse, which the Lord the righteous Iudge shall in that Day render unto me.* If they that labour in this Harvest should respect but the present fruit of their painfull travell, a poore encouragement it were unto them to continue therein all the dayes of their life. But their reward is great in Heaven; the crown of Righteousnesse which shall be given them in that day is honourable. The fruit of their industry then shall they reap with full contentment and satisfaction, but not till then. Wherein the greatnesse of their reward is aboundantly sufficient to countervaile the tediousnesse of their expectation. Wherefore till then they that are in labour must rest in hope. O *Timothy*, keep that which is committed unto thy charge, that great Commandement which thou hast received, keep, till the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ. In which sense although we judge the Apostles words to have been uttered; yet hereunto we do not require them to yeeld, that think any other construction more sound. If therefore it be rejected, and theirs esteemed more probable, which hold that the last words do import perpetuall observation of the Apostles Commandement imposed necessarily for ever upon the militant Church of Christ; let them withall consider, that than his Commandement cannot so largely be taken, to comprehend whatsoever the Apostle did command *Timothy*. For themselves do not all binde the Church unto some things whereof *Timothy* received charge, and namely unto that Precept concerning the choice of Widowes. So as they cannot hereby maintain, that all things positively commanded concerning the affairs of the Church, were commanded for perpetuity. And we do not deny that certain things were commanded to be, though positive, yet perpetuall in the Church. They should not therefore urge against us places that seem to forbid change, but rather such as set down some measure of alteration; which measure if we have exceeded, then might they therewith charge us justly: whereas now they themselves both granting, and also using liberty to change, cannot in reason dispute absolutely against all change. Christ delivered no inconve-

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venient or unmeet lawes. Sundry of ours they hold inconvenient. Therefore ſuch lawes they cannot poſſibly hold to be Chriſts. Being not his, they muſt of neceſſity grant them added unto his. Yet certain of thoſe very lawes ſo added, they themſelves do not judge unlawfull; as they plainly confeſſe, both in matter of preſcript attire, and of rites appertaining to buriall. Their own proteſtations are, that they pleade againſt the inconvenience, not the unlawfulneſſe of Popiſh apparell; and againſt the inconvenience, not the unlawfulneſſe of Ceremonies in buriall. Therefore they hold it a thing not unlawfull to adde to the laws of Jeſus Chriſt; and ſo conſequently they yeeld, that no law of Chriſt forbiddeth addition unto Church laws. The judgement of *Calvin* being alleadged againſt them, to whom of all men they attribute moſt, whereas his words be plain, that for Ceremonies & externall diſcipline, the Church hath power to make lawes; the anſwer which hereunto they make, is, that indefinitely the ſpeech is true, and that ſo it was meant by him, namely, that ſome things belonging unto externall diſcipline and Ceremonies, are in the power and arbitrement of the Church; but neither was it meant, neither is it true generally, that all externall diſcipline, and all Ceremonies are left to the order of the Church, in as much as the Sacraments of Baptiſme and the Supper of the Lord are Ceremonies, which yet the Church may not therefore abrogate. Again, Excommunication is a part of externall diſcipline; which might alſo be caſt away, if all externall diſcipline were arbitrary, and in the choice of the Church. By which their anſwer it doth appear, that touching the names of Ceremony and externall diſcipline, they gladly would have us ſo underſtood, as if we did herein contain a great deale more than we do. The fault which we finde with them, is, that they overmuch abridge the Church of her power in theſe things. Whereupon they recharge us, as if in theſe things we gave the Church a liberty which hath no limits or bounds; as if all things which the name of diſcipline containeth, were at the Churches free choice; ſo that we might either have Church-governours and government, or want them; either retain or reject Church cenſures as we liſt. They wonder at us as at men which think it ſo indifferent what the Church doth in matters of Ceremonies, that it may be feared leſt wee judge the very Sacraments themſelves to be held at the Churches pleaſure. No, the name of Ceremonies we do not uſe in ſo large a meaning, as to bring Sacraments within the compaſſe and reach thereof; although things belonging nnto the outward forme and ſeemely adminiſtration of them, are contained in that name, even as we uſe it. For the name of Ceremonies we uſe as they themſelves do, when they ſpeak after this ſort: *The Doctrine and diſcipline of the Church, as the waightieſt things, ought eſpecially to be looked unto; but the Ceremonies alſo, as Mint and Cummin, ought not to be neglected.* Beſides, in the matter of externall diſcipline or regiment

T.C.l.3.p.241. My reaſons do never conclude the unlawfulneſſe of theſe ceremonies of Buriall, but the inconvenience and inexpedience of them. *And in the Table.* Of the inconvenience, not of the unlawfulneſſe of Popiſh apparell and ceremonies in buriall. *T.C.l.1.p.132.* Vpon the indefinite ſpeaking of M. *Calvin*, ſaying, ceremonies and externall diſcipline, without adding all or ſome, you go about ſubtilly to make men beleeve, that M. *Calvin* had placed the whole externall diſcipline in the power and arbitrement of the Church. For if all externall diſcipline were arbitrary and in the choice of the Church, Excommunication alſo (which is a part of it) might be caſt away, which I think you will not ſay. *And in the very next words before,* Where you will give to underſtand that ceremonies & externall diſcipline are not preſcribed particularly by the Word of God, & therefore left to the order of the Church: you muſt underſtand that all externall diſcipline is not left to the orders of the Church, being particularly preſcribed in the Scriptures, no more than all ceremonies are left to the order of the Church, as the Sacraments of Baptiſme, and the Supper of the Lord.

T.C.l.3.p.171.

it ſelf, we do not deny but there are ſome things whereto the Church is bound till the Worlds end. So as the queſtion is only how far the bounds of the Churches liberty do reach. We hold that the power which the Church hath lawfully to make lawes and orders for it ſelf, doth extend unto ſundry things of Eccleſiaſticall juriſdiction and ſuch other matters, whereto their opinion is, that the Churches authority and power doth not reach. Whereas therefore in diſputing againſt us about this point, they take their compaſſe a great deale wider than the truth of things can afford, producing reaſons & arguments by way of generality, to prove that Chriſt hath ſet down all things belonging any way unto the form of ordering his Church, and hath abſolutely forbidden change by addition or diminution great or ſmall (for ſo their manner of diſputing is:) we are conſtrained to make our defence, by ſhewing that Chriſt hath not deprived his Church ſo far of all liberty in making orders and lawes for it ſelf, and that they themſelves do not think he hath ſo done. For are they able to ſhew that all particular cuſtomes, rites, and orders of reformed Churches, have been appointed by Chriſt himſelf? No, They grant that in matter of circumſtance they alter that which they have received; but in things of ſubſtance they keep the lawes of Chriſt without change. If we ſay the ſame in our own behalf, (which ſurely we may do with a great deale more truth) then muſt they cancell all that hath been before alleadged, and begin to inquire afreſh, whether we retain the lawes that Chriſt hath delivered concerning matters of ſubſtance, yea or no. For our conſtant perſwaſion in this point is as theirs, that we have nowhere altered the lawes of Chriſt, further than in ſuch particulars only, as have the nature of things changeable according to the difference of times, places, perſons, and other the like circumſtances. Chriſt hath commanded prayers to be made, Sacraments to be miniſtred, his Church to be carefully taught and guided. Concerning every of theſe, ſomewhat Chriſt hath commanded which muſt be kept till the worlds end. On the contrary ſide, in every of them ſomewhat there may be added, as the Church ſhall judge it expedient. So that if they will ſpeak to purpoſe, all which hitherto hath been diſputed of they muſt give over, and ſtand upon ſuch particulars only, as they can ſhew we have either added or abrogated otherwiſe than we ought in the matter of Church-Polity. Whatſoever Chriſt hath commanded for ever to be kept in his Church, the ſame we take not upon us to abrogate; and whatſoever our lawes have thereunto added beſides, of ſuch quality we hope it is, as no law of Chriſt doth any where condemn. Wherefore that all may be laid together, and gathered into a narrow room.

T.C. l.1.p.27. We deny not but certain things are left to the order of the Church; becauſe they are of the nature of thoſe which are varied by times, places, perſons, and other circumſtances, & ſo could not at once be ſet down, and eſtabliſhed for ever.

1. 1. Firſt, ſo far forth as the Church is the myſticall body of Chriſt and his inviſible Spouſe, it needeth no externall Polity. That very part of the law divine which teacheth faith and works of righteouſneſſe, is it ſelf alone ſufficient for the Church of God in that reſpect. But as the Church is a viſible ſociety and body politick, lawes of Polity it cannot want.

2. 2. Whereas therefore it commeth in the ſecond place to be inquired, what lawes are fitteſt and beſt for the Church; they who firſt embraced that rigorous and ſtrict opinion, which depriveth the Church of liberty to make any kind of law for her ſelf, inclined (as it ſhould ſeem) thereunto, for that they imagined all things, wch the Church doth without commandement

Eſay 29.14. Col.2.22.

mandement of holy Scripture, ſubject to that reproof which the Scripture it ſelf uſeth in certain caſes, when divine authority ought alone to be followed. Hereupon they thought it enough for the cancelling of any kinde of order whatſoever to ſay, *The Word of God teacheth it not, it is a device of the brain of man, away with it therefore out of the Church.* S. *Auguſtine* was of another minde, who ſpeaking of faſts on the Sunday, ſaith, *That he which would chooſe out that day to faſt on, ſhould give thereby no ſmall offence to the Church of God, which had received a contrary cuſtome. For in theſe things whereof the Scripture appointeth no certainty, the uſe of the people of God, or the Ordinances of our Fathers, muſt ſerve for a law. In which caſe if we diſpute, and condemne one ſort by anothers cuſtome, it will be but matter of endleſſe contention; where, foraſmuch as the labour of reaſoning ſhall hardly beat into mens heads any certain or neceſſary truth, ſurely it ſtandeth us upon to take heed, leſt with the tempeſt of ſtrife, the brightneſſe of charity and love be darkned.* If all things muſt be commanded of God which may be practiſed of his Church, I would know what commandement the *Gileadites* had to erect that Altar which is ſpoken of in the Book of *Ioſhua*. Did not congruity of reaſon induce them thereunto, and ſuffice for defence of their fact? I would know what commandement the Women of Iſrael had yeerly to mourn and lament in the memory of *Iephtaes* Daughter; what commandement the *Iewes* had to celebrate their feaſt of *Dedication* never ſpoken of in the law, yet ſolemnized even by our Saviour himſelf; what commandement finally they had for the Ceremony of Odors uſed about the bodies of the dead, after which cuſtome notwithſtanding (ſith it was their cuſtome) our Lord was contented that his own moſt precious body ſhould be intombed. Wherefore to reject all orders of the Church which men have eſtabliſhed, is to think worſe of the lawes of men in this reſpect, than either the judgement of wiſe men alloweth, or the law of God it ſelf will bear. Howbeit they which had once taken upon them to condemn all things done in the Church, and not commanded of God to be done, ſaw it was neceſſary for them (continuing in defence of this their opinion) to hold that needs there muſt be in Scripture ſet down a complete particular form of Church-Polity, a form preſcribing how all the affairs of the Church muſt be ordered, a form in no reſpect lawfull to be altered by mortall men. For reformation of which overſight and errour in them, there were that thought it a part of Chriſtian love and charity to inſtruct them better, and to open unto them the difference between matters of perpetuall neceſſity to all mens ſalvation, and matters of Eccleſiaſticall Polity: the one both fully and plainly taught in holy Scripture; the other not neceſſary to be in ſuch ſort there preſcribed; the one not capable of any diminution or augmentation at all by men, the other apt to admit both. Hereupon the Authors of the former opinion were preſently ſeconded by other wittier and better learned, who being loth that the form of Church-Polity which they ſought to bring in, ſhould be otherwiſe than in the higheſt degree accounted of, took firſt an exception againſt the difference between Church-Polity and matters of neceſſity to ſalvation. 2. Againſt the reſtraint of Scripture, which (they ſay) receiveth injury at our hands, when we teach that it teacheth not as well matters of Polity as of Faith and Salvation. 3. Conſtrained hereby we have been therefore, both to maintain that diſtinction, as a thing not only true in it ſelf, but by them

Aug. Epiſt. 86.

Ioſ. 22.

Iud. 11. 40.

Iohn 10. 22.

Iohn 19. 40.

likewiſe ſo acknowledged, though unawares. 4. And to make manifeſt
4. that from Scripture we offer not to derogate the leaſt thing that truth thereunto doth claim, inaſmuch as by us it is willingly confeſt, that the Scripture of God is a Store-houſe abounding with ineſtimable Treaſures of wiſdome and knowledge in many kindes, over and above things in this one kinde barely neceſſary; yea, even that matters of Eccleſiaſticall Polity are not therein omitted, but taught alſo, albeit not ſo taught as thoſe other things before mentioned. For ſo perfectly are thoſe things taught, that nothing ever can need to be added, nothing ever ceaſe to be neceſſary: theſe on the contrary ſide, as being of a far other nature and quality, not ſo ſtrictly nor everlaſtingly commanded in Scripture, but that unto the complete form of Church-Polity much may be requiſite which the Scripture teacheth not, and much which it hath taught, become unrequiſite, ſometime becauſe we need not uſe it, ſometimes alſo becauſe we cannot. In which reſpect, for mine own part, although I ſee that certain Reformed Churches, the Scottiſh eſpecially and French, have not that which beſt agreeth with the ſacred Scripture, I mean the government that is by Biſhops, inaſmuch as both thoſe Churches are fallen under a different kinde of regiment, which to remedy it is for the one altogether too late, and too ſoon for the other, during their preſent affliction and trouble: this their defect and imperfection I had rather lament in ſuch caſe than exagitate, conſidering that men oftentimes without any fault of their own, may be driven to want that kinde of Polity or Regiment which is beſt; and to content themſelves with that, which either the irremediable errour of former
5. time, or the neceſſity of the preſent hath caſt upon them. 5. Now, becauſe that Poſition firſt mentioned, which holdeth it neceſſary that all things which the Church may lawfully do in her own Regiment be commanded in holy Scripture, hath by the latter Defendors thereof been greatly qualified; who, though perceiving it to be over-extreme, are notwithſtanding loth to acknowledge any overſight therein, and therefore labour
6. what they may to ſalve it by conſtruction; we have for the more perſpicuity delivered what was thereby meant at the firſt. 6. How injurious a thing
7. it were unto all the Churches of God for men to hold it in that meaning. 7. And how unperfect their interpretations are who ſo much labour to help it, either by dividing Commandements of Scripture into two kindes, and ſo defending that all things muſt be commanded, if not in ſpeciall, yet
8. in generall Precepts. 8. Or by taking it as meant that in caſe the Church
9. do deviſe any new Order, ſhe ought therein to follow the direction of Scripture only, and not any ſtar-light of mans reaſon. 9. Both which evaſions being out off, we have in the next place declared after what ſort the Church may lawfully frame to her ſelf lawes of Polity, and in what reckoning ſuch
10. Poſitive lawes both are with God, and ſhould be with men. 10. Furthermore, becauſe to abridge the liberty of the Church in this behalf, it hath been made a thing very odious, that when God himſelf hath deviſed ſome certain lawes, and committed them to ſacred Scripture, man by abrogation, addition, or any way, ſhould preſume to alter and change them; it was of neceſſity to be examined, whether the authority of God in making, or his care in committing thoſe his lawes unto Scripture, be ſufficient argument to prove that God doth in no caſe allow they ſhould ſuffer any

ſuch

ſuch kinde of change. 11. The laſt refuge for proof that Divine lawes of Chriſtian Church-Polity may not be altered, by extinguiſhment of any old, or addition of new in that kind, is partly a marvellous ſtrange Diſcourſe, that Chriſt (unleſſe he would ſhew himſelf not ſo faithfull as *Moſes*, or not ſo wiſe as *Lycurgus* and *Solon*) muſt needs have ſet down in holy Scripture ſome certain complete, and unchangeable form of Polity; and partly a coloured ſhew of ſome evidence, where change of that ſort of lawes may ſeem expreſly forbidden, although in truth nothing leſſe be done. I might have added hereunto their more familiar and popular diſputes, as, The Church is a City, yea the City of the great King, and the life of a City is Polity: The Church is the houſe of the living God; and what houſe can there be, without ſome order for the government of it? In the royall houſe of a Prince there muſt be Officers for government, ſuch as not any ſervant in the houſe, but the Prince, whoſe the houſe is, ſhall judge convenient: So the houſe of God muſt have orders for the government of it, ſuch as not any of the Houſhold, but God himſelf hath appointed. It cannot ſtand with the love and wiſdome of God, to leave ſuch order untaken as is neceſſary for the due government of his Church. The numbers, degrees, orders, and attire of *Salomons* ſervants did ſhew his wiſdome: therefore he which is greater than *Salomon*, hath not failed to leave in his houſe ſuch orders for government thereof, as may ſerve to be as a looking-glaſſe for his providence, care, and wiſdome to be ſeen in. That little ſpark of the light of nature which remaineth in us, may ſerve us for the affairs of this life: But as in all other matters concerning the Kingdome of Heaven, ſo principally in this which concerneth the very government of that Kingdom, needful it is we ſhold be taught of God. As long as men are perſwaded of any order that it is only of men, they preſume of their own underſtanding, and they think to deviſe another not only as good, but better than that which they have received. By ſeverity of puniſhment this preſumption and curioſity may be reſtrained. But that cannot work ſuch cheerfull obedience as is yeelded where the conſcience hath reſpect to God as the Author of lawes and orders. This was it which countenanced the lawes of *Moſes* made concerning outward Polity for the adminiſtration of holy things. The like ſome Law-givers of the Heathen did pretend, but falſly; yet wiſely diſcerning the uſe of this perſwaſion. For the better obedience ſake therfore it was expedient, that God ſhould be Author of the Polity of his Church. But to what iſſue doth all this come? A man would think that they which hold out with ſuch diſcourſes, were of nothing more fully perſwaded than of this, that the Scripture hath ſet down a complete form of Church-Polity, univerſall, perpetuall, altogether unchangeable. For ſo it would follow, if the premiſes were ſound and ſtrong to ſuch effect as is pretended. Notwithſtanding, they which have thus formally maintained argument in defence of the firſt overſight, are by the very evidence of truth themſelvs cõſtrained to make this in effect their concluſion, that the Scripture of God hath many things concerning Church-Polity; that of thoſe many, ſome are of greater waight, ſome of leſſe; that what hath been urged as touching immutability of laws, it extendeth in truth no further than only to laws wherein things of greater moment are preſcribed. Now thoſe things of greater moment, what are they? Forſooth, *Doctors, Paſtors,*

11.

a *Niſi Reip. ſtatum omnem conſtituerit, magiſtratus ordinarit, ſingulorum munera potęſtatemq; deſcripſerit, quæ judiciorum ſoriq; ratio habenda, quomodo civium finiendæ lites: non ſolum minus Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ providit quã Moſes olim Iudaicæ, ſed quàm à Lycurgo Solone, Numa, civitatib. ſuis proſpectum ſit.* Lib. de Eccleſiaſt. Diſc.

The defence of godly Minist. against D. Bridges 133.

ſtors, Lay-Elders, Elderſhips compounded of theſe three; Synods conſiſting of many Elderſhips, Deacons, women church-ſervants or Widows, free conſent of the people unto actions of greateſt moment, after they be by Churches or Synods orderly reſolved. All this form of Polity (if yet we may term that a form of building, when men have laid a few rafters together, and thoſe not all of the ſoundeſt neither) but howſoever, all this form they conclude is preſcribed in ſuch ſort, that to adde to it any thing as of like importance, (for ſo I think they mean) or to abrogate of it any thing at all, is unlawfull. In which reſolution if they will firmly and conſtantly perſiſt, I ſee not but that concerning the points which hitherto have been diſputed of, they muſt agree that they have moleſted the Church with needleſſe oppoſition; and hence forward, as we ſaid before, betake themſelves wholly unto the triall of particulars, whether every of thoſe things which they eſteem as principall, be either ſo eſteemed of, or at all eſtabliſhed for perpetuity in holy Scripture; and whether any particular thing in our Church-Polity be received other than the Scripture alloweth of, either in greater things or in ſmaller. The matters wherein Church-Polity is converſant, are the publick religious duties of the Church, as the adminiſtration of the Word and Sacraments, Prayers, ſpirituall Cenſures and the like. To theſe the Church ſtandeth alwayes bound. Lawes of Polity, are lawes which appoint in what manner theſe duties ſhall be performed. In performance whereof, becauſe all that are of the Church cannot joyntly and equally work, the firſt thing in Polity required, is, a difference of perſons in the Church, without which difference thoſe functions cannot in orderly ſort be executed. Hereupon we hold, that Gods Clergy are a ſtate which hath been and will be, as long as there is a Church upon Earth, neceſſary by the plain Word of God himſelf; a ſtate whereunto the reſt of Gods people muſt be ſubject as touching things that appertain to their ſouls health. For where Polity is, it cannot but appoint ſome to be Leaders of others, and ſome to be led by others. *If the blinde lead the blinde, they both periſh.* It is with the Clergy, if their perſons be reſpected, even as it is with other men; their quality many times far beneath that which the dignity of their place requireth. Howbeit according to the order of Polity, they being the *lights of the world*, others (though better & wiſer) muſt that way be ſubject unto them. Again, forasmuch as where the Clergy are any great multitude, order doth neceſſarily require that by degrees they be diſtinguiſhed; we hold, there have ever been, and ever ought to be in ſuch caſe, at leaſtwiſe two ſorts of Eccleſiaſticall perſons, the one ſubordinate unto the other; as to the Apoſtles in the beginning, and to the Biſhops alwayes ſince, we finde plainly both in Scripture and in all Eccleſiaſticall Records, other Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments have been. Moreover it cannot enter into any mans conceit to think it lawfull, that every man which liſteth, ſhould take upon him charge in the Church; and therefore a ſolemn admittance is of ſuch neceſſity, that without it there can be no Church-Polity. A number of particularities there are, which make for the more convenient being of theſe principall & perpetuall parts in Eccleſiaſticall Polity; but yet are not of ſuch conſtant uſe & neceſſity in Gods Church. Of this kind are, times & places appointed for the exerciſe of Religion; ſpecialties belonging to the publick ſolemnity of the word, the ſacraments & Praier; the enlargement or abridgement of Functions miniſteriall depending

Luke 6.39.

Matth. 5.14.

pending upon thoſe two principall before mentioned; to conclude, even whatſoever doth by way of formality and circumſtance concern any publick action of the Church. Now although that which the Scripture hath of things in the former kind be for ever permanent; yet in the later both much of that which the Scripture teacheth is not alwayes needfull; and much the Church of God ſhall alwayes need which the Scripture teacheth not. So as the form of Polity by them ſet down for perpetuity, is three wayes faulty. Faulty in omitting ſome things which in Scripture are of that nature, as namely the difference that ought to be of Paſtors, when they grow to any great multitude; faulty in requiring Doctors, Deacons, Widowes, and ſuch like, as things of perpetuall neceſſity by the law of God, which in truth are nothing leſſe; faulty alſo in urging ſome things by Scripture immutable, as their Lay-Elders, which the Scripture neither maketh immutable nor at all teacheth, for any thing either we can as yet finde, or they have hitherto been able to prove. But hereof more in the Books that follow. As for thoſe marvellous diſcourſes, whereby they adventure to argue, that God muſt needs have done the things which they imagine was to be done; I muſt confeſſe, I have often wondred at their exceeding boldneſſe herein. When the queſtion is, whether God have delivered in Scripture (as they affirme he hath) a complete particular immutable form of Church-Polity; why take they that other both preſumptuous and ſuperfluous labour, to prove he ſhould have done it; there being no way in this caſe to prove the deed of God, ſaving only by producing that evidence wherewith he hath done it? But if there be no ſuch thing apparent upon record, they do as if one ſhould demand a Legacy by force and vertue of ſome written Teſtament, wherein there being no ſuch thing ſpecified, he pleadeth that there it muſt needs be, and bringeth arguments from the love or good will, which alwayes the Teſtator bore him, imagining that theſe or the like proofs will convict a Teſtament to have that in it, which other men can no where by reading finde. In matters which concern the actions of God, the moſt dutifull way on our part is to ſearch what God hath done, and with meekneſſe to admire that, rather than to diſpute what he in congruity of reaſon ought to do. The wayes which he hath whereby to do all things for the greateſt good of his Church, are more in number than we can ſearch, other in nature than that we ſhould preſume to determine which of many ſhould be the fitteſt for him to chuſe, till ſuch time as we ſee he hath choſen of many ſome one; which one we then may boldly conclude to be the fitteſt, becauſe he hath taken it before the reſt. When we do otherwiſe, ſurely we exceed our bounds; who and where we are we forget; and therefore needfull it is that our pride in ſuch caſes be controld, and our diſputes beaten back with thoſe demands of the bleſſed Apoſtle, *How unſearchable are his judgements, and his wayes paſt finding out? Who hath known the minde of the Lord, or who was his Counſellour?* Rom. 11. 13.

OF THE LAWES OF ECCLESIASTICALL POLITIE:

The fourth Book.

Concerning their third Assertion, *That our Form of Church-polity is corrupted with Popish Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies, banished out of certain Reformed Churches, whose example therein we ought to have followed.*

The matter contained in this fourth Book.

1 *How great use Ceremonies have in the Church.*

2 *The first thing they blame in the kinde of our Ceremonies, is, that we have not in them ancient Apostolicall simplicity, but a greater pompe and statelinesse.*

3 *The second, that so many of them are the same which the Church of* Rome *useth; and the Reasons which they bring to prove them for that cause blameworthy.*

4 *How when they go about to expound what Popish Ceremonies they mean, they contradict their own Arguments against Popish Ceremonies.*

5 *An Answer to the Argument, whereby they would prove, that sith we allow the Customes of our Fathers to be followed, we therefore may not allow such Customes as the Church of* Rome *hath, because we cannot account of them which are in that Church as of our Fathers.*

6 *To their Allegation, that the course of Gods own wisdome doth make against our conformity with the Church of* Rome *in such things.*

7 *To the Example of the eldest Church which they bring for the same purpose.*

8 *That it is not our best Polity (as they pretend it is) for establishment of sound Religion, to have in these things no agreement with the Church of* Rome *being unsound.*

9 *That neither the Papists upbraiding us as furnished out of their store, nor any hope which in that respect they are said to conceive, doth make any more against our Ceremonies than the former Allegations have done.*

10 *The grief, which, they say, godly Brethren conceive at such Ceremonies as we have common with the Church of* Rome.

11 *The*

11 *The third thing, for which they reprove a great part of our Ceremonies is, for that as we have them from the Church of* Rome, *ſo that Church had them from the* Jewes.

12 *The fourth, for that ſundry of them have been (they ſay) abuſed unto Idolatry, and are by that mean become ſcandalous.*

13 *The fifth, for that we retain them ſtill, notwithſtanding the example of certain Churches reformed before us, which have caſt them out.*

14 *A declaration of the proceedings of the Church of* England, *for the eſtabliſhment of things as they are.*

How great uſe Ceremonies have in the Church.

SUch was the ancient ſimplicity and ſoftneſſe of Spirit, which ſometimes prevailed in the World, that they whoſe words were even as Oracles amongſt men, ſeemed evermore loath to give ſentence againſt any thing publickly received in the Church of God, except it were wonderfull apparantly evill; for that they did not ſo much incline to that ſeverity, which delighteth to reprove the leaſt things it ſeeth amiſſe; as to that Charity, which is unwilling to behold any thing, that duty bindeth to reprove. The ſtate of this preſent Age, wherein zeale hath drowned charity, and skill meekneſſe, will not now ſuffer any man to marvell, whatſoever he ſhall hear reproved, by whomſoever. Thoſe Rites and Ceremonies of the Church therefore, which are the ſelf-ſame now, that they were, when holy and vertuous men maintained them againſt profane and deriding Adverſaries, her own children have at this day in deriſion. Whether juſtly or no, it ſhall then appear, when all things are heard, which they have to alleadge againſt the outward received Orders of this Church. Which inaſmuch as themſelves do compare unto *Mint and Cummin*, granting them to be no part of thoſe things, which in the matter of Polity are weightier, we hope that for ſmall things their ſtrife will neither be earneſt nor long. The ſifting of that which is objected againſt the Orders of the Church in particular, doth not belong unto this place. Here we are to diſcuſſe only thoſe generall exceptions, which have been taken at any time againſt them. Firſt therefore, to the end that their nature and uſe, whereunto they ſerve, may plainly appeare, and ſo afterwards their quality the better be diſcerned; we are to note, that in every grand or main publick duty, which God requireth at the hands of his Church, there is, beſides that matter and form wherein the eſſence thereof conſiſteth, a certain outward faſhion, whereby the ſame is in decent ſort adminiſtred. The ſubſtance of all religious actions is delivered from God himſelf in few words. For Example ſake in the Sacraments, *Vnto the Element let the word be added, and they do both make a Sacrament*, ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*. Baptiſme is given by the Element of Water, and that preſcript form of words, which the Church of Chriſt doth uſe; the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt is adminiſtred in the Elements of Bread & Wine, if thoſe myſticall words be added thereunto. But the due and decent form of adminiſtring thoſe holy Sacraments, doth require a great deal more. The end which

Matth. 23. *v.* 23. The Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church, as the weightieſt things, ought eſpecially to be looked unto: but the Ceremonies alſo, as *Mint and Cummin*, ought not to be neglected. *T. C. l.* 3. *p.* 171.

which is aimed at in ſetting down the outward form of all religious actions, is the edification of the Church. Now men are edified, when either their underſtanding is taught ſomewhat whereof in ſuch actions it behoveth all men to conſider; or when their hearts are moved with any affection ſuteable thereunto; when their minds are in any ſort ſtirred up unto that reverence, devotion, attention and due regard, which in theſe caſes ſeemeth requiſite. Becauſe therfore unto this purpoſe not only ſpeech, but ſundry ſenſible means beſides have alwayes been thought neceſſary, & eſpecially thoſe means which being object to the eye, the liveliеſt & the moſt apprehenſive ſenſe of all other, have in that reſpect ſeemed the fitteſt to make a deep and ſtrong impreſſion; from hence have riſen not only a number of Prayers, Readings, Queſtionings, Exhortings, but even of viſible ſignes alſo, which being uſed in performance of holy actions, are undoubtedly moſt effectuall to open ſuch matter, as men when they know and remember carefully, muſt needs be a great deale the better informed to what effect ſuch duties ſerve. We muſt not think but that there is ſome ground of reaſon even in nature, whereby it commeth to paſſe, that no Nation under Heaven either doth or ever did ſuffer publick actions which are of weight, whether they be civill and temporall, or elſe ſpirituall and ſacred, to paſſe without ſome viſible ſolemnity: the very ſtrangeneſſe whereof and difference from that which is common doth cauſe popular eyes to obſerve and to mark the ſame. Words, both becauſe they are common, and doe not ſo ſtrongly move the phanſie of man, are for the moſt part but ſleightly heard: and therefore with ſingular wiſedome it hath beene provided, that the deeds of men which are made in the preſence of witneſſes, ſhould paſſe not only with words, but alſo with certain ſenſible actions, the memory whereof is far more eaſie and durable than the memory of ſpeech can be. The things which ſo long experience of all Ages hath confirmed and made profitable, let not us preſume to condemn as follies and toyes, becauſe we ſometime know not the cauſe and reaſon of them. A wit diſpoſed to ſcorn whatſoever it doth not conceive, might aſk wherefore *Abraham* ſhould ſay to his ſervant, *Put thy hand under my thigh, and ſweare*: was it not ſufficient for his ſervant to ſhew the Religion of an Oath, by naming the Lord God of Heaven and Earth, unleſſe that ſtrange Ceremony were added? In Contracts, Bargains & Conveyances, a mans word is a token ſufficient to expreſſe his will. *Yet this was the ancient manner in Iſrael concerning redeeming and exchanging to eſtabliſh all things; A man did pluck off his ſhooe, and gave it to his Neighbour; and this was a ſure witneſſe in Iſrael.* Amongſt the Romans in their making of a Bondman free, was it not wondred wherefore ſo great a do ſhould be made? The Maſter to preſent his Slave in ſome Court, to take him by the hand, & not only to ſay in the hearing of the publick Magiſtrate, *I will that this man become free*, but after theſe ſolemn words uttered, to ſtrike him on the cheek, to turn him round, the hair of his head to be ſhaved off, the Magiſtrate to touch him thrice with a rod, in the end a Cap and a white garment to be given him? To what purpoſe all this circumſtance? Amongſt the *Hebrews* how ſtrange and monſtrous an appearance almoſt againſt reaſon, that he which was minded to make himſelf a perpetuall ſervant, ſhould not only teſtifie ſo much in the preſence of the Judge, but for a viſible token thereof have alſo his eare boared thorow with an awl?

Gen. 24. 2.

Ruth 4. 7.

Exod. 21. 6.

It were an infinite labour to proſecute theſe things ſo far as they might be exemplified both in civill & religious actions. For in both they have their neceſſary uſe and force. [a] *Theſe ſenſible things which Religion hath allowed, are reſemblances framed according to things ſpiritually underſtood, whereunto they ſerve as a hand to lead, and a way to direct.* And whereas it may peradventure be objected, that to adde to religious duties ſuch rites and ceremonies as are ſignificant, is to inſtitute new Sacraments: ſure I am they will not ſay, that *Numa Pompilius* did ordain a ſacrament; a ſignificant ceremony he did ordain, in commanding the Prieſts [b] *to execute the work of their divine ſervice with their hands, as far as to the fingers covered; thereby ſignifying that fidelity muſt be defended, and that mens right hands are the ſacred ſeat thereof.* Again, we are alſo to put them in minde, that themſelves do not hold all ſignificant ceremonies for ſacraments; inaſmuch as impoſition of hands they deny to be a Sacrament, and yet they give thereunto a forcible ſignification. For concerning it their words are theſe: [c] *The party ordained by this ceremony, was put in minde of his ſeparation to the work of the Lord, that remembring himſelf to be taken as it were with the hand of God frō amongſt others, this might teach him not to account himſelf now his own, nor to do what himſelf liſteth; but to conſider that God hath ſet him about a work, which if he will diſcharge and accompliſh, he may at the hands of God aſſure himſelf of reward, and if otherwiſe, of revenge.* Touching ſignificant Ceremonies ſome of them are Sacraments, ſome as Sacraments only. Sacraments are thoſe, which are ſignes and tokens of ſome generall promiſed grace, which alwayes really deſcendeth from God unto the ſoul that duly receiveth them: other ſignificant tokens are only as Sacraments, yet no Sacraments. Which is not our diſtinction but theirs. For concerning the Apoſtles impoſition of hands, theſe are their own words; *Magnum ſignum hoc & quaſi Sacramentum uſurparunt*; They uſed this ſigne as it were a Sacrament.

2 Concerning rites and ceremonies, there may be fault, either in the kind or in the number & multitude of thē. The firſt thing blamed about the kind of ours, is, that in many things we have departed from the ancient ſimplicity of Chriſt and his Apoſtles; we have embraced more outward ſtatelineſſe, we have thoſe orders in the exerciſe of Religion, w^ch they who beſt pleaſed God & ſerved him moſt devoutly, never had. For it is out of doubt, that the firſt ſtate of things was beſt, that in the prime of Chriſtian Religion faith was ſoundeſt, the Scriptures of God were then beſt underſtood by all men, all parts of godlineſſe did then moſt abound: & therefore it muſt needs follow, that cuſtomes, lawes, and ordinances deviſed ſince, are not ſo good for the Church of Chriſt; but the beſt way is to cut off later inventions, & to reduce things unto the ancient ſtate wherein at the firſt they were. Which Rule or Canon we hold to be either uncertain, or at leaſt wiſe unſufficient, if not both. For in caſe it be certain, hard it cannot be for them to ſhew us, where we ſhall find it ſo exactly ſet down, that we may ſay without all controverſie, *Theſe were the orders of the Apoſtles times, theſe wholly and only, neither fewer nor more than theſe.* True it is that many things of this nature be alluded unto, yea many things declared, and many things neceſſarily collected out of the Apoſtles writings. But is it neceſſary that all the orders of the Church which were then in uſe, ſhould be contained in their books? Surely no. For if the tenor of their writings be well obſerved, it ſhall unto any man eaſily appear,

a Dionyſ. p. 121. τὰ μὲν αἰσθητῶν ἱερῶν τῶν νοητῶν ἀνομοιοτάτας ἐμφάσεις καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς χειραγωγίας καὶ ὁδούς.

b Liv. l. 1. *Manu ad digitos uſq; involutâ rem divinam facere, ſignificantes fidem tutandam ſedemque ejus etiam in dextris ſacratam eſſe.*

c Eccleſ. diſci. fol. 51.

Fol. 25.

The firſt thing they blame in the kinde of our Ceremonies, is, that we have not in them ancient Apoſtolicall ſimplicity, but a greater pomp and ſtatelineſſe

Iib. Eccleſ. diſ. & T. C. l. 3. p. 141

appeare, that no more of them are there touched, than were needfull to be ſpoken of ſometimes by one occaſion, and ſometimes by another. Will they allow then of any other Records beſides? Well aſſured I am they are far enough from acknowledging that the Church ought to keep any thing as Apoſtolicall, which is not found in the Apoſtles writings, in what other Records ſoever it be found. And therefore whereas S. *Auguſtine* affirmeth, that thoſe things which the whole Church of Chriſt doth hold, may well be thought to be Apoſtolicall, although they be not found written; this his judgement they utterly condemn. I will not here ſtand in defence of S. *Auguſtines* opinion, which is, that ſuch things are indeed Apoſtolicall, but yet with this exception, unleſſe the Decree of ſome generall Councell have haply cauſed them to be received: for of Poſitive lawes and orders received throughout the whole Chriſtian world, S. *Auguſtine* could imagine no other fountain ſave theſe two. But to let paſſe S. *Auguſtine*, they who condemn him herein, muſt needs confeſſe it a very uncertain thing what the orders of the Church were in the Apoſtles times, ſeeing the Scriptures do not mention them all, and other Records thereof beſides they utterly reject. So that in tying the Church to the orders of the Apoſtles times, they tye it to a marvellous uncertain rule; unleſſe they require the obſervation of no orders but only thoſe which are known to be Apoſtolicall by the Apoſtles own Writings. But then is not this their rule of ſuch ſufficiency, that we ſhould uſe it as a touchſtone to try the orders of the Church by for ever? Our end ought alwayes to be the ſame; our wayes and means thereunto not ſo. The glory of God and the good of his Church was the thing which the Apoſtles aimed at, and therefore ought to be the mark whereat we alſo level. But ſeeing thoſe rites and orders may be at one time more, which at another are leſſe availeable unto that purpoſe: what reaſon is there in theſe things to urge the ſtate of our only age, as a pattern for all to follow? It is not, I am ſure, their meaning, that we ſhould now aſſemble our people to ſerve God in cloſe and ſecret meetings; or that common Brooks or Rivers ſhould be uſed for places of Baptiſme; or that the Euchariſt ſhould be miniſtred after meat; or that the cuſtome of Church-feaſting ſhould be renued; or that all kinde of ſtanding proviſion for the Miniſtery ſhould be utterly taken away, and their eſtate made again dependant upon the voluntary devotion of men. In theſe things they eaſily perceive how unfit that were for the preſent, which was for the firſt Age convenient enough. The faith, zeale, and godlineſſe of former times is worthily had in honour: but doth this prove that the orders of the Church of Chriſt muſt be ſtill the ſelf-ſame with theirs, that nothing may be which was not then, or that nothing which then was may lawfully ſince have ceaſed? They who recall the Church unto that which was at the firſt, muſt neceſſarily ſet bounds and limits unto their ſpeeches. If any thing have been received repugnant unto that which was firſt delivered, the firſt things in this caſe muſt ſtand, the laſt give place unto them. But where difference is without repugnancy, that which hath been can be no prejudice to that which is. Let the ſtate of the people of God when they were in the houſe of bondage, and their manner of ſerving God in a ſtrange land, be compared with that which Canaan and Jeruſalem did afford, and who ſeeth not what huge difference there was between them? In Egypt, it may be, they were right glad to take ſome corner

Tom. 7. de bapt. contra Donatiſt. lib. 5. cap. 23. T. C. l. 1. p. 31. If this judgement of S. *Auguſtine* be a good judgement & ſound; then there be ſome things commanded of God, which are not in the Scripture; and therfore there is no ſufficient Doctrine contained in ſcripture, whereby we may be ſaved. For all the Commandements of God and of the Apoſtles, are needfull for our ſalvation. *Vide Ep. 118.*

corner of a poor Cottage, and there to serve God upon their knees, peradventure covered in dust and straw sometimes. Neither were they therefore the lesse accepted of God; but he was with them in all their afflictions, and at the length by working their admirable deliverance, did testifie that they served him not in vain. Notwithstanding in the very Desert they are no sooner possest of some little thing of their own, but a Tabernacle is required at their hands. Being planted in the land of *Canaan*, and having *David* to be their King, when the Lord had given him rest from all his enemies, it grieved his religious minde to consider the growth of his own estate and dignity, the affairs of Religion continuing still in the former manner: *Behold, now I dwell in an house of Cedar trees, and the Ark of God remaineth still within Curtains.* What he did purpose, it was the pleasure of God that *Salomon* his sonne should perform, and perform it in manner sutable unto their present, not their ancient estate and condition. For which cause *Salomon* writeth unto the King of *Tyrus*: *The house which I build is great and wonderfull; for great is our God above all gods.* Whereby it cleerly appeareth, that the orders of the Church of God may be acceptable unto him, as well being framed suitable to the greatnesse and dignity of later, as when they keep the reverend simplicity of ancienter times. Such dissimilitude therefore between us and the Apostles of Christ, in the order of some outward things, is no argument of default.

1 Sam. 7 2.

2 Chron. 2 5.

Our Orders and Ceremonies blamed, in that so many of them are the same which the Church of *Rome* useth. *Eccles. Discipl. fol.* 12. *T. C. lib.* 1 *pag.* 131. *T. C. lib.* 1. *p.* 20.

3 Yea, but we have framed our selves to the customes of the Church of *Rome*, our Orders and Ceremonies are Papisticall. It is espied that our Church-founders were not so carefull as in this matter they should have been, but contented themselves with such discipline as they took from the Church of *Rome*. Their error we ought to reform by abolishing all Popish orders. There must be no communion nor fellowship with Papists, *neither in Doctrine, Ceremonies, nor Government*. It is not enough that we are divided from the Church of *Rome* by the single wall of Doctrine, retaining as we do part of their Ceremonies, & almost their whole Government: but Government or Ceremonies, or whatsoever it be which is Popish, away with it. This is the thing they require in us, the utter relinquishment of all things Popish. Wherein to the end we may answer them according unto their plain direct meaning, and not take advantage of doubtfull speech, whereby controversies grow alwayes endlesse; their main Position being this, that *nothing should be placed in the Church but what God in his Word hath commanded*, they must of necessity hold all for Popish, which the Church of *Rome* hath over & besides this. By Popish Orders, Ceremonies, and Government they must therefore mean in every of these so much, as the Church of *Rome* hath embraced without commandement of Gods Word: so that whatsoever such thing we have, if the Church of *Rome* have it also, it goeth under the name of those things that are Popish, yea, although it be lawfull, although agreeable to the Word of God. For so they plainly affirme, saying: *Although the forms and ceremonies whith they* (the Church of *Rome*) *used were not unlawfull, & that they contained nothing which is not agreeable to the Word of God; yet notwithstanding neither the Word of God, nor reason, nor the examples of the eldest Churches both Iewish and Christian, do permit us to use the same form & ceremonies, being neither commanded of God, neither such as there may not as good as they*

T. C. lib. 1. p. 25.

T. C. lib. 1. p. 131.

and

and rather better be eſtabliſhed. The queſtion therefore is, whether we may follow the Church of *Rome* in thoſe orders, Rites and Ceremonies, wherein we do not think them blameable, or elſe ought to deviſe others, and to have no conformity with them, no not aſmuch as in theſe things? In this ſenſe and conſtruction therefore as they affirme, ſo we deny, that whatſoever is Popiſh we ought to abrogate. Their Arguments to prove that generally all Popiſh Orders and Ceremonies ought to be clean aboliſhed, are in ſumme theſe: *Firſt whereas we allow the judgement of S.* Auguſtine, *that touching thoſe things of this kinde which are not commanded or forbidden in the Scripture, we are to obſerve the cuſtome of the people of God, and decrees of our forefathers: how can we retain the cuſtomes and conſtitutions of the Papiſts in ſuch things, who were neither the people of God nor our forefathers?* Secondly, *although the forms and ceremonies of the Church of Rome were not unlawfull, neither did contain any thing which is not agreeable to the Word of God, yet neither the Word of God, nor the example of the eldeſt Churches of God, nor reaſon, do permit us to uſe the ſame,* they being Hereticks and ſo neer about us, *and their orders being neither commanded of God, nor yet ſuch, but that as good or rather better may be eſtabliſhed. It is againſt the Word of God, to have conformity with the Church of Rome in ſuch things, as appeareth, in that the wiſdome of God hath thought it a good way to keep his people from infection of Idolatry and Superſtition by ſevering them from Idolaters in outward ceremonies, and therefore hath forbidden them to do things which are in themſelves very lawfull to be done. And further, whereas the Lord was carefull to ſever them by ceremonies from other Nations, yet was he not ſo carefull to ſever them from any, as from the Egyptians amongſt whom they lived, and from thoſe nations which were next neighbours to them, becauſe from them was the greateſt fear of infection.* So that following the courſe which the wiſdome of God doth teach, *it were more ſafe for us to conform our indifferent ceremonies to the Turks which are far off, than to the Papiſts which are ſo near. Touching the example of the eldeſt Churches of God, in one counſell it was decreed, that Chriſtians ſhould not deck their houſes with Bay-leaves and green boughs, becauſe the Pagans did uſe ſo to do; and that they ſhould not reſt from their labours thoſe dayes that the Pagans did, that they ſhould not keep the firſt day of every moneth as they did. Another Councell decreed that Chriſtians ſhould not celebrate feaſts on the birth dayes of the Martyrs, becauſe it was the manner of the Heathen. O,* ſaith Tertullian, *better is the religion of the Heathen: for they uſe no ſolemnity of the Chriſtians, neither the Lords day, neither the Penteceſt, and if they knew them, they would have nothing to do with them: for they would be afraid leſt they ſhould ſeem Chriſtians: but we are not afraid to be called heathen. The ſame* Tertullian *would not have Chriſtians to ſit after they had prayd, becauſe the Idolaters did ſo. Whereby it appeareth, that both of particular men and of Counſels, in making or aboliſhing of ceremonies, heed had been taken that the Chriſtians ſhould not be like the Idolaters, no not in thoſe things which of themſelves are moſt indifferent to be uſed or not uſed. The ſame conformity is not leſſe oppoſite unto reaſon, firſt inaſmuch as contraries muſt be cured by their contraries, and therefore Popery being Antichriſtianity, is not healed by eſtabliſhment of orders thereunto oppoſite. The way to bring a drunken man to ſobriety, is to carry him as far from exceſſe of drink as may be. To rectifie a crooked ſtick, we bend it on the contrary ſide, as far as it was at the firſt on that ſide from whence*

T.C.l.1.p.130.

T.C.l.1.p.131.

T.C.l.1.p.132.

Tom.2.Bracar.3

Con. Africa. cap.27.

Lib. de Idolat. He ſeemeth to mean the feaſt of Eaſter day, celebrated in the memory of our Saviours reſurrection, and for that cauſe termed the Lords day. *Lib. de Anima.*

whence we draw it: and ſo it commeth in the end to a middle between both, which is perfect ſtraightneſſe. Vtter inconformity thereof with the Church of Rome in theſe things, is the beſt and ſureſt policy which the Church can uſe. While we uſe their Ceremonies, they take occaſion to blaſpheme, ſaying that our Religion cannot ſtand by it ſelf, unleſſe it lean upon the ſtaff of their Ceremonies. [a] *They hereby conceive great hope of having the reſt of their Popery in the end, which hope cauſeth them to be more frozen in their wickedneſſe. Neither is it without cauſe that they have this hope, conſidering that which M.* Bucer *noteth upon the eighteenth of S.* Matthew, *that where theſe things have been left, Popery hath returned; but on the other part, in places which have been cleanſed of theſe things, it hath not yet been ſeen that it hath had any entrance.* [b] *None make ſuch clamors for theſe Ceremonies, as the Papiſts, and thoſe whom they ſuborn; a manifeſt token how much they triumph and joy in theſe things. They breed grief of minde in a number that are godly minded, and have Antichriſtianity in ſuch deteſtation, that their minds are martyred with the very ſight of them in the Church.* [c] *Such godly brethren we ought not thus to grieve with unprofitable Ceremonies, yea, Ceremonies wherein there is not only no profit, but alſo danger of great hurt that may grow to the Church by infection, which Popiſh Ceremonies are means to breed.* This in effect is the ſumme and ſubſtance of that which they bring by way of oppoſition againſt thoſe orders which we have common with the Church of Rome; theſe are the reaſons wherewith they would prove our Ceremonies in that reſpect worthy of blame.

a T.C.l.3 p.178.
b T.C.l.3.p.173.
c T.C l.3.p.180

That whereas they who blame us in this behalf, when reaſon evicteth that all ſuch Ceremonies are not to be aboliſhed, make anſwer that whē they condemn Popiſh Ceremonies, their meaning is of Ceremonies unprofitable, or Ceremonies, inſtead whereof as good or better may be demiſed: they cannot hereby get out of the briers, but contradict and gainſay themſelves; inaſmuch as their uſuall manner is to prove, that Ceremonies uncommanded in the Church of God, and yet uſed in the Church of Rome, are for *this very cauſe* unprofitable to us, and not ſo good as others in their place would be.

4 Before we anſwer unto theſe things, we are to cut off that, whereunto they from whom theſe objections proceed, do often times flie for defence and ſuccour, when the force and ſtrength of their Arguments is elided. For the Ceremonies in uſe amongſt us, being in no other reſpect retained, ſaving only for that to retain them is to our ſeeming, good and profitable, yea ſo profitable and ſo good, that if we had either ſimply taken them clean away, or elſe removed them ſo as to place in their ſtead others, we had done worſe: the plain & direct way againſt us herein had been only to prove, that all ſuch Ceremonies as they require to be aboliſhed, are retained by us with the hurt of the Church, or with leſſe benefit than the aboliſhment of them would bring. But forasmuch as they ſaw how hardly they ſhould be able to perform this; they took a more compendious way, traducing the Ceremonies of our Church under the name of being Popiſh. The cauſe why this way ſeemed better unto them, was, for that the name of Popery is more odious than very Paganiſme amongſt divers of the more ſimple ſort; ſo whatſoever they hear named Popiſh, they preſently conceive deep hatred againſt it, imagining there can be nothing contained in that name, but needs it muſt be exceeding deteſtable. The ears of the people they have therefore filled with ſtrong clamors. *The Church of* England *is fraught with Popiſh Ceremonies: They that favour the cauſe of reformation, maintain nothing but the ſincerity of the Goſpell of* Jeſus Chriſt: *All ſuch as withſtand them, fight for the Lawes of his ſworn enemy, uphold the filthy reliques of Antichriſt; and are defenders of that which is Popiſh.* Theſe are the notes wherewith are drawn from the hearts of the multitude ſo many ſighes; with theſe tunes their mindes are exaſperated againſt

againſt the lawfull Guides and Governours of their ſouls; theſe are the voices that fill them with generall diſcontentment, as though the boſome of that famous Church wherein they live, were more noyſome than any dungeon. But when the Authors of ſo ſcandalous incantations are examined and called to account, how they can juſtifie ſuch their dealings; when they are urged directly to anſwer, whether it be lawfull for us to uſe any ſuch Ceremonies as the Church of Rome uſeth, although the ſame be not commanded in the Word of God; being driven to ſee that the uſe of ſome ſuch Ceremonies muſt of neceſſity be granted lawfull; they go about to make us beleeve that they are juſt of the ſame opinion, and that they only think ſuch Ceremonies are not to be uſed when they are unprofitable, or when as good or better may be eſtabliſhed. Which anſwer is both idle in regard of us, and alſo repugnant to themſelves. It is, in regard of us, very vain to make this anſwer, becauſe they know that what Ceremonies we retain common unto the Church of Rome, we therefore retain them, for that we judge them to be profitable, and to be ſuch that others in ſtead of them would be worſe. So that whē they ſay that we ought to abrogate ſuch Romiſh ceremonies as are unprofitable, or els might have other more profitable in their ſtead, they trifle and they beat the aire about nothing which toucheth us, unleſſe they mean that we ought to abrogate all Romiſh Ceremonies, which in their judgement have either no uſe, or leſſe uſe than ſome other might have. But then muſt they ſhew ſome commiſſion, whereby they are authorized to ſit as Judges, and we required to take their judgement for good in this caſe. Otherwiſe, their ſentences will not be greatly regarded, when they oppoſe their *Me thinketh*, unto the Orders of the Church of *England:* as in the queſtion about Surpleſſes one of them doth; *If we look to the colour, black me thinketh is more decent; if to the form, a garment down to the foot hath a great deal more comelineſſe in it.* If they think that we ought to prove the Ceremonies commodious which we have retained, they do in this point very greatly deceive themſelves. For in all right & equity, that which the Church hath received and held ſo long for good, that which publick approbation hath ratified, muſt carry the benefit of preſumption with it to be accounted meet and convenient. They which have ſtood up as yeſterday to challenge it of defect, muſt prove their challenge. If we being Defendants do anſwer, that the Ceremonies in queſtion are godly, comely, decent, profitable for the Church; their reply is childiſh and unorderly to ſay, that we demand the thing in queſtion, & ſhew the poverty of our cauſe, the goodneſſe whereof we are fain to beg that our Adverſaries would grant. For on our parts this muſt be the anſwer, which orderly proceeding doth require. The burden of proving doth reſt on them. In them it is frivolous to ſay, we ought not to uſe bad Ceremonies of the Church of Rome, and preſume all ſuch bad as it pleaſeth themſelves to diſlike, unleſſe we can perſwade them the contrary. Beſides, they are herein oppoſite alſo to themſelves. For what one thing is ſo common with them, as to uſe the cuſtome of the Church of Rome for an argument to prove, that ſuch and ſuch Ceremonies cannot be good and profitable for us, inaſmuch as that Church uſeth them? Which uſuall kinde of diſputing, ſheweth that they do not diſallow only thoſe Romiſh ceremonies which are unprofitable, but count all unprofitable which are Romiſh, that is to ſay, which have been deviſed by the Church of Rome, or which are uſed in

T.C. lib 3 p. 171 What an open untruth is it, that this is one of our principles not to be lawfull to uſe the ſame ceremonies which the Papiſts did, when as I have both before declared the contrary, and even here have expreſly added, that they are not to be uſed when as good or better may be eſtabliſhed?

Eccl. diſcip. fol. 100.

T.C. l. 3 p. 179. As for your often repeating that the ceremonies in queſtion are godly, comely, and decent: it is your old wont of demanding the thing in queſtion, and an undoubted argument of your extream poverty.

T.C. l. 3 p. 174.

in that Church and not preſcribed in the Word of God. For this is the only limitation which they can uſe ſutable unto their other Poſitions. And therefore the cauſe which they yeeld, why they hold it lawfull to retain in *Doctrine* and in *Diſcipline* ſome things as good, which yet are common to the Church of Rome, is, for that thoſe good things are perpetuall commandements, in whoſe place no other can come; but ceremonies are changeable. So that their judgement in truth, is, that whatſoever by the Word of God is not changeable in the Church of Rome, that Churches uſing is a cauſe, why reformed Churches ought to change it, and not to think it good or profitable. And leſt we ſeem to father any thing upon them more than is properly their own, let them reade even their own words, where they complain, that *we are thus conſtrained to be like unto the Papiſts in any their Ceremonies*; yea they urge that this cauſe, although it were alone, ought to move them to whom that belongeth, to do them away, *foraſmuch as they are their Ceremonies*, and that the B. of *Salisbury* doth juſtifie this their complaint. The clauſe is untrue which they adde concerning the B. of *Salisbury*; but the ſentence doth ſhew, we do them no wrong in ſetting down the ſtate of the queſtion between us thus: Whether we ought to aboliſh out of the Church of *England* all ſuch orders, rites, and ceremonies, as are eſtabliſhed in the Church of Rome, and are not preſcribed in the Word of God. For the affirmative whereof we are now to anſwer ſuch proofs of theirs as have been before alleadged.

T.C. l.3. p.177. And that this complaint of ours is juſt, in that we are thus conſtrained to be like unto the Papiſts in any their Ceremonies; and that this cauſe only ought to move them to whom that belongeth to do theirs away, foraſmuch as they are their Ceremonies: the Reader may further ſee in the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, who brings divers proofs thereof.

That our allowing the cuſtomes of our fathers to be followed, is no proof that we may not allow ſome cuſtomes which the Church of Rome hath, although we do not account of them as of our fathers.

5 Let the Church of Rome be what it will, let them that are of it be the people of God, and our fathers in the Chriſtian faith, or let them be otherwiſe; hold them for Catholicks, or hold them for Hereticks, it is not a thing either one way or another in this preſent queſtion greatly materiall. Our conformity with them in ſuch things as have been propoſed, is not proved as yet unlawfull by all this. S. *Auguſtine* hath ſaid, yea and we have allowed his ſaying, *That the cuſtome of the people of God and the decrees of our forefathers are to be kept, touching thoſe things whereof the Scripture hath neither one way nor other given us any charge.* What then? Doth it here therefore follow, that they, being neither the people of God, nor our forefathers, are for that cauſe in nothing to be followed? This conſequent were good; if ſo be it were granted, that only the cuſtome of the people of God, and the decrees of our forefathers are in ſuch caſe to be obſerved. But then ſhould no other kinde of later lawes in the Church be good, which were a groſſe abſurdity to think. S. *Auguſtines* ſpeech therefore doth import, that where we have no divine precept, if yet we have the cuſtome of the people of God, or a decree of our forefathers, this is a law and muſt be kept. Notwithſtanding it is not denied, but that we lawfully may obſerve the poſitive conſtitutions of our own Churches, although the ſame were but yeſterday made by our ſelves alone. Nor is there any thing in this to prove, that the Church of *England* might not by law receive orders, rites, or cuſtomes from the Church of Rome, although they were neither the people of God, nor yet our forefathers. How much leſſe, when we have received from them nothing but that which they did themſelves receive from ſuch, as we cannot deny to have been the people of God, yea ſuch as either we muſt acknowledge for our own forefathers, or elſe diſdain the race of Chriſt?

6 The

6 The Rites and Orders wherein we follow the Church of Rome, are of no other kinde than ſuch as the Church of Geneva it ſelf doth follow them in. We follow the Church of Rome in moe things; yet they in ſome things of the ſame nature about which our preſent controverſie is: ſo that the difference is not in the kinde, but in the number of Rites only, wherein they and we do follow the Church of Rome. The uſe of Wafer-cakes, the cuſtome of Godfathers and Godmothers in Baptiſme, are things not commanded nor forbidden in the Scripture, things which have been of old, and are retained in the Church of Rome, even at this very houre. Is conformity with Rome in ſuch things a blemiſh unto the Church of *England*, and unto Churches abroad an ornament? Let them, if not for the reverence they owe unto this Church, in the bowels whereof they have received I truſt that precious and bleſſed vigor, which ſhall quicken them to eternall life; yet at the leaſtwiſe for the ſingular affection which they do bear towards others, take heed how they ſtrike, leſt they wound whom they would not. For undoubtedly it cutteth deeper than they are aware of, when they pleade that even ſuch Ceremonies of the Church of Rome, as contain in them nothing which is not of it ſelf agreeable to the Word of God, ought nevertheleſſe to be aboliſhed, and that neither the Word of God, nor reaſon, nor the examples of the eldeſt Churches, do permit the Church of Rome to be therein followed. Hereticks they are, & they are our Neighbours. By us & amongſt us they leade their lives. But what then? therefore is no Ceremony of theirs lawfull for us to uſe? We muſt yeeld and will, that none are lawfull, if God himſelf be a precedent againſt the uſe of any. But how appeareth it that God is ſo? Hereby, they ſay, it doth appear, in that *God ſevered his people from the Heathens, but ſpecially from the Egyptians, and ſuch Nations as were neereſt Neighbours unto them, by forbidding them to do thoſe things, which were in themſelves very lawfull to be done, yea very profitable ſome, and incommodious to be forborn; ſuch things it pleaſed God to forbid them, only becauſe thoſe Heathens did them, with whom conformity in the ſame things might have bred infection. Thus in ſhaving, cutting, apparell-wearing, yea in ſundry kinds of meats alſo, Swines fleſh, Conies, and ſuch like, they were forbidden to do ſo and ſo, becauſe the Gentiles did ſo. And the end why God forbad them ſuch things, was, to ſever them, for fear of infection, by a great and an high wall from other Nations, is S.* Paul *teacheth.* The cauſe of more carefull ſeparation from the neereſt Nations, was, the greatneſſe of danger to be eſpecially by them infected. Now, Papiſts are to us as thoſe Nations were unto Iſrael. Therefore if the wiſdome of God be our guide, we cannot allow conformity with them, no not in any ſuch indifferent Ceremony. Our direct anſwer hereunto is, that for any thing here alleadged we may ſtill doubt, whether the Lord in ſuch indifferent Ceremonies as thoſe whereof we diſpute, did frame his people of ſet purpoſe unto any utter diſſimilitude, either with Egyptians, or with any other Nation elſe. And if God did not forbid them all ſuch indifferent Ceremonies, then our conformity with the Church of Rome in ſome ſuch is not hitherto as yet diſproved, although Papiſts were unto us as thoſe Heathens were unto Iſrael. *After the doings of the Land of Egypt, wherein you dwelt, ye ſhall not do, ſaith the Lord; and after the manner of the Land of Canaan, whither I will bring you, ſhall ye not do, neither walk in their Ordinances: Do after my judge-*

That the courſe which the wiſdome of God doth teach, maketh not againſt our conformity with the Church of Rome in ſuch things.

T.C. lib. 1, pag. 89. & 1.1.

Levit. 18. 3.

Levit. 19. 27.
Levit. 19. 19.
Deut. 22. 11.
Deut. 14. 7. &
Levit. 11.
Epheſ. 2. 14.

Levit. 18. 3.

ments, and keep my ordinances to walk therein: I am the Lord your God. The ſpeech is indefinite, *ye ſhall not be like them:* It is not generall, *ye ſhall not be like them in any thing, or like unto them in any thing indifferent, or like unto them in any indifferent Ceremony of theirs.* Seeing therefore it is not ſet down how far the bounds of his ſpeech concerning diſſimilitude ſhould reach, how can any man aſſure us, that it extendeth farther than to thoſe things only, wherein the Nations there mentioned were idolatrous, or did againſt that which the law of God commanded? Nay, doth it not ſeem a thing very probable, that God doth purpoſely adde, *Do after my judgements*, as giving thereby to underſtand that his meaning in the former ſentence was but to bar ſimilitude in ſuch things as were repugnant to the Ordinances, Laws, and Statutes, which he had given? Egyptians and Canaanites are for example ſake named unto them, becauſe the cuſtomes of the one they had been, and of the other they ſhould be beſt acquainted with. But that wherein they might not be like unto either of them, was ſuch peradventure as had been no whit leſſe unlawfull, although thoſe Nations had never been. So that there is no neceſſity to think that God for fear of infection by reaſon of neerneſs, forbade them to be like the Canaanites or the Egyptians, in thoſe things wch otherwiſe had been lawfull enough. For I would know what one thing was in thoſe Nations, and is here forbidden, being indifferent it ſelf, yet forbidden only becauſe they uſed it? In the Lawes of Iſrael we finde it written, *Ye ſhall not cut round the corners of your heads, neither ſhalt thou tear the tufts of thy beard.* Theſe things were uſuall amongſt thoſe Nations, & in themſelvs they are indifferent. But are they indifferent being uſed as ſignes of immoderate and hopeleſſe lamentation for the dead? In this ſenſe it is that the law forbiddeth them. For which cauſe the very next words following are, *Ye ſhall not cut your fleſh for the dead, nor make any print of a mark upon you; I am the Lord.* The like in *Leviticus*, where ſpeech is of mourning for the dead, *They ſhall not make bald parts upon their head, nor ſhave off the locks of their beard, nor make any cutting in their fleſh.* Again, in *Deut. Ye are the children of the Lord your God, ye ſhall not cut your ſelves, nor make you baldneſſe between your eyes for the dead.* What is this but in effect the ſame which the Apoſtle doth more plainly expreſſe, ſaying, *Sorrow not as they do which have no hope?* The very light of Nature it ſelf was able to ſee herein a fault, that which thoſe Nations did uſe, having been alſo in uſe with others, the ancient Roman lawes do forbid. That ſhaving therefore and cutting which the law doth mention, was not a matter in it ſelf indifferent, and forbidden only becauſe it was in uſe amongſt ſuch Idolaters as were Neighbours to the people of God; but to uſe it had been a crime, though no other people or Nation under Heaven ſhould have done it ſaving only themſelves. As for thoſe lawes concerning attire, *There ſhall no garment of linnen and woollen come upon thee*; as alſo thoſe touching food and diet, wherein *Swines-fleſh* together with ſundry other meats are forbidden; the uſe of theſe things had been indeed of it ſelf harmeleſſe and indifferent: ſo that hereby it doth appear, how the law of God forbade in ſome ſpeciall conſideration, ſuch things as were lawfull enough in themſelves. But yet even here they likewiſe fail of that they intend. For it doth not appear that the conſideration in regard whereof the law forbiddeth theſe things, was becauſe thoſe Nations did uſe the. Likely enough it is that the Cananites uſed to feed as well on Sheeps as on Swines fleſh;

Levit.19.17.

Levit.21.5.

Deut.14.1.

1 Theſ.4.13.

Levit.19.19.
Deut.22.11.

Deut.14.7.
Levit.11.

fleſh; and therefore if the forbidding of the latter had no other reaſon than diſſimilitude with that people, they which of their own heads alleadge this for reaſon, can ſhew I think ſome reaſon more than we are able to finde, why the former was not alſo forbidden. Might there not be ſome other myſtery in this prohibition then they think of? Yes, ſome other myſtery there was in it by all likely-hood. For what reaſon is there which ſhould but induce, & therefore much leſſe enforce us to think, that care of diſſimilitude between the people of God and the Heathen Nations about them, was any more the cauſe of forbidding them to put on garments of ſundry ſtuffe, than of charging them withall not to ſow their fields with Meſlin; or that this was any more the cauſe of forbidding the to eat Swines fleſh, than of charging them withall not to eat the fleſh of Eagles, Hawks, and the like? Wherefore although the Church of Rome were to us, as to Iſrael the Egyptians and Canaanites were of old; yet doth it not follow that the wiſdome of God without reſpect doth teach us to erect between us and them a partition wall of difference, in ſuch things indifferent as have been hitherto diſputed of.

Levit.19.19.

Deut.14.
Levit.11.

Epheſ.2.14.

That the example of the eldeſt Churches is not herein againſt us.

7 Neither is the example of the eldeſt Churches a whit more availeable to this purpoſe. Notwithſtanding ſome fault undoubtedly there is in the very reſemblance of Idolaters. But were it not ſome kinde of blemiſh to be like unto Infidels and Heathens, it would not ſo uſually be objected, men would not think it any advantage in the cauſes of Religion, to be able therewith juſtly to charge their Adverſaries as they do. Wherefore to the end that it may a little more plainly appear, what force this hath, and how far the ſame extendeth: we are to note how all men are naturally deſirous, that they may ſeem neither to judge, nor to do amiſſe, becauſe every error and offence is a ſtain to the beauty of Nature, for which cauſe it bluſheth thereat, but glorieth in the contrary. From whence it riſeth, that they which diſgrace or depreſſe the credit of others, do it either in both or in one of theſe: To have been in either directly by a weak & unperfect Rule, argueth imbecillity and imperfection. Men being either led by reaſon, or by imitation of other mens examples; if their perſons be odious whoſe example we chuſe to follow, as namely, if we frame our opinions to that which condemned Hereticks think, or direct our actions according to that which is practiſed and done by them; it lyes as an heavie prejudice againſt us, unleſſe ſomewhat mightier than their bare example, did move us to think or do the ſame things with them. Chriſtian men therefore having beſides the common light of all men ſo great help of heavenly direction from above, together with the Lamps of ſo bright examples as the Church of God doth yeeld, it cannot but worthily ſeem reproachfull for us, to leave both the one and the other, to become Diſciples unto the moſt hatefull ſort that live, to do as they do, only becauſe we ſee their example before us, and have a delight to follow it. Thus we may therefore ſafely conclude, that it is not evill ſimply to concur with the Heathens either in opinion or action: and that conformity with them is only then a diſgrace, when either we follow them in that they think and do amiſſe, or follow them generally in that they do, without other reaſon than only the liking we have to the pattern of their example: which liking doth intimate a more univerſall approbation of them than is allowable. *Fauſtus* the Manichey therefore objecting againſt the Jewes, that they

T.C.l.1.p.132. The Councels although they did not obſerve themſelves alwayes in making of decrees this Rule: yet have kept this conſideration continually in making of their laws, that they would have the Chriſtians differ from others in their Ceremonies.

forſook

forſook the Idols of the Gentiles; but their Temples, and Oblations, and Altars, and Prieſthoods and all kinde of miniſtery of holy things, they exciſed even as the Gentiles did, yea more ſuperſtitiouſly a great deal; againſt the Catholick Chriſtians likewiſe, that between them & the Heathens there was in many things little difference; *From them* (ſaith *Fauſtus*) *ye have learned to hold that one only God is the Author of all, their ſacrifices ye have turned into feaſts of Charity, their Idols into Martyrs, whom ye honour with the like religious offices unto theirs; the Ghoſts of the dead ye appeaſe with wine and delicates, the feſtivall dayes of the Nations ye celebrate together with them, and of their kinde of life ye have utterly changed nothing.* S. *Auſtines* defence in behalf of both, is, that touching the matters of action, Jewes and Catholick Chriſtians were free from the Gentiles faultineſſe, even in thoſe things which were objected as tokens of their agreement with the Gentiles: and concerning their conſent in opinion, they did not hold the ſame with the Gentiles, becauſe Gentiles had ſo taught, but becauſe Heaven and Earth had ſo witneſſed the ſame to be Truth, that neither the one ſort could erre in being fully perſwaded thereof, nor the other but erre in caſe they ſhould not conſent with them. In things of their own nature indifferent, if either Councels or particular men have at any time with ſound judgement miſliked conformity between the Church of God and Infidels, the cauſe thereof hath been ſomewhat elſe than only affectation of diſſimilitude. They ſaw it neceſſary ſo to do, in reſpect of ſome ſpeciall accident, which the Church being not alwayes ſubject unto, hath not ſtill cauſe to do the like. For example, in the dangerous dayes of triall, wherein there was no way for the truth of Jeſus Chriſt to triumph over infidelity, but through the conſtancy of his Saints, whom yet a naturall deſire to ſave themſelves from the flame, might peradventure cauſe to joyn with Pagans in externall cuſtomes, too far uſing the ſame as a cloak to conceale themſelves in, and a miſt to darken the eyes of Infidels withall: for remedy hereof thoſe lawes it might be were provided, which forbad that Chriſtians ſhould deck their houſes with Boughs, as the Pagans did uſe to do, or reſt thoſe Feſtivall dayes whereon the Pagans reſted, or celebrate ſuch Feaſts as were, though not Heatheniſh, yet ſuch that the ſimpler ſort of Heathens might be beguiled in ſo thinking them. As for *Tertullians* judgement concerning the Rites and Orders of the Church; no man, having judgement, can be ignorant how juſt exceptions may be taken againſt it. His opinion touching the Catholick Church was as unindifferent, as touching our Church the opinion of them that favour this pretended reformation is. He judged all them who did not Montanize, to be but carnally minded, he judged them ſtill over-abjectly to fawn upon the *Heathens*, and to curry favour with *Infidels*. Which as the Catholick Church did well provide that they might not do indeed, ſo *Tertullian* over-often through diſcontentment carpeth injuriouſly at the, as though they did it even when they were free frō ſuch meaning. But if it were ſo, that either the judgement of thoſe Councels before alleadged, or of *Tertullian* himſelf againſt Chriſtians, are in no ſuch conſideration to be underſtood as we have mentioned; if it were ſo, that men are condemned as well of the one as of the other, only for uſing the Ceremonies of a Religion *contrary* unto their own, and

Tom. 6. cont. Fauſt. Manich. lib. 20. cap. 4.

T. C. l. 1. p. 132. Alſo it was decreed in another Councell, that they ſhould not deck their houſes with Bay-leaves and green Boughs, becauſe the Pagans did uſe ſo; and that they ſhould not reſt from their labour thoſe dayes that the Pagans did, that they ſhould not keep the firſt day of every moneth as they did.

T. C. l. 3. p. 132. *Tertul.* ſaith, O ſaith he, better is the Religion of the Heathen: for they uſe no ſolemnity of the Chriſtians, neither the Lords day, neither, &c. but we are not afraid to bee called Heathen *T. C. l. 1. p. 133.* But having ſhewed this in generall to be the Polity of God firſt, and of his people afterwards, to put as much difference as can be commodiouſly between the people of God and others which are not, I ſhall not, &c.

and that *this cauſe* is ſuch as ought to prevaile no leſſe with us than with them; ſhall it not follow, that ſeeing there is ſtill between our Religion and Paganiſme the ſelf-ſame *contrariety*, therfore we are ſtill no leſſe rebukeable, if we now deck our houſes with Boughs, or ſend New-years gifts unto our friends, or feaſt on thoſe dayes which the Gentiles then did, or ſit after prayer as they were accuſtomed? For ſo they infer upon the premiſes, that as great difference as commodiouſly may be, there ſhould be in all outward Ceremonies between the people of God, and them which are not his people. Again, they teach as hath been declared, that there is not as great a difference as may be between them, except the one do avoid whatſoever Rites and Ceremonies uncommanded of God the other doth embrace. So that generally they teach, that the very difference of ſpirituall condition it ſelf between the ſervants of Chriſt and others, requireth ſuch difference in Ceremonies between them, although the one be never ſo far disjoyned in time or place from the other. But in caſe the people of God and *Belial* do chance to be neighbours; then as the danger of infection is greater, ſo the ſame difference they ſay, is thereby made more neceſſary. In this reſpect as the Jewes were ſevered from the Heathen, ſo moſt eſpecially from the Heathen neareſt them. And in the ſame reſpect we, which ought to differ howſoever from the Church of Rome, are now, they ſay, by reaſon of our nearneſſe more bound to differ from them in Ceremonies than from *Turks*. A ſtrange kind of ſpeech unto Chriſtian ears, and ſuch, as I hope, they themſelves do acknowledge unadviſedly uttered. *We are not ſo much to fear infection from Turks as from Papiſts.* What of that? we muſt remember that by conforming rather our ſelves in that reſpect to *Turks*, we ſhould be ſpreaders of a worſe infection into others, than any we are likely to draw from Papiſts by our conformity with them in Ceremonies. If they did hate, as *Turks* do, the Chriſtian; or as Canaanites did of old the Jewiſh Religion even in groſſe; the circumſtance of locall nearneſſe in them unto us, might haply enforce in us a duty of greater ſeparation from them than frō thoſe other mentioned. But foraſmuch as Papiſts are much in Chriſt nearer unto us than *Turks*, is there any reaſonable man, trow you, but will judge it meeter that our Ceremonies of Chriſtian Religion ſhould be Popiſh than Turkiſh, or Heatheniſh? Eſpecially conſidering that we were not brought to dwell amongſt them (as Iſrael in Canaan) having not been of them. For even a very part of thē we were. And when God did by his good Spirit put it into our hearts, firſt, to reform our ſelves (whence grew our ſeparation) and then by all good means to ſeek alſo their reformation; had we not only cut off their corruptions, but alſo eſtranged our ſelves from them in things indifferent; who ſeeth not how greatly prejudiciall this might have been to ſo good a cauſe, and what occaſion it had given them to think (to their greater obduration in evill) that through a froward or wanton deſire of innovation, we did conſtrainedly thoſe things, for which conſcience was pretended? Howſoever the caſe doth ſtand, as Juda had been rather to chooſe conformity in things indifferent with Iſrael, when they were neareſt oppoſites, than with the fartheſt removed Pagans: So we in like caſe, much rather with Papiſts than with *Turks*. I might adde further for more full and complete anſwer, ſo much concerning the large oddes be-

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tween the case of the eldest Churches in regard of those Heathens, and ours in respect of the Church of *Rome*; that very cavillation it self should be satisfied, and have no shift to flie unto.

That it is not our best policy for the establishment of sound Religion, to have in these things no agreement with the Church of Rome being unsound.

8 But that no one thing may detain us over-long, I return to their reasons against our conformity with that Church. That extreme dissimilitude which they urge upon us, is now commended as our best and safest policy for establishment of sound Religion. The ground of which politick Position is, that *Evils must be cured by their contraries*; and therefore the cure of the Church infected with the poyson of Antichristianity, must be done by that which is thereunto as contrary as may be. A medled estate of the orders of the Gospell, and the ceremonies of Popery, is not the best way to banish Popery. We are contrariwise of opinion, that he which will perfectly recover a sick, and restore a diseased body unto health, must not endevour so much to bring it to a state of simple contrariety, as of fit proportion in contrariety unto those evils which are to be cured. He that will take away extreme heat, by setting the body in extremity of cold, shall undoubtedly remove the disease, but together with it the diseased too. The first thing therefore in skilfull cures, is the knowlegde of the part affected; the next is of the evill which doth affect it; the last is not only of the kinde, but also of the measure of contrary things whereby to remove it. They which measure Religion by dislike of the Church of Rome, think every man so much the more sound, by how much he can make the corruptions thereof to seem more large. And therefore some there are, namely the Arrians in reformed Churches of Poland, which imagine the Canker to have eaten so far into the very bones and marrow of the Church of Rome, as if it had not so much as a sound belief; no not concerning God himself, but that the very belief of the Trinity were a part of Antichristian corruption; and that the wonderfull providence of God did bring to passe, that the Bishop of the See of Rome should be famous for his triple crown; a sensible mark whereby the world might know him to be that mysticall beast spoken of in the Revelation, to be that great and notorious Antichrist in no one respect so much, as in this, that he maintaineth the doctrine of the Trinity. Wisdome therfore & skill is requisite to know, what parts are sound in that Church, & what corrupted. Neither is it to all men apparant which complain of unsound parts, with what kinde of unsoundnesse every such part is possessed. They can say, that in *Doctrine*, in *Discipline*, in *Prayers*, in *Sacraments*, the Church of Rome hath (as it hath indeed) very foul & grosse corruptions: the nature whereof notwithstanding because they have not for the most part exact skil & knowledge to discern, they think that amisse many times wch is not, and the salve of reformation they mightily call for, but where & what the sores are which need it, as they wote full little, so they think it not greatly materiall to search; such mens contentment must be wrought by stratageme: the usual method of art is not for them. But with those that professe more than ordinary and common knowledge of good from evill, with them that are able to put a difference between things naught, and things indifferent in the Church of Rome, we are yet at controversie about the manner of removing that which is naught: whether it may not be perfectly helpt, unlesse that also which is indifferent be cut off with it, so farre till no rite or ceremony remain which

T.C.l.p.132. Common reason also doth teach that contraries are cured by their contraries. Now Christianity and Antichristianity, the Gospel and Popery, be contrarie; and therefore Antichristianity must be cured, not by it self, but by that which is (as much as may be) contrary unto it.

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the Church of Rome hath, being not found in the Word of God. If we think this too extreme, they reply, that to draw men from great exceſſe, it is not amiſſe though we uſe them unto ſome what leſſe than is competent; and that a crooked ſtick is not ſtraightned, unleſſe it be bent as far on the clean contrary ſide, that ſo it may ſettle it ſelf at the length in a middle eſtate of evenneſſe between both. But how can theſe compariſons ſtand them in any ſtead? When they urge us to extreme oppoſition againſt the Church of Rome, do they mean we ſhould be drawn unto it only for a time, and afterwards return to a mediocrity? or was it the purpoſe of thoſe reformed Churches, which utterly aboliſhed all Popiſh Ceremonies, to come in the end back again to the middle point of evenneſſe, and moderation? Then have we conceived amiſſe of their meaning. For we have alwayes thought their opinion to be, that utter inconformity with the Church of Rome was not an extremity whereunto we ſhould be drawn for a time, but the very mediocrity it ſelf wherein they meant we ſhould ever continue. Now by theſe compariſons it ſeemeth clean contrary, that howſoever they have bent themſelves at firſt to an extreme contrariety againſt the Romiſh Church, yet therein they will continue no longer, than only till ſuch time as ſome more moderate courſe for eſtabliſhment of the Church may be concluded. Yea, albeit this were not at the firſt their intent, yet ſurely now there is great cauſe to leade them unto it. They have ſeen that experience of the former policy; which may cauſe the authors of it to hang down their heads. When *Germany* had ſtricken off that which appeared corrupt in the doctrine of the Church of Rome, but ſeemed nevertheleſſe in Diſcipline ſtill to retain therewith very great conformity: *France*, by that Rule of policy, which hath been before mentioned, took away the Popiſh orders which *Germany* did retain. But proceſſe of time hath brought more light into the World; whereby men perceiving that they of the Religion in *France* have alſo retained ſome orders which were before in the Church of Rome, and are not commanded in the Word of God; there hath ariſen a ſect in *England*, which following ſtill the very ſelf-ſame Rule of policy, ſeeketh to reform even the French reformation, and purge out from thence alſo dregs of Popery. Theſe have not taken as yet ſuch root that they are able to eſtabliſh any thing. But if they had, what would ſpring out of their ſtock, and how far the unquiet wit of man might be carried with rules of ſuch policy, God doth know. The triall which we have lived to ſee, may ſomewhat teach us what poſterity is to fear. But our Lord, of his infinite mercy, avert whatſoever evill our ſwervings on the one hand or on the other may threaten unto the ſtate of his Church.

T.C.l.1.p.132. If a man would bring a drunken man to ſobriety, the beſt and neereſt way is to carry him as far from his exceſſe in drink as may be: and if a man could not keep a mean, it were better to fault in preſcribing leſſe than he ſhould drink, than to fault in giving him more than he ought. As we ſee, to bring a ſtick which is crooked to be ſtraight, we do not only bow it ſo far untill it come to be ſtraight, but we bend it ſo far untill we make it to be ſo crooked of the other ſide, as it was before of the firſt ſide, to this end that at the laſt it may ſtand ſtraight, and as it were in the mid-way between both the crooks.

9 That the Church of Rome doth hereby take occaſion to blaſpheme, and to ſay our Religion is not able to ſtand of it ſelf, unleſſe it lean upon the ſtaffe of their Ceremonies, is not a matter of ſo great moment, that it did

That we are not to aboliſh our Ceremonies either becauſe Papiſts upbraid us as having taken from them, or for that they are ſaid hereby to conceive, I know not what, great hopes. *T.C.l.3.p.171.* By uſing of theſe Ceremonies, the Papiſts take occaſion to blaſpheme, ſaying that our Religion cannot ſtand by it ſelf, unleſſe it lean upon the ſtaffe of their Ceremonies.

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need to be objected, or doth deſerve to receive anſwer. The name of blaſphemy in this place, is like the ſhoo of *Hercules* on a childs foot. If the Church of *Rome* do uſe any ſuch kinde of ſilly exprobration, it is no ſuch ugly thing to the eare, that we ſhould think the honour and credit of our religiō to receive therby any great wound. They which hereof make ſo perillous a matter, do ſeem to imagine, that we have erected of late a frame of ſome new Religion; the furniture whereof we ſhould not have borrowed from our enemies, leſt they relieving us, might afterwards laugh and gibe at our poverty: wheras in truth the ceremonies which we have taken frō ſuch as were before us, are not things that belong to this or that ſect, but they are the ancient rites and cuſtomes of the Church of Chriſt; whereof our ſelves being a part, we have the ſelf-ſame intereſt in them which our Fathers before us had, from whom the ſame are deſcended unto us. Again, in caſe we had been ſo much beholding privately unto them, doth the reputation of one Church ſtand by ſaying unto another, *I need thee not?* If ſome ſhould be ſo vain and impotent, as to marr a benefit with reproachfull upbraiding, where at the leaſt they ſuppoſe themſelves to have beſtowed ſome good turn; yet ſurely a wiſe bodies part it were not, to put out his fire, becauſe his fond and fooliſh neighbour, from whom he borrowed peradventure wherewith to kindle it, might haply caſt him therewith in the teeth, ſaying, Were it not for me, thou wouldeſt freez, and not be able to heat thy ſelf. As for that other argument derived from the ſecret affection of Papiſts, with whom our conformity in certain Ceremonies is ſaid to put them in great hope, that their whole Religion in time will have re-entrance; and therefore none are ſo clamorous amongſt us for the obſervation of theſe ceremonies, as Papiſts and ſuch as Papiſts ſuborn to ſpeak for them: whereby it cleerly appeareth how much they rejoyce, how much they triumph in theſe things; our anſwer hereunto is ſtill the ſame, that the benefit we have by ſuch ceremonies overweigheth even this alſo. No man which is not exceeding partiall can well deny, but that there is moſt juſt cauſe wherfore we ſhould be offended greatly at the Church of *Rome*. Notwithſtanding at ſuch times as we are to deliberate for our ſelves, the freer our minds are from all diſtempered affections, the ſounder and better is our judgement. When we are in a fretting moode at the Church of Rome, and with that angry diſpoſition enter into any cogitation of the order and rites of our Church; taking particular ſurvey of them, we are ſure to have alwayes one eye fixed upon the countenance of our enemies, & according to the blithe or heavie aſpect therof, our other eye ſheweth ſome other ſutable token either of diſlike or approbation towards our own orders. For the rule of our judgement in ſuch caſe being only that of *Homer*, *This is the thing which our enemies would have*; what they ſeem contented with, even for that very cauſe we reject; and there is nothing but it pleaſeth us much the better, if wee eſpie that it gauleth them. Miſerable were the ſtate and condition of that Church, the weighty affairs whereof ſhould be ordered by thoſe deliberations, wherein ſuch an humour as this were predominant. We have moſt heartily to thank God therefore, that they amongſt us, to whom the firſt conſultations of cauſes of this kinde fell, were men which aiming at another mark, namely, the glory of God and the good of this his Church, took that which they judged thereunto

T.C.l.3 p.179. To prove the Papiſts triumph and joy in theſe things I alleadged further that there are none which make ſuch clamors for theſe ceremonies, as the Papiſts and thoſe which they ſuborn.

ἦκεν γνῶσας Πρίαμος. Il. α.

unto neceſſarie, not rejecting any good or convenient thing, only becauſe the Church of Rome might perhaps like it. If we have that which is meete and right, although they be glad, wee are not to envy them this their ſolace; we doe not thinke it a duty of ours, to be in every ſuch thing their ſolicitors. And where as it is ſaid, that Poperie for want of this utter extirpation hath in ſome places taken root and flouriſhed againe, but hath not been able to reeſtabliſh it ſelfe in any place, after proviſion made againſt it by utter evacuation of all Romiſh Ceremonies; and therefore as long as wee hold any thing like unto them, we put them in ſome more hope, than if all were taken away, as we deny not but this may be true, ſo being of two evils to chooſe the leſſe, we hold it better that the friends & favourers of the Church of Rome, ſhould be in ſome kind of hope to have a corrupt Religion reſtored, than both we & they conceive juſt feare, leſt under colour of rooting out Popery, the moſt effectuall means to beare up the ſtate of Religion be removed, & ſo a way made either for Paganiſme, or for extreme Barbariſme to enter. If deſire of weakning the hope of others ſhould turne us away from the courſe wee have taken; how much more the care of preventing our owne feare, with-holdeth us from that we are urged unto? Eſpecially ſeeing that our owne feare wee know, but wee are not ſo certaine what hope the Rites and Orders of our Church have bred in the hearts of others. For it is no ſufficient Argument therefore to ſay, that in maintayning and urging theſe Ceremonies, none are ſo clamorous as Papiſts, and they whom Papiſts ſuborne; this ſpeech being more hard to juſtifie than the former, and ſo their proofe more doubtfull than the thing it ſelfe, which they prove. He that were certaine that this is true, muſt have marked who they be that ſpeak for Ceremonies, he muſt have noted, who amongſt them doth ſpeake oftenеſt, or is moſt earneſt: he muſt have beene both acquainted thorowly with the Religion of ſuch, and alſo privy what conferences or compacts are paſſed in ſecret betweene them and others; which kinds of notice are not wont to bee vulgar and common. Yet they which alleage this, would have it taken as a thing that needeth no proofe, a thing which all men know and ſee. And if ſo bee it were granted them as true, what gaine they by it? Sundry of them that be Popiſh, are eager in maintenance of Ceremonies. Is it ſo ſtrange a matter to find a good thing furthered by ill men of a ſiniſter intent & purpoſe, whoſe forwardnes is not therfore a bridle to ſuch as favour the ſame cauſe with a better & ſincere meaning? They that ſeeke, as they ſay, the removing of all Popiſh Orders out of the Church, and reckon the ſtate of Biſhops in the number of thoſe orders, doe (I doubt not) preſume that the cauſe which they proſecute, is holy. Notwithſtanding it is their own ingenuous acknowledgment, that even even this very cauſe which they terme ſo often by an excellency, *The Lords cauſe is*, gratiſſima *moſt acceptable unto ſome which hope for prey and ſpoile by it, and that our Age hath ſtore of ſuch, and that ſuch are the very Sectaries of* Dionyſius *the famous Atheiſt*. Now if hereupon we ſhould upbraid them with irreligious, as they doe us, with ſuperſtitious favourers; if wee

Eccleſ. diſc. f. 93.

Thus they concerning hope of having the reſt of their Popiſh in the end? It moveth them to bee more frozen in their wickednеſſe, &c. For not the cauſe but the occaſion alſo ought to bee taken away, &c. Although let the Reader judge, whether they have cauſe given to hope, that the taſte of Popery yet remayning, they ſhall the eaſilier hale in the whole body after: conſidering alſo what Maiſter *Bucer* noteth, that where theſe things have beene left, there Popery have returned: but on the other part, in places which hath beene cleanſed of theſe dregs, it hath not beene ſeene that it had any entrance.

should follow them in their owne kind of pleading, & say, that the most clamorous for this pretended reformation, are either Atheists, or else Proctors suborned by Atheists; the answer which herein they would make unto us, let them apply unto themselves, and there an end. For they must not forbid us to presume our cause in defence of our Church-orders to be as good as theirs against them, till the contrary be made manifest to the World.

The griefe which, they say, godly Brethren conceive in regard of such Ceremonies, as we have common with the Church of Rome. *T.C.l.3.p.180.* There be numbers which have Antichristianitie in such detestation, that they cannot without griefe of mind behold them. And afterwards, such godly Brethren are not easily to be grieved, which they seeme to be, when they are thus martyred in their minds, for Ceremonies, which (to speake the best of them) are unprofitable.

10 In the meane while sorry wee are, that any good and godly mind should bee grieved with that which is done. But to remedy their griefe, lyeth not so much in us as in themselves. They doe not wish to be made glad with the hurt of the Church: & to remove all out of the Church, whereat they shew themselves to bee sorrowfull, would be, as we are perswaded, hurtfull, if not pernicious thereunto. Till they be able to perswade the contrary, they must and will, I doubt not, find out some other good meane to cheere up themselves. Amongst which meanes the example of *Geneva* may serve for one. Have not they the old Popish custome of using God-fathers and God-mothers in Baptisme; the old Popish custome of administring the blessed Sacrament of the holy Eucharist with wafer-cakes? These things the godly there can digest. Wherefore should not the godly here learne to doe the like, both in them and in the rest of the like nature? Some further mean peradventure it might be to asswage their griefe, if so be they did consider the revenge they take on them, which have bin, as they interpret it, the workers of their cõtinuance in so great grief so long. For if the maintenance of Ceremonies be a corrosive to such as oppugne them; undoubtedly to such as maintaine them, it can be no great pleasure, when they behold how that which they reverence, is oppugned. And therefore they that judge themselves Martyrs, when they are grieved, should think withall what they are whõ they grieve. For we are still to put them in mind, that the cause doth make no difference; for that it must be presumed as good at the least on our part as on theirs, till it be in the end decided, who have stood for truth, and who for error. So that till then the most effectuall medicine, and withall the most sound, to ease their griefe, must not be (in our opinion) the taking away of those things whereat they are grieved, but the altering of that perswasion, which they have concerning the same. For this we therefore both pray and labour; the more because we are also perswaded, that it is but conceit in them to thinke, that those Romish Ceremonies, whereof we have hitherto spoke, are like leprous clothes, infectious unto the Church, or like soft and gentle poysons, the venome whereof being insensibly pernicious, worketh death, & yet is never felt working. Thus they say: but because they say it only, and the World hath not as yet had so great experience of their art, in curing the diseases of the Church, that the bare authoritie of their word should perswade in a cause so waighty; they may not thinke much if it be required at their hands to shew, First, by what means so deadly infection can grow from similitude betweene us and the Church of Rome, in these things indifferent: Secondly, for that it were infinite, if the Church would provide against every such evil as may come to passe, it is not sufficient that they

T.C.L.3.p.171. Although the corruptions in them strike not straight to the heart, yet as gentle poysons they consume by little and little.

they ſhew poſſibilitie of dangerous event, unleſſe there appeare ſome likelihood alſo of the ſame to follow in us, except we prevent it. Nor is this enough, unleſſe it be moreover made plaine, that there is no good and ſufficient way of prevention, but by evacuating cleane, & by emptying the Church of every ſuch Rite & Ceremony, as is preſently called in queſtion. Till this be done, their good affection towards the ſafetie of the Church is acceptable, but the way they preſcribe us to preſerve it by, muſt reſt in ſuſpenſe. And leſt hereat they take occaſiō to turn upon us the ſpeech of the Prophet *Jeremy* uſed againſt Babylon, *Behold we have done our endevour to cure* the diſeaſes of Babylon, but ſhe through her wilfulnes doth reſt uncured: let them conſider into what ſtreights the Church might drive it ſelf, in being guided by this their counſell. Their axiome is, that the ſound beleeving Church of Ieſus Chriſt, may not be like Hereticall Churches in any of thoſe indifferent things, which men make choice of, and doe not take by preſcript appointment of the Word of God. In the Word of God the uſe of Bread is preſcribed, as a thing without which the Euchariſt may not be celebrated: but as for the kind of Bread, it is not denied to be a thing indifferent. Being indifferent of it ſelf, we are by this axiome of theirs to avoid the uſe of unleavened Bread in the Sacrament, becauſe ſuch Bread the Church of Rome being Hereticall uſeth. But doth not the ſelf-ſame axiome bar us even from leavened Bread alſo, which the Church of the Grecians uſeth; the opinīōs whereof are in a number of things the ſame, for which wee condemne the Church of Rome; & in ſome things erroneous, where the Church of Rome is acknowledged to be found; as namely in the Article of the holy Ghoſts proceeding? And leſt here they ſhould ſay that becauſe the Greek Church is farther off, & the Church of Rome nearer, we are in that reſpect rather to uſe that which the Church of Rome uſeth not; let them imagine a reformed Church in the Citie of Venice, where a Greeke Church and a Popiſh both are. And when both theſe are equally neare, let them conſider what the third ſhall doe. Without either leavened or unleavened Bread, it can have no Sacrament: the Word of God doth tye it to neither, and their axiome doth exclude it from both. If this conſtraine them, as it muſt, to grant that their axiome is not to take any place, ſave in thoſe things onely where the Church hath larger ſcope, it reſteth that they ſearch our ſome ſtronger reaſon than they have as yet alleaged, otherwiſe they conſtrain not us to thinke that the Church is tied unto any ſuch rule or axiome, no not then whē ſhe hath the wideſt field to walk in, & the greateſt ſtore of choice.

Iere. 51. 9.

Their exception againſt ſuch Ceremonies as we have received from the Church of Rome; that Church having taken them from the Iewes.

11 Againſt ſuch ceremonies generally as are the ſame in the Church of England & of Rome, we ſee what hath bin hitherto alleaged. Albeit therefore we do not finde the one Churches having of ſuch things, to be ſufficient cauſe why the other ſhould not have them: nevertheleſſe in caſe it may be proved, that amongſt the number of Rites and Orders cōmon unto both, there are particulars, the uſe wherof is utterly unlawfull, in regard of ſome ſpeciall bad & noyſome qualitie; there is no doubt but we ought to relinquiſh ſuch Rites & Orders, what freedome ſoever we have to retaine the other ſtill. As therfore we have heard their generall exceptiō againſt all thoſe things, which being not cōmanded in the Word of God, were firſt received in the Church of Rome, and from thence have bin derived into ours, ſo it

Eccles. disci. fol. 98. And *T. C. l.* 3. *p.* 181. Many of these Popish Ceremonies fault by reason of the pompe in them; where they should be agreeable to the simplicitie of the Gospell of Christ crucified.

followeth that now we proceed unto certain kindes of them, as being excepted against, not only for that they are in the Church of Rome, but are besides either Iewish or abused unto Idolatry, and so growne scandalous. The Church of Rome they say, being ashamed of the simplicity of the Gospell, did almost out of all Religions take whatsoever had any faire and gorgeous shew, borrowing in that respect from the Iewes sundry of their abolished Ceremonies. Thus by foolish and ridiculous imitation, all their Massing furniture almost they took from the Law, lest having an Altar and a Priest, they should want Vestments for their Stage; so that whatsoever we have in cõmon with the Church of Rome, if the same be of this kind, we ought to remove it. *Constantine the Emperor speaking of the keeping of the Feast of Easter,* saith, *That it is an unworthy thing to have any thing common with that most spitefull company of the Iewes. And a little after he saith, That it is most absurde and against reason, that the Iewes should vaunt and glory that the Christians could not keep those things without their Doctrine. And in another place it is said after this sort; It is convenient so to order the matter, that we have nothing common with that Nation. The Councell of Laodicea, which was afterward confirmed by the first generall Councell, decreed that the Christians should not take unleavened Bread of the Iewes, or communicate with their impietie.* For the easier manifestation of truth in this point, two things there are which must bee considered, namely the causes wherefore the Church should decline from Iewish Ceremonies; & how farre it ought so to do. One cause is, that the Iewes were the deadliest & spitefullest Enemies of Christianity that were in the world, and in this respect their Orders so farre to be shunned, as we have already set downe in handling the matter of Heathenish Ceremonies. For no Enemies being so venemous against Christ as Iewes, they were of all other most odious, & by that mean least, to be used as fit Church patterns for imitation. Another cause is the solemne abrogation of the Iewes ordinances, which ordinances for us to resume, were to check our Lord himself which hath disanulled them. But how farre this second cause doth extend, it is not on all sides fully agreed upõ. And touching those things whereunto it reacheth not, although there be small cause wherefore the Church should frame it self to the Iewes example, in respect of their persons which are most hatefull; yet God himselfe having bin the Authour of their Lawes, herein they are (notwithstanding the former consideration) still worthy to be honoured, & to be followed above others, as much as the state of things will beare. Iewish Ordinances had some things naturall, & of the perpetuitie of those things no man doubteth. That which was positive, wee likewise know to have beene by the comming of Christ partly necessary not to be kept, and partly indifferent to be kept or not. Of the former kind Circumcision and Sacrifice were. For this point *Stephen* was accused, and the Evidence which his accusers brought against him in judgement was, *This man ceaseth not to speake blasphemous words against this holy place and the Law, for wee have heard him say that this Iesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the Ordinances that Moses gave us.* True it is that this Doctrine was then taught, which unbeleevers condemning for blasphemy, did therin cõmit that which they did condemne. The Apostles notwithstanding from whom *Stephen* had received it, did not so teach the abrogatiõ, no not of those things which

T. C. l. 1. *p.* 132. *Euseb. li.* 3. *c.* 17. *Socra. l. lib. c.* 9. *So* 1. *Concil. Laod. Can.* 38.

Acts 6. 13. 14.

were

were neceſſarily to ceaſe, but that even the Jewes being Chriſtians, might for a time continue in them. And therfore in Jeruſalem the firſt Chriſtian Biſhop not circumciſed was *Marke*, and he not Biſhop till the dayes of *Adrian* the Emperour, after the overthrow of Ieruſalem, there having bin fifteene Biſhops before him which were all of the circumciſion. The Chriſtian Iewes did think at the firſt not only themſelves, but the Chriſtian Gentiles alſo bound, and that neceſſarily, to obſerve the whole Law. There went forth certain of the Sect of Phariſes which did beleeve, & they cõming unto Antioch, taught that it was neceſſary for the Gentiles to be circumciſed, and to keep the Law of *Moſes*. Whereupon there grew diſſention, *Paul* and *Barnabas* diſputing againſt them. The determination of the Councell held at Ieruſalem concerning this matter, was finally this. *Touching the Gentiles which beleeve, we have written and determined that they obſerve no ſuch thing*; Their proteſtation by Letters is. *Forasmuch as we have heard that certaine which departed from us have troubled you with words, & cumbred your minds, ſaying, Yee muſt be circumciſed and keep the Law; know, that we gave them no ſuch Commandement.* *Paul* therfore cõtinued ſtill teaching the Gentiles, not only that they were not bound to obſerve the Laws of *Moſes*, but that obſervation of thoſe Lawes which were neceſſarily to be abrogated, was in them altogether unlawfull. In which point his Doctrin was miſreported, as though he had every where preached this, not only concerning the Gentiles, but alſo touching the Iewes. Wherefore cõming unto *Iames* & the reſt of the Clergie at Ieruſalem, they told him plainly of it, ſaying, *Thou ſeeſt, brother, how many thouſand Iews there are which beleeve, & they are all zealous of the Law. Now they are informed of thee, that thou teacheſt all the Iewes which are amongſt the Gentiles, to forſake* Moſes, *and ſayeſt that they ought not to circumciſe their Children, neither to live after the cuſtomes.* And hereupon they gave him counſell to make it apparant in the eyes of all men, that thoſe flying reports were untrue, and that himſelfe being a Iew, kept the Law, even as they did. In ſome things therefore wee ſee the Apoſtles did teach, that there ought not to be conformity betweene the Chriſtian Iewes and Gentiles. How many things this Law of inconformitie did comprehend, there is no need we ſhould ſtand to examine. This generall is true, that the Gentiles were not made conformable unto the Iewes, in that which was neceſſarily to ceaſe at the comming of Chriſt. Touching things poſitive which might either ceaſe or continue as occaſion ſhould require, the Apoſtles tendring the zeale of the Iewes, thought it neceſſary to bind even the Gentiles for a time to abſtaine as the Iewes did, from things offered unto Idols, from blood, from ſtrangled. Theſe Decrees were every where delivered unto the Gentiles to be ſtraightly obſerved & kept. In the other matters where the Gentiles were free, and the Iewes in their owne opinion ſtill tied, the Apoſtles Doctrine unto the Iew was, *Condemne not the Gentile*; unto the Gentile, *Deſpiſe not the Iew*: the one ſort they warned to take heed that ſcrupiloſitie did not make them rigorous, in giving unadviſed ſentence againſt their brethren which were free; the other, that they did not become ſcandalous, by abuſing their Liberty and Freedome to the offence of their weake Brethren which were ſcrupulous. From hence therfore two concluſiõs there are, which may evidently be drawn; the firſt, that whatſoever conformity of Poſitive Lawes the Apoſtles did bring in between the Churches of Iewes and Gentiles, it was in thoſe things only, which might either ceaſe or continue a ſhorter or

Vide Nicph. l. 3 c. 25. & Sum. ever. p. 149. in Edit. Plant.

Acts 15.

Acts 21. 25.

Acts 15. 24.

Acts 21.

Acts 15. 28.

Acts 16. 4.

Rom. 14. 10.

longer time, as occasion did most require; the second, that they did not impose upon the Churches of the Gentiles, any part of the Iewes Ordinances with bond of necessary & perpetuall observation, (as we all both by doctrin and practice acknowledge) but only in respect of the conveniency & fitnes for the present state of the Church as thē it stood. The words of the Councels Decree concerning the Gentiles are, *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us, to lay upon you no more burden, saving only those things of necessity, abstinence from idoll-offerings, from strangled, and blood, and from fornication.* So that in other things positive which the comming of Christ did not necessarily extinguish, the Gentiles were left altogether free. Neither ought it to seeme unreasonable, that the Gentiles should necessarily be bound and tyed to Iewish Ordinances, so farre forth as that Decree importeth. For to the Iew, who knew that their difference from other Nations which were Aliens and strangers from God, did especially consist in this, that Gods people had positive Ordinances given to them of God himselfe; it seemed marvellous hard, that the Christian Gentiles should be incorporated into the same Cōmon-wealth with Gods own chosen people, and be subject to no part of his Statutes, more than only the Law of Nature, which Heathens count themselves bound unto. It was an opinion constantly received amongst the Iewes, that God did deliver to the sonnes of *Noah* seven Precepts: namely, to live in some forme of Regiment under; First, publick Lawes: Secondly, to serve and call upon the Name of God: Thirdly, to shunne Idolatry: Fourthly, not to suffer effusion of bloud: Fifthly, to abhorr all uncleane knowledge in the flesh: Sixthly, to commit no Rapine: Seventhly, and finally, not to eat of any living Creature whereof the bloud was not first let out. If therefore the Gentiles would be exempt from the Law of *Moses*, yet it might seeme hard they should also cast off even those things positive which were observed before *Moses*, & which were not of the same kinde with Lawes that were necessarily to cease. And peradventure hereupon the Councell saw it expedient to determine, that the Gentiles should according unto the third, the seventh, & the fifth of those Precepts, abstain from things sacrificed unto Idols, from strangled and bloud, & from fornication. The rest the Gentiles did of their owne accord observe, Nature leading them thereunto. And did not Nature also teach them to abstaine from fornication? No doubt it did. Neither can wee with reason thinke, that as the former two are positive; so likewise this, being meant as the Apostle doth otherwise usually understand it. But very Mariage within a number of Degrees, being not onely by the Law of *Moses*, but also by the Law of the sonnes of *Noah*, (for so they tooke it) an unlawfull discovery of nakednesse; this discovery of nakednesse by unlawfull Marriages, such as *Moses* in the Law reckoneth up, I thinke it for mine own part more probable to have beene meant in the words of that Canon, then fornication according unto the sense of the Law of Nature. Words must be taken according to the matter whereof they are uttered. The Apostles cōmand to abstaine from bloud. Conster this according to the Law of Nature, and it will seeme that Homicide only is forbidden. But conster it in reference to the Law of the Iewes about which the question was, and it shall easily appeare to have a clean other sense, and in any mans judgement a truer, when we expound it of eating, and not of shedding bloud. So if we speake of fornication, hee that knoweth no law but onely the Law of Nature, must needes

Lib. qui Seder Olam inscribitur.

1 דינין
2 כרכתחש
3 וא
4 שפיכותופ
5 גיל ערוות
6 תגזל
7 אבו מין התי

Heb.13.4. 1.Cor.5.11. Gal.5.19.

Levit.18.

needs make thereof a narrower conſtruction, than hee which meaſureth the ſame by a Law wherein ſundry kinds even of conjugall copulation are prohibited as impure, unclean, unhoneſt. Saint *Paul* himſelfe doth terme inceſtuous marriage, fornication. If any doe rather think that the Chriſtian Gentiles themſelves through the looſe & corrupt cuſtome of thoſe times, took ſimple fornication for no ſinne, and were in that reſpect offenſive unto beleeving Iewes which by the Law had been better taught; our propoſing of another conjecture, is unto theirs no prejudice. Some things therefore we ſee there were, wherein the Gentiles were forbidden to be like unto the Iewes; ſome things wherein they were cõmanded not to be unlike. Againe, ſome things alſo there were, wherein no Law of God did let, but that they might bee either like or unlike; as occaſion ſhould require. And unto this purpoſe *Leo* ſaith, *Apoſtolicall Ordinance (beloved) knowing that our Lord Ieſus Chriſt came not into this world to undoe the Law, hath in ſuch ſort diſtinguiſhed the Myſteries of the Old Teſtament, that certaine of them it hath choſen out to beneſit Evangelicall knowledge withall, and for that purpoſe appointed that thoſe things which before were Iewiſh, might now be Chriſtian Cuſtomes.* The cauſe why the Apoſtles did thus conforme the Chriſtians as much as might bee, according to the patterne of the Iewes, was to reine them in by this meane the more, and to make them cleave the better. The Church of Chriſt hath had in no one thing ſo many and ſo contrary occaſions of dealing as about Iudaiſme; ſome having thought the whole Iewiſh Law wicked and damnable in it ſelfe; ſome not condemning it as the former ſort abſolutely, have notwithſtanding judged it either ſooner neceſſary to be abrogated, or further unlawfull to be obſerved than truth can beare; ſome of ſcrupulous ſimplicitie urging perpetuall & univerſall obſervation of the Law of *Moſes* neceſſarie, as the Chriſtian Iews at the firſt in the Apoſtles times; ſome as Hereticks, holding the ſame no leſſe even after the cõtrary determination ſet downe by conſent of the Church at Ieruſalem; finally, ſome being herein reſolute through meere infidelitie, and with open profeſt enmitie againſt Chriſt, as unbeleeving Iewes. To controule ſlanderers of the Law and Prophets, ſuch as Marcionites and Manichees were, the Church in her Liturgies hath intermingled with Readings out of the New Teſtament, Leſſons taken out of the Law and Prophets; whereunto *Tertullian* alluding, ſaith of the Church of Chriſt *It intermingleth with Evangelicall and Apoſtolicall Writings, the Law and the Prophets; and from thence it drinketh in that Faith which with Water it ſealeth, clotheth with the Spirit, nouriſheth with the Euchariſt, with Martyrdome ſetteth forward.* They would have wondered in thoſe times to heare, that any man being not a Favourer of Hereſie, ſhould terme this by way of diſdaine, *mangling of the Goſpels and Epiſtles.* They which honour the Law as an Image of the Wiſedome of God himſelfe, are notwithſtanding to know that the ſame had an end in Chriſt. But what? Was the Law ſo aboliſhed with Chriſt, that after his Aſcention the Office of Prieſts became immediatly wicked, and the very name hateful, as importing the exerciſe of an ungodly function? No, as long as the glory of the Temple continued, and till the time of that finall deſolation was accompliſhed, the very Chriſtian Iewes did continue with their Sacrifices and other parts of legall ſervice. That very Law therefore which our Saviour was to aboliſh, did not *ſo ſoone* become unlawfull to be obſerved as ſome imagine; nor was it afterward unlawfull *ſo farre*, that the very name of

1. *Cor.* 5. 1.

Leo in ieiun. menſ. ſept. Ser. 7

Tertull. de præſcript. adverſ. hæret. T. C. l. 3. *p.* 171.

What an abuſing alſo is it to affirme, the mangling of the Goſpels and Epiſtles to have beene brought into the Church by godly and learned men? *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 161. Seeing that the Office and Function of Prieſts was after our Saviour Chriſts Aſcenſion, naught and ungodly; the name whereby they were called which did exerciſe that ungodly Function, cannot bee otherwiſe taken then in the evill part.

Altar,

Altar, of Prieſt, of Sacrifice it ſelfe, ſhould be baniſhed out of the world. For though God do now hate Sacrifice, whether it be Heatheniſh or Iewiſh, ſo that we cannot have the ſame things w^l ich they had, but with impietie; yet unleſſe there be ſome greater let than the only evacuatiõ of the Law of *Moſes*, the names themſelves may (I hope) be retained without ſin, in reſpect of that proportion which things eſtabliſhed by our Saviour have unto them, which by him are abrogated. And ſo through all the Writings of the ancient Fathers we ſee that the words which were, doe continue; the only difference is, that whereas before they had a literall, they now have a metaphoricall uſe, & are as ſo many notes of remembrance unto us, that what they did ſignifie in the letter, is accompliſhed in the truth. And as no man can deprive the Church of this liberty, to uſe names wherunto the Law was accuſtomed; ſo neither are we generally forbidden the uſe of things w^l ich the Law hath, though it neither cõmand us any particulars, as it did the Iewes a number; and the weightieſt which it did cõmand them, are unto us in the Goſpel prohibited. Touching ſuch as through ſimplicity of error did urge univerſall & perpetuall obſervation of the Law of *Moſes* at the firſt, we have ſpoken already. Againſt Iewiſh Heriticks and falſe Apoſtles teaching afterwards the ſelfe-ſame, Saint *Paul* in every Epiſtle cõmonly either diſputeth or giveth warning. Iewes that were zealous for the Law, but withall Infidels in reſpect of Chriſtianity, & to the name of Ieſus Chriſt moſt ſpitefull enemies, did while they flouriſhed no leſſe perſecute the Church than Heathens, and after their eſtate was overthrown, they were not that way ſo much to be feared. Howbeit becauſe they had their Synagogues in every famous citie almoſt throughout the world, & by that means great opportunity to withdraw frõ the Chriſtian Faith, which to do they ſpared no labor; this gave the Church occaſion to make ſundry Lawes againſt them. As in the Councell of Laodicea, *The Feſtivall Preſents which Iewes or Heriticks uſe to ſend muſt not be received, nor Holy-dayes ſolemnized in their company.* Againe, *From the Iews men ought not to receive their unleavened bread, nor to communicate with their Impieties.* Which Councel was afterwards indeed cõfirmed by the ſixt generall Councell. But what was the true ſenſe or meaning both of the one & the other? Were Chriſtians here forbidden to cõmunicate in unleavened Bread becauſe the Iewes did ſo being Enemies of the Church? He which attentively ſhall weigh the words, will ſuſpect that they rather forbid cõmunion with Iewes, then imitation of them: much more, if with theſe two Decrees be compared a third in the Councell of Conſtantinople; *Let no man either of the Clergy or Laity eate the unleavened of the Iewes, nor enter into any familiaritie with them, nor ſend for them in ſickneſſe, nor take Phyſick at their hands, nor as much as goe into the Bath with them. If any doe otherwiſe, being a Clergieman, let him be depoſed; if being a Lay perſon, let Excommunication bee his puniſhment.* If theſe Canons were any Argument, that they which made the, did utterly condemne ſimilitude between the Chriſtians and Iewes, in things indifferent apperrayning unto Religion, either becauſe the Iewes were enemies unto the Church, or elſe for that their ceremonies were abrogated; theſe reaſons had bin as ſtrong and effectuall againſt their keeping the Feaſt of Eaſter on the ſame day the Iews kept theirs, & not according to the cuſtome of the Weſt Church. For ſo they did from the firſt beginning till *Conſtantines* time. For in theſe two things the Eaſt & Weſt Churches did interchangeably both confront the Iewes, & concurre with them:

Concil. Laod. Can. 37. 38.

T.C. l. 1. p. 131.

T.C. l. 3. p. 176.

Concil. Conſtantinop. p. 6. ca. 11.

them: the Weſt Church uſing unleavened Bread, as the Iewes in their Paſſe-over did, but differing from them in the day whereon they kept the Feaſt of Eaſter; contrariwiſe the Eaſt Church celebrating the Feaſt of Eaſter on the ſame day with the Iews, but not uſing the ſame kind of bread which they did. Now if ſo be the eaſt Church in uſing levened Bread had done wel, either for that the Iewes were enemies to the Church, or becauſe Iewiſh ceremonies were abrogated, how ſhould wee thinke but that *Victor* the Biſhop of Rome (whom all judicious men do in that behalfe diſallow) did well to be ſo vehement and fierce in drawing them to the like diſſimilitude for the Feaſt of Eaſter? Again, if the weſt Churches had in either of thoſe two reſpects affected diſſimilitude with the Iewes in the Feaſt of Eaſter, what reaſō had they to draw the Eaſterne Church herein unto the, which reaſon did not enforce them to frame themſelves unto it in the ceremony of leavened bread? Difference in Rites ſhould breed no controverſie between one Church and another: but if controverſie be once bred, it muſt be ended. The Feaſt of Eaſter being therefore litigious in the dayes of *Conſtantine*, who honoured of all other Churches moſt the Church of Rome, which Church was the Mother from whoſe breſts he had drawn that food, which gave him nouriſhment to eternall life; ſith agreement was neceſſary, & yet impoſſible, unleſſe the one part were yeelded unto; his deſire was, that of the two the Eaſtern Church ſhould rather yeeld. And to this end he uſeth ſundry perſwaſive ſpeeches. When *Stephen* the Biſhop of Rome going about to ſhew what the Catholike Church ſhould doe, had alleaged what the Heretikes themſelves did, namely that they received ſuch as came unto them, and offered not to baptiſe them anew; S. *Cyprian* being of a contrary mind to him about the matter at that time in queſtion, which was, *Whether hereticks converted ought to be rebaptized, yea or no*, anſwered the allegatiō of Pope *Stephen* with exceeding great ſtomack, ſaying, [a] *To this degree of wretchednes the Church of God and Spouſe of Chriſt is now come, that her wayes ſhee frameth to the example of Hereticks; that to celebrate the Sacraments which heavenly inſtruction hath delivered, light it ſelfe doth borrow from darknes, and Chriſtians doe that which Antichriſts doe.* Now albeit *Conſtantine* have done that to further a better cauſe, which *Cyprian* did to countenance a worſe, namely, the rebaptizatiō of Hereticks; and have taken advantage at the odiouſneſſe of the Iewes, as *Cyprian* of Hereticks, becauſe the Eaſterne Church kept their Feaſt of Eaſter alwayes the fourteenth day of the Moneth as the Iewes did, what day of the weeke ſoever it fell; or howſoever *Conſtantine* did take occaſion in the handling of that cauſe to ſay, [b] *It is unworthy to have any thing common with that ſpitefull Nation of the Iewes*; ſhall every motive argument uſed in ſuch kind of conferences, be made a rule for others ſtill to conclude the like by, concerning all things of like nature, when as probable inducements may leade them to the contrary? Let both this and other allegations ſuteable unto it, ceaſe to barke any longer idlely againſt that truth, the courſe and paſſage whereof it is not in them to hinder.

[a] *Cypr. ad Pompei lib. cont. epiſt. Stephani.*

[b] *Socr. eccleſiaſt. hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 21. Pleriquein Aſiâ minore antiquitus 14 die menſis, nullâ ratione dei Sabbati habitâ hoc feſtum obſervarunt. Quod dum faciebant cum aliis qui aliam rationem in eodem feſto agendo ſequebantur, uſq; eò nequaquam diſſenſerunt, quoad Victor Epiſcopus Romanus ſupra modum iracundiâ inflammatus, omnes in Aſiâ qui erant τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατίτας appellati excommunicaverit. Ob quod factum Ireneus Epiſcopus Lugduni in Victorem per epiſtolam graviter invectus eſt. Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. lib. 3. cap. 17. Quid præſtabilius, quidve auguſtius eſſe poterit, quam ut hoc feſtum per quod ſpem immortalitatis nobis oſtentatam habemus, uno modo & ratione apud omnes integre ſincereque obſervaretur? As primum omnium indignum plane videbatur, ut ritum & conſuetudinem imitantes ludeorum, (qui quo animo ſuas in ipſorum manus immani ſcelere polluerint, meritò ut ſceleſti, cæco animorum errore tenentur irretiti) iſtud feſtum ſanctiſſimum agerentur. In noſtra enim ſitum eſt poteſtate, ut illarum more feſta, vertiae ac magis ſincero inſtituto, quod quidem uſq; à primâ paſſionis die hactenus recoluimus huius feſti celebrationem ad poſteram ſæculorum memoriam propagemus. Nihil igitur ſit nobis cum ludeorum turbâ omnium odioſâ maximè.*

Their exception against such Ceremonies as have beene abused by the Church of Rome, and are said in that respect to bee scandalous.

12 But the weightiest exception, & of all the most worthy to be respected, is against such kind of Ceremonies, as have bin so grossely and shamefully abused in the Church of Rome, that where they remaine they are scandalous, yea they cannot choose but be stumbling blocks & grievous causes of offence. Concerning this point therfore we are first to note, what properly it is to be scandalous or offensive; Secondly, what kind of ceremonies are such; and thirdly when they are necessarily for remedy thereof to be taken away, and when not. The common conceit of the vulgar sort is, whensoever they see any thing which they mislike and are angry at, to thinke that every such thing is scandalous, and that themselves in this case are the men concerning whom our Saviour spake in so fearefull manner, saying, *Whosoever shall scandalize or offend any one of these little ones which beleeve in me* [that is, as they conster it, whosoever shall anger the meanest and simplest Artizan which carrieth a good mind, by not removing out of the Church such Rites and Ceremonies as displease him] *better he were drowned in the bottome of the Sea*. But hard were the case of the Church of Christ, if this were to scandalize. Men are scandalized when they are moved, led, & provoked unto sinne. At good things evill men may take occasion to doe evill; and so Christ himselfe was a Rock of offence in Israel, they taking occasion at his poore estate, and at the ignominie of his Crosse, to think him unworthy the name of that great & glorious *Messias*, whom the Prophets describe in such ample and stately termes. But that which we therfore terme offensive, because it inviteth men to offend, & by a dumbe kind of provocation incourageth, moveth, or any way leadeth unto sinne, must of necessitie be acknowledged actively scandalous. Now some things are so even by their very essence and nature, so that whersoever they be found, they are not, neither can be without this force of provocation unto evill; of which kind all examples of sin and wickednesse are. Thus *David* was scandalous in that bloudy act, whereby he caused the enemies of God to be blasphemous: thus the whole state of Israel was scandalous, when their publike disorders caused the Name of God to be ill spoken of amongst the Nations. It is of this kinde that *Tertullian* meaneth; *Offence or scandall, if I be not deceived*, saith hee, *is when the example not of a good, but of an evill thing, doth set men forward unto sinne. Good things can scandalize none save only evill minds*: good things have no scandalizing nature in them. Yet that which is of it owne nature, either good, or at least not evill; may by some accident become scandalous at certaine times, and in certaine places, and to certaine men, the open use thereof nevertheless being otherwise without danger. The very nature of some Rites and Ceremonies therefore is scandalous, as it was in a number of those which the Manichees did use, and is in all such as the Law of God doth forbid. Some are offensive only through the agreement of men to use them unto evill, and not else; as the most of those things indifferent which the Heathens did to the service of their false gods; which another in heart condemning their Idolatry, could not do with the in shew and token of approbation, without being guiltie of scandall give. Ceremonies of this kind are either devised at the first unto evill; as the Eunomian Heretiks in dishonor of the blessed Trinity, brought in the laying on of water but once, to crosse the custome of the Church, which in Baptisme did it thrice: or else having

*Mat.*18.6.

1. *Pet.*2.8.

2. *Sam.*12.14. *Rom.*2.24. *Ezech.*36.20.

Tertul. lib. de virgin. veland.

ving had a profitable uſe, they are afterwards interpreted and wreſted to the contrary; as thoſe Heretikes which held the Trinitie to be three diſtinct, not perſons, but natures, abuſed the Ceremonie of three times laying on water in Baptiſme, unto the ſtrengthning of their Hereſie. The elemẽt of water in Baptiſme neceſſary: once to lay it on or twice is indifferẽt. For which cauſe *Gregory* making mention thereof, ſaith, *To dive an Infant either thrice or but once in Baptiſme, can be no way a thing reproveable, ſeeing that both in three times waſhing, the Trinitie of perſons; and in one, the unitie of the God-head may be ſignified.* So that of theſe two Ceremonies, neither being hurtfull in it ſelf, both may ſerve unto good purpoſe; yet one was deviſed, and the other converted unto evill. Now whereas in the Church of Rome, certaine Ceremonies are ſaid to have bin ſhamefully abuſed vnto evill, as the Ceremony of croſſing at Baptiſme, of kneeling at the Euchariſt, of uſing Wafer-cakes, and ſuch like; the queſtion is whither for remedy of that evill, wherin ſuch Ceremonies have bin ſcandalous, and perhaps may be ſtill unto ſome even amongſt our ſelves, whom the preſence and ſight of them may confirme in that former error whereto they ſerved in times paſt, they are of neceſſity to bee removed. Are theſe or any other Ceremonies wee have common with the Church of Rome, ſcandalous and wicked in their very nature? This no man objecteth. Are any ſuch, as have bin polluted from their very birth, and inſtituted even at the firſt unto that thing which is evill? That which hath bin ordained impiouſly at the firſt, may weare out that impiety in tract of time; and then what doth let, but that the uſe thereof may ſtand without offence? The names of our Monethes and of our Dayes, wee are not ignorant from whence they came, and with what diſhonor unto God they are ſaid to have bin deviſed at the firſt. What could be ſpoken againſt any thing more effectuall to ſtirre hatred, than that which ſometime the ancient Fathers in this caſe ſpake? Yet thoſe very names are at this day in uſe throughout Chriſtendome, without hurt or ſcandall to any. Cleere and manifeſt it is, that things deviſed by Hertickes, yea deviſed of a very heretical purpoſe even againſt Religion, and at their firſt deviſing worthy to have bin withſtood, may in time grow meet to be kept; as that cuſtome, the Inventers whereof were the *Eunomian* Heretikes. So that cuſtomes once eſtabliſhed and confirmed by long uſe, being preſently without harm, are not in regard of their corrupt originall to be held ſcandalous. But concerning thoſe our Ceremonies which they reckon for moſt Popiſh, they are not able to avouch that any of them was otherwiſe inſtituted, than unto good; yea, ſo uſed at the firſt. It followeth then that they all are ſuch as having ſerved to good purpoſe, were afterwards cõverted unto the contrary. And ſith it is not ſo much as objected againſt us, that wee retaine together with them the evill, wherewith they have been infected in the Church of Rome: I would demand who they are whom we ſcandalize; by uſing harmleſs things unto that good end for which they were firſt inſtituted. Among our ſelves that agree in the approbation of this kind of good uſe, no man will ſay that one of us is offenſive and ſcandalous unto another.

Epiſt. ad Leandrum Hiſp.

Hom. 11. de Paſch. *Idololatriæ conſuetudo in tantum homines occupaverat, ut Solis, Lunæ, Martis, Mercurii, Iovis, Veneris, Saturni, & diverſis elementorum ac Dæmonum appellationibus dies vocitarent & luci tenebrarum nomen imponerent.* Beda de ratione temp. c. 4. *Octavus dies idem, Primus eſt, ad quem redditur, jndeq; rurſus Hebdomada inchoatur. His nomina à Planetis, Gentilitas indidit, habere ſe credentes à Sole Spiritum, à Luna corpus, à Marte Sanguinem, à Mercurio Ingenium & Linguam, à Iove Temperantiam, à Venere Voluptatem, à Saturno Tarditatem.* Iſid. Hiſp. l. 5. Etymol. c. 30. *Dies dicti à Diis, quorum nomina Romani quibuſdam ſyderibus ſacraverunt.*

As

As for the favours of the Church of Rome, they know how farre wee herein differ and dissent from them; which thing neither we conceale, & they by their publike writings also professe daily how much it grieveth them: so that of them there will not many rise up against us, as witnesses unto the Inditement of scandall, whereby we might be condemned & cast, as having strengthned them in that evill wherwith they pollute themselves in the use of the same Ceremonies. And concerning such as withstand the Church of England herein, & hate it because it doth not sufficiently seeme to hate Rome, they (I hope) are far enough from being by this meane drawn to any kind of Popish error. The multitude therefore of them, unto whom we are scandalous through the use of abused Ceremonies, is not so apparāt, that it can justly be said in general of any one sort of men or other, we cause them to offend. If it be so that now or then some few are espied, who having bin accustomed heretofore to the Rites & Ceremonies of the Church of Rome, are not so scowred of their former rust, as to forsake their ancient perswasion which they have had, howsoever they frame themselves to outward obedience of Laws & Orders; because such may misconster the meaning of our Ceremonies & so take them as though they were in every sort the same they have beene, shall this be thought a reason sufficient whereon to conclude, that some Law must necessarily be made to abolish all such ceremonies? They answer, that there is no law of God which doth bind us to retaine them. And S. *Pauls* rule is, that in those things from which without hurt we may lawfully abstain, we should frame the usage of our liberty with regard to the weaknes & imbecillitie of our brethren. Wherfore unto them which stood upon their own defence, saying, *All things are lawfull unto me*, he replyeth, *But all things are not expedient* in regard of others. All things are clean, all meats are lawfull; but evill unto that man that eateth offensively. If for thy meats sake thy brother bee grieved, thou walkest no longer according to Charity. Destroy not him with thy meat, for whō Christ died. Dissolve not for foods sake the work of God. We that are strong, must beare the imbecillitie of the impotent, and not please our selves. It was a weakenesse in the Christian Iewes, & a maym of judgement in them, that they thought the Gentiles polluted by the eating of those meats, which themselves were afraid to touch, for feare of transgressing the Law of *Moses*; yea, hereat their hearts did so much rise, that the Apostle had just cause to feare, lest they would rather forsake Christianitie, then endure any fellowship with such, as made no conscience of that which was unto them abominable. And for this cause mention is made of destroying the weake by meates, and of dissolving the worke of God, which was his Church, a part of the living stones whereof were beleeving Iewes. Now those weake brethren before mentioned are said to be as the Iewes were, & our Ceremonies which have beene abused in the Church of Rome, to be as the scandalous meats from which the Gentiles are exhorted to abstaine in the presence of Iewes, for feare of averting them from Christian faith. Therfore as Charity did bind thē to refrain from that for their brethrens sake, which otherwise was lawfull enough for them; so it bindeth us for our brethrēs sake likewise to abolish such Ceremonies, although we might lawfully else retaine them. But between these two cases there are great oddes. For neither are our weake brethren as the Iewes, nor the

1. *Cor.* 6. 12.

Rom. 14.
Rom. 15. 1.

the Ceremonies which we use as the meats which the Gentiles used. The Iewes were known to be generally weake in that respect, whereas contrariwise the imbecillity of ours is not common unto so many, that we can take any such certaine notice of them. It is a chance if here and there some one be found; and therefore seeing we may presume men cōmonly otherwise, there is no necessity that our practice should frame it self by that which the Apostle doth prescribe to the Gentiles. Againe, their use of meats was not like unto our Ceremonies; that being a matter of private action in cōmon life, where every man was free to order that which himselfe did; but this a publick constitution for the ordering of the Church: and wee are not to look that the Church should change her publick Lawes and Ordinances, made according to that which is judged ordinarily and commonly fittest for the whole, although it chance that for some particular men the same be found inconvenient, especially when there may be other remedy also against the sores of particular inconveniences. In this case therefore where any private harm doth grow, we are not to reject instruction, as being an unmeet plaister to apply unto it; neither can we say that he which appointeth Teachers for Physicians in this kind of evill, is, as if a man *would set one to watch a child all day long lest he should hurt himselfe with a knife, whereas by taking away the knife from him, the danger is avoided, and the service of the man better imployed.* For a knife maybe taken away from a child, without depriving them of the benefit thereof which have yeeres and discretion to use it. But the Ceremonies which children do abuse, if we remove quite & clean, as it is by some required that we should; then are they not taken from children only, but frō others also; which is as though because children may perhaps hurt themselves with knives, we should conclude, that therfore the use of knives is to be taken quite and clean even from men also. Those particular Ceremonies which they pretend to be so scandalous, wee shall in the next Book have occasion more throughly to sift, where other things also traduced in the publick duties of the Church, whereunto each of these appertaineth, are together with these to be touched, and such reasons to be examined as have at any time been brought either against the one or the other. In the meane while against the conveniency of curing such evils by instruction, strange it is that they should object the multitude of other necessary matters, wherein Preachers may better bestow their time, than in giving men warning not to abuse Ceremonies; a wonder it is that they should object this, which have so many yeers together troubled the Church with quarrels concerning these things, and are even to this very houre so earnest in them, that if they write or speake publickly but five words, one of them is lightly about the dangerous estate of the Church of England in respect of abused Ceremonies. How much happyer had it beene for this whole Church, if they which have raised contention therein about the abuse of Rites and Ceremonies, had considered in due time that there is indeed store of matters fitter and better a great deale for Teachers to spend time and labour in? It is through their importunate and vehement asseverations, more than through any such experience which wee have had of our owne, that wee are enforced to thinke it possible for one or other now and then, at leastwise in the prime of the Reforma-

Vide Harmenop. l. 1. tit. 1. §. 28.

T. C. l. 3. p. 178.

T. C. l. 3. p. 177. It is not so convenient that the Minister having so many necessary points to bestow his time in, should be driven to spend it in giving warning of not abusing them, of which (although they were used to the best) there is profit.

Reformation of our Church, to have ſtumbled at ſome kind of Ceremonies. Wherein for as much as wee are contented to take this upon their credit, and to thinke it may be; ſith alſo they further pretend the ſame to be ſo dangerous a ſnare to their ſoules, that are at any time taken therein, they muſt give our Teachers leave for the ſaving of thoſe ſoules (be they never ſo few) to intermingle ſomtime with other more neceſſary things, admonition cõcerning theſe not unneceſſary. Wherin they ſhould in reaſon more eaſily yeeld this leave, cõſidering that hereunto we ſhall not need to uſe the hundreth part of that time, which themſelves think very needfull to beſtow in making moſt bitter Invectives againſt the Ceremonies of the Church.

Our Ceremonies excepted againſt, for that ſome Churches reformed before ours, have caſt out thoſe things, which wee, notwithſtanding their example to the contrary, doe retaine ſtill.

13 But to come to the laſt point of all, the Church of England is grievouſly charged with forgetfulneſſe of her dutie, which dutie had been to frame her ſelfe unto the patterne of their example, that went before her in the Worke of Reformation. *For as the Churches of Chriſt ought to bee moſt unlike the Synagogue of Antichriſt in their indifferent Ceremonies; ſo they ought to bee moſt like one unto another, and for preſervation of unity to have as much as poſſible may be all the ſame Ceremonies. And therefore* S. Paul *to eſtabliſh this order in the Church of Corinth, that they ſhould make their gatherings for the Poore upon the firſt day of the Sabbath (which is our Sunday) alleadgeth this for a reaſon, that hee had ſo ordained in other Churches. Againe, as children of one father, and ſervants of one family, ſo all Churches ſhould not onely have one dyet in that they have one Word, but alſo weare as it were one Livery in uſing the ſame Ceremonies.* Thirdly, *this rule did the great Councell of Niceſtolow, when it ordained that where certaine at the Feaſt of Pentecoſt did pray kneeling, they ſhould pray ſtanding; the reaſon whereof is added, which is that one cuſtome ought to be kept throughout all Churches. It is true that the diverſity of Ceremonies ought not to cauſe the Churches to diſſent one with another: but yet it maketh moſt to the avoyding of diſſention, that there be amongſt them an unitie, not only in Doctrine, but alſo in Ceremonies. And therfore our form of Service is to be amended, not only for that it commeth too neer that of the Papiſts, but alſo becauſe it is ſo different from that of the Reformed Churches.* Being asked to what Churches ours ſhould conforme it ſelfe, and why other Reformed Churches ſhould not as wel frame themſelves to ours, their anſwer is, *That if there be any Ceremonies which we have better than others, they ought to frame themſelves to us: if they have better than we, then we ought to frame our ſelves to them: if the Ceremonies be alike commodious, the later Churches ſhould conforme themſelves to the firſt, as the younger daughter to the elder. For as* S. Paul *in the members, where all other things are equall, noteth it for a marke of honour above the reſt, that one is called before another to the Goſpell: ſo is it for the ſame cauſe amongſt the Churches. And in this reſpect he pincheth the Corinths, that not being the firſt which received the Goſpell, yet they would have their ſeverall manners from other Churches. Moreover, where the Ceremonies are alike commodious, the fewer ought to conforme themſelves unto the moe. Foraſmuch therefore as all the Churches (ſo farre as they know which plead after this manner) of our confeſſion in Doctrine, agree in the abrogation of divers things which wee retaine: our Church ought either to ſhew that they have done evill, or elſe ſhe is found to be in fault that doth not conforme her ſelfe in that, which ſhe cannot denie to be well abrogated.*

T.C.l.1.p.133.

1. Cor. 16. 1.

Can. 20.

The Canon of that Councel which is here cited, doth provide againſt kneeling at Prayer on Sundayes, or for fifty dayes after Eaſter on any day, and not at the Feaſt of Pentecoſt onely.

T.C.lib.1.pag. 182, 183.

Rom. 16, 5, 7.

1. Cor. 14. 37.

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In this axiome, that preſervation of peace & unity amongſt Chriſtian Churches ſhould be by all good meanes procured, wee joyne moſt willingly and gladly with them. Neither deny we, but that to the avoyding of diſſention it availeth much, that there be amongſt them an unitie as well in Ceremonies as in Doctrine. The only doubt is about the manner of their unity, how far Churches are bound to be uniforme in their Ceremonies, and what way they ought to take for that purpoſe. Touching the one, the rule which they have ſet down, is, that in Ceremonies indifferent all Churches ought to be one of them unto another as like as *poſſibly* they may bee. Which *poſſibly*, we cannot otherwiſe conſter, than that it doth require them to be even as like as they may be, without breaking any poſitive Ordinance of God. For the ceremonies whereof we ſpeake, being matter of Poſitive Law; they are indifferent, if God have neither himſelfe commanded nor forbidden them, but left them unto the Churches diſcretion; ſo that if as great uniformitie be required as is poſſible in theſe things, ſeeing that the law of God forbiddeth not any one of them; it followeth, that from the greateſt unto the leaſt they muſt be in every Chriſtian Church the ſame, except meere impoſſibilitie of ſo having it be the hindrance. To us this opinion ſeemeth over-extreme & violent: we rather incline to think it a juſt & reaſonable cauſe for any Church, the ſtate whereof is free and independent, if in theſe things it differ from other Churches, only for that it doth not judge it ſo fit and expedient to be framed therein by the patterne of their example, as to be otherwiſe framed than they. That of *Gregory* unto *Leander*, is a charitable ſpeech and a peaceable: *In una fide nil afficit Eccleſiæ ſanctæ conſuetudo diverſa, where the faith of the holy Church is one, a difference in cuſtomes of the Church doth no harme.* That of S. *Auguſtine* to *Caſſulanus* is ſomwhat particular, and toucheth what kind of ceremonies they are wherein one Church may vary from the example of another without hurt: *Let the faith of the whole Church, how wide ſoever it hath ſpred it ſelfe, be alwayes one, although the unity of beliefe be famous for variety of certaine ordinances, whereby that which is rightly beleeved, ſuffereth no kinde of let or impediment.* Calvin goeth further, *As concerning rites in particular, let the ſentence of* Auguſtine *take place, which leaveth it free unto all Churches to receive their owne cuſtome. Yea, ſometime it profiteth and is expedient that there be difference, leſt men ſhould thinke that Religion is tyed to outward ceremonies. Alwayes provided that there be not emulation, nor that Churches delighted with novelty, effect to have that which others have not.* They which grant it true that the diverſitie of Ceremonies in this kind ought not to cauſe diſſention in Churches, muſt either acknowledge that they grant in effect nothing by theſe words; or if any thing bee granted, there muſt as much be yeelded unto, as we affirme againſt their former ſtrict Aſſertion. For if Churches be urged by way of duty to take ſuch Ceremonies as they like not of; how can diſſenſion be avoided? will they ſay that there ought to be no diſſenſion, becauſe ſuch as are urged, ought to like of that whereunto they are urged? If they ſay this, they ſay juſt nothing. For how ſhould any Church like to be urged of duty, by ſuch as have no authority or power over it, unto thoſe things which being indifferent, it is not of duty bound unto them? It is their meaning, that there ought to be no diſſention, becauſe that which Churches are not bound unto, no man ought by way of duty to urge upon them; & if any man do, he ſtandeth in the ſight both of God and men moſt juſtly blameable, as a needleſſe Di-

Reſpon. ad Median.

ſturber of the Peace of Gods Church, and an Author of Diſſention? In ſaying this, they both condemne their owne practice, when they preſſe the Church of England with ſo ſtrict a bond of dutie in theſe things, and they overthrow the ground of their practice, which is, that there ought to be in all kind of Ceremonies uniformitie, unleſſe impoſſibilitie hinder it. For proofe wherof it is not enough to alleadge what S. *Paul* did about the matter of collections, or what Noblemen do in the Liveries of their Servants, or what the Councell of Nice did for ſtanding in time of Prayer on certaine dayes: becauſe though S. *Paul* did will them of the Church of Corinth, every man to lay up ſomewhat by him upon the Sunday, and to reſerve it in ſtore, till himſelfe did come thither, to ſend it unto the Church of Ieruſalem for reliefe of the poore there; ſignifying withall that hee had taken the like order with the Churches of Galatia; yet the reaſon which hee yeeldeth of this order taken both in the one place and the other, ſheweth the leaſt part of his meaning to have beene that, whereunto his words are writhed. *Concerning collection for the Saints* (hee meaneth them of Ieruſalem) *as I have given order to the Church of Galatia, ſo likewiſe doe yee* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *that is, in every firſt of the weeke let each of you lay aſide by himſelfe, and reſerve according to that which God hath bleſſed him with, that when I come, collections bee not then to make; and that when I come, whom you ſhall chooſe, them I may forthwith ſend away by Letters, to carry your beneficence unto Ieruſalem.* Out of which words, to conclude the dutie of uniformitie throughout all Churches in all manner of indifferent Ceremonies, will be very hard, and therfore beſt to give it over. But perhaps they are by ſo much the more loth to forſake this argument, for that it hath, though nothing elſe, yet the name of Scripture, to give it ſome kind of countenance more than the pretext of Livery-coats affordeth them. For neither is it any mans duty to cloath all his children, or all his ſervants with one weed; nor theirs to cloath themſelves ſo, if it were left to their owne judgements, as theſe Ceremonies are left of God to the judgement of the Church. And ſeeing Churches are rather in this caſe like divers Families, than like divers Servants of one Familie, becauſe every Church, the State whereof is independent upon any other, hath authority to appoint orders for it ſelfe in things indifferent; therefore of two we may rather inferre, that as one Familie is not abridged of libertie to be clothed in Friers Gray, for that another doth weare Clay-Colour; ſo neither are all Churches bound to the ſelfe-ſame indifferent Ceremonies which it liketh ſundry to uſe. As for that Canon in the Councell of Nice, let them but reade it and weigh it well. The ancient uſe of the Church throughout all Chriſtendome, was, for fiftie dayes after Eaſter (which fiftie dayes were called Pentecoſt, though moſt commonly the laſt day of them which is Whitſunday bee ſo called) in like ſort on all the Sundayes throughout the whole Yeere their manner was to ſtand at Prayer: whereupon their meetings unto that purpoſe on thoſe dayes, had the names of *Stations* given them. Of which cuſtome *Tertullian* ſpeaketh in this wiſe; *It is not with us thought fit either to faſt on the Lords Day, or to pray kneeling. The ſame immunitie from faſting and kneeling wee keepe all the time which is betweene the Feaſts of Eaſter and Pentecoſt.*

T.C.l.1.p.133. And therefore S. *Paul*, to eſtabliſh this order in the Church of Corinth, that they ſhould make their gatherings for the Poore upon the firſt day of the Sabbath, (which is our Sunday) alleadgeth this for a reaſon, that he had ſo ordained in other Churches.

1.Cor.16.1.

T.C.l.3.p.123. So that as children of one Father, & ſervants of one Maſter, he will have all the Churches not only have one diet, in that they have one word, but alſo weare as it were one livery in uſing the ſame Ceremonies.

T.C.l.3.p.133. This rule did the great Councell of Nice follow, &c.

De Dominico & per omnem Pentecoſtem, nec de genuflis adorare, & jejunium ſolvere. De Coro. Militis.

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This being therefore an order generally received in the Church; when ſome began to be ſingular and different from all others, and that in a Ceremony which was then judged very convenient for the whole Church even by the whole, thoſe few excepted which brake out of the common pale; the Councell of *Nice* thought good to incloſe them again with the reſt, by a law made in this ſort: *Becauſe there are certain which will needs kneel at the time of Prayer on the Lords day, and in the fifty dayes after Eaſter; the holy Synode judging it meet that a convenient cuſtome be obſerved throughout all Churches, hath decreed, that ſtanding we make our Prayers to the Lord.* Whereby it plainly appeareth, that in things indifferent, what the whole Church doth think convenient for the whole, the ſame if any part do wilfully violate, it may be reformed and inrayled again by that generall authority whereunto each particular is ſubject, and that the Spirit of ſingularity in a few ought to give place unto publick judgement; this doth cleerly enough appear: but not that all Chriſtian Churches are bound in every indifferent Ceremony to be uniform; becauſe where the whole Church hath not tyed the parts unto one and the ſame thing, they being therein left each to their own choice, may either do, as others do, or elſe otherwiſe, without any breach of duty at all. Concerning thoſe indifferent things, wherein it hath been heretofore thought good that all Chriſtian Churches ſhould be uniform, the way which they now conceive to bring this to paſſe was then never thought on. For till now it hath been judged, that ſeeing the law of God doth not preſcribe all particular Ceremonies which the Church of Chriſt may uſe, and ſo great variety of them as may be found out, it is not poſſible that the law of nature and reaſon ſhould direct all Churches unto the ſame things, each deliberating by it ſelf what is moſt convenient: the way to eſtabliſh the ſame things indifferent throughout the all, muſt needs be the judgement of ſome judiciall authority drawn into one only ſentence, which may be a rule for every particular to follow. And becauſe ſuch authority over all Churches, is too much to be granted unto any one mortall man; there yet remaineth that which hath been alwayes followed, as the beſt, the ſafeſt, the moſt ſincere and reaſonable way; namely, the verdict of the whole Church orderly taken, and ſet down in the aſſembly of ſome generall Councell. But to maintain that all Chriſtian Churches ought for unities ſake to be uniform in all Ceremonies, and then to teach that the way of bringing this to paſſe muſt be by mutual imitation, ſo that where we have better Ceremonies than others, they ſhall be bound to follow us, and we them where theirs are better: how ſhould we think it agreeable and conſonant unto reaſon? For ſith in things of this nature there is ſuch variety of particular inducements, whereby one Church may be led to think that better, which another Church led by other inducements judgeth to be worſe: (For example, the Eaſt Church did think it better to keep Eaſter day after the manner of the Jewes, the Weſt Church better to do otherwiſe; the Greek Church judgeth it worſe to uſe unleavened bread in the Euchariſt, the Latine Church leavened: one Church eſteemeth it not ſo good to receive the Euchariſt ſitting as ſtanding, another Church not ſo good ſtanding as ſitting; there being on the one ſide probable Motives as well as on the other) unleſſe they adde ſomewhat elſe to define more certainly what Ceremonies ſhall ſtand for beſt, in ſuch ſort

that all Churches in the world ſhall know them to be the beſt, and ſo know them, that there may not remain any queſtion about this point, we are not awhit the neerer for that they have hitherto ſaid. They themſelves although reſolved in their own judgements what Ceremonies are beſt, foreſeeing that ſuch as they are addicted unto, be not all ſo cleerly & ſo incomparably beſt, but others there are or may be, at leaſtwiſe when all things are well conſidered, as good; knew not wch way ſmoothly to rid their hands of this matter, without providing ſome more certain rule to be followed for eſtabliſhment of uniformity in Ceremonies, when there are divers kinds of equall goodneſſe; and therefore in this caſe they ſay, that the later Churches and the fewer ſhould conform themſelves unto the elder and the moe. Hereupon they conclude, that foraſmuch as all the Reformed Churches (ſo far as they know) which are of our confeſſion in Doctrine, have agreed already in the abrogation of divers things which we retain: our Church ought either to ſhew that they have done evil, or elſe ſhe is found to be in fault for not conforming her ſelf to thoſe Churches, in that which ſhe cannot deny to be in them well abrogated. For the authority of the firſt Churches, (and thoſe they account to be the firſt in this cauſe wch were firſt reformed) they bring the compariſon of yonger Daughters conforming themſelvs in attire to the example of their elder Siſters; wherein there is juſt as much ſtrength of reaſon as in the Livery-Coats before mentioned. S. *Paul*, they ſay, noteth it for a mark of ſpeciall honour, that *Epænetus* was the firſt man in all Achaia which did imbrace the Chriſtian faith; after the ſame ſort he toucheth it alſo as a ſpeciall preheminence of *Iunias* & *Andronicus*, that in Chriſtianity they were his Ancients; the *Corinthians* he pincheth with this demand, *Hath the Word of God gone out from you, or hath it lighted on you alone?* But what of all this? If any man ſhould think that alacrity and forwardneſſe in good things doth adde nothing unto mens cõmendation; the two former ſpeeches of S. *Paul* might leade him to reform his judgement. In like ſort to take down the ſtomack of proud conceited men, that glory as though they were able to ſet all others to ſchoole, there can be nothing more fit than ſome ſuch words as the Apoſtles third ſentence doth contain; wherein he teacheth the Church of Corinth to know, that there was no ſuch great ods between them and the reſt of their brethren, that they ſhould think themſelves to be Gold, and the reſt to be but Copper. He therefore uſeth ſpeech unto them to this effect: *Men inſtructed in the knowledge of Ieſus Chriſt there both were before you, & are beſides you in the World; ye neither are the Fountain from which firſt, nor yet the River into which alone the Word hath flowed.* But although as *Epænetus* was the firſt Man in all Achaia, ſo Corinth had bin the firſt Church in the whole World that received Chriſt: the Apoſtle doth not ſhew that in any kinde of things indifferent whatſoever, this ſhould have made their example a law unto all others. Indeed the example of ſundry Churches for approbation of one thing doth ſway much; but yet ſtill as having the force of an example only, and not of a law. They are effectuall to move any Church, unleſſe ſome greater thing do hinder; but they binde none, no not though they be many; ſaving only when they are the Major part of a generall Aſſembly, and then their voices being moe in number, muſt overſway their judgements who are fewer, becauſe in ſuch caſes the greater half

T. C. l. 3. p. 183. If the Ceremony bee alike commodious, the later Churches ſhould conform theſelves to the firſt, &c. And again, The fewer ought to conforme themſelves unto the moe.

Rom. 16. 5.

1 Cor. 14. 36.

halfis the whole. But as they ſtand out ſingle each of them by it ſelf, their number can purchaſe them no ſuch Authority, that the reſt of the Churches being fewer, ſhould be therefore bound to follow them, and to relinquiſh as good Ceremonies as theirs for theirs. Whereas therefore it is concluded out of theſe ſo weak Premiſes, that the retaining of divers things in the Church of *England*, which other reformed Churches have caſt out, muſt needs argue that we do not well, unleſſe we can ſhew that they have done ill; what needed this wreſt to draw out from us an accuſation of forrein Churches? It is not proved as yet, that if they have done well, our duty is to follow them, and to forſake our own courſe, becauſe it differeth from theirs, although indeed it be as well for us every way, as theirs for them. And if the proofs alleadged for confirmation hereof had been found, yet ſeeing they lead no further than only to ſhew, that where we can have no better Ceremonies, theirs muſt be taken; as they cannot with modeſty think themſelves to have found out abſolutely the beſt which the wit of men may deviſe; ſo liking their own ſomewhat better than other mens, even becauſe they are their own, they muſt in equity allow us to be like unto them in this affection: which if they do, they eaſe us of that uncurteous burden, whereby we are charged either to condemn them, or elſe to follow them. They grant we need not follow them, if our own wayes already be better. And if our own be but equall, the law of common indulgence alloweth us to think them at the leaſt half a thought the better, becauſe they are our own; which we may very well do, and never draw any Inditement at all againſt theirs, but think commendably even of them alſo.

T.C.l.3.p.183. Our Church ought either to ſhew that they have done evill, or elſe ſhe is found to be in fault that doth not conform her ſelf in that which ſhe cannot deny to be well abrogated.

14 To leave reformed Churches therefore and their actions for him to judge of, in whoſe ſight they are, as they are; and our deſire is that they may even in his ſight be found ſuch, as we ought to endeavour by all means that our own may likewiſe be: ſomewhat we are enforced to ſpeak by way of ſimple Declaration, concerning the proceedings of the Church of *England* in theſe affairs, to the end that men whoſe mindes are free from thoſe partiall conſtructions, whereby the only name of difference from ſome other Churches is thought cauſe ſufficient to condemn ours, may the better diſcern whether that we have done be reaſonable, yea or no. The Church of *England* being to alter her received laws concerning ſuch Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies, as had been in former times an hinderance unto Piety and religious Service of God, was to enter into conſideration firſt, that the change of lawes, eſpecially concerning matter of Religion, muſt be warily proceeded in. Lawes, as all other things humane, are many times full of imperfection, and that which is ſuppoſed behovefull unto men, proveth oftentimes moſt pernicious. The wiſdome which is learned by tract of time, findeth the lawes that have been in former Ages eſtabliſht, needfull in later to be abrogated. Beſides, that which ſometime is expedient, doth not alwayes ſo continue: and the number of needleſſe lawes unabroliſht, doth weaken the force of them that are neceſſary. But true withall it is, that alteration, though it be from worſe to better, hath in it inconveniences, and thoſe waighty; unleſſe it be in ſuch lawes as have been made upon ſpeciall occaſions, which occaſions ceaſing, lawes of that kinde do abrogate themſelves. But when we abrogate a law as being ill made, the

A Declaration of the proceedings of the Church of *England*, for eſtabliſhment of things as they are.

the whole cauſe for which it was made ſtill remaining; do we not herein revoke our very own deed, and upbraid our ſelves with folly, yea, all that were makers of it with over-ſight and with error? Further, if it be a law which the cuſtome & continuall practice of many ages or years hath confirmed in the mindes of men, to alter it, muſt needs be troubleſome and ſcandalous. It amazeth them, it cauſeth them to ſtand in doubt, whether any thing be in it ſelf by nature either good or evill, and not all things rather ſuch as men at this or that time agree to account of them, when they behold even thoſe things diſprooved, diſanulled, rejected, which uſe had made in a manner naturall. What have we to induce men unto the willing obedience and obſervation of laws, but the weight of ſo many mens judgements, as have with deliberate advice aſſented thereunto; the weight of that long experience, which the world hath had therof with conſent and good liking? So that to change any ſuch law, muſt needs with the common ſort impair and weaken the force of thoſe grounds, whereby all laws are made effectuall. Notwithſtanding, we do not deny alteration of lawes to be ſometimes a thing neceſſary; as when they are unnaturall, or impious, or otherwiſe hurtfull unto the publick community of men, and againſt that good for which humane ſocieties were inſtituted. When the Apoſtles of our Lord and Saviour were ordained to alter the laws of Heatheniſh religion received throughout the whole world; choſen I grant they were (S. *Paul* excepted) the reſt ignorant, poore, ſimple, un-ſchooled altogether and unlettered men: howbeit extraordinarily indued with ghoſtly wiſdome from above before they ever undertook this enterprize, yea, their authority confirmed by miracle, to the end it might plainly appear that they were the Lords Ambaſſadors, unto whoſe Sovereigne power for all fleſh to ſtoop, for all the Kingdomes of the Earth to yeeld themſelves willingly conformable in whatſoever ſhould be required, it was their duty. In this caſe therefore their oppoſitions in maintenance of publick ſuperſtition againſt Apoſtolick endeavours, as that they might not condemn the wayes of their ancient Predeceſſors, that they muſt keep *Religiones traditas*, the rites which from Age to Age had deſcended, that the Ceremonies of Religion had been ever accounted by ſo much holier as elder; theſe and the like allegations in this caſe were vain and frivolous. Not to ſtay longer therefore in ſpeech concerning this point, we will conclude that as the change of ſuch lawes as have been ſpecified is neceſſary, ſo the evidence that they are ſuch muſt be great. If we have neither voice from Heaven that ſo pronounceth of them; neither ſentence of men grounded upon ſuch manifeſt and cleer proof, that they in whoſe hands it is to alter them, may likewiſe infallibly even in heart and conſcience judge them ſo; upon neceſſity to urge alteration, is to trouble and diſturbe without neceſſity. As for arbitrary alterations, when lawes in themſelves not ſimply bad or unmeet are changed for better and more expedient, if the benefit of that which is newly better deviſed be but ſmall, ſith the cuſtome of eaſineſſe to alter and change is ſo evill, no doubt but to bear a tolerable ſore, is better than to venter on a dangerous remedy. Which being generally thought upon, as a matter that touched neerly their whole enterprize; whereas change was notwithſtanding concluded neceſſary, in regard of the great hurt which the Church did receive by a number of things then in

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uſe, whereupon a great deale of that which had bin, was now to be taken away & removed out of the Church; yet ſith there are divers waies of abrogating things eſtabliſhed, they ſaw it beſt to cut off preſently ſuch things, as might in that ſort be extinguiſhed without danger, leaving the reſt to be aboliſhed by diſuſage through tract of time. And as this was done for the manner of abrogation: ſo touching the ſtint or meaſure therof, Rites & Ceremonies, and other externall things of like nature being hurtfull unto the Church, either in reſpect of their qualitie, or in regard of their number; in the former there could be no doubt or difficulty what ſhould be done; their deliberatiō in the latter was more hard. And therfore inaſmuch as they did reſolve to remove only ſuch things of that kind as the Church might beſt ſpare, retayning the reſidue; their whole counſell is in this point utterly condemned, as having either proceeded from the blindneſſe of thoſe times, or from negligence, or from deſire of honour and glory, or from an erroneous opinion that ſuch things might be tolerated for a while; or if it did proceed (as they which would ſeeme moſt favourable, are content to thinke it poſſible) from a purpoſe *partly the eaſilier to draw Papiſts unto the Goſpell*, by keeping ſo many orders ſtill the ſame with theirs, *and partly to redeeme peace thereby, the breach wherof they might feare would enſue upon more thorow alteration*; or howſoever it came to paſſe, the thing they did is judged evill. But ſuch is the lot of all that deale in publick affaires, whether of Church or Common-wealth, that which men liſt to ſurmiſe of their doings, being it good or ill, they muſt beforehand patiently arme their minds to indure. Wherefore to let goe private ſurmiſes, whereby the thing it ſelfe is not made either better or worſe; if juſt and allowable reaſons might lead them to do as they did, then are all theſe cenſures fruſtrate. Touching ceremonies harmles therfore in themſelves, & hurtfull only in reſpect of number: was it amiſſe to decree, that thoſe things which were leaſt needfull and newlieſt come, ſhould be the firſt that were take away; as in the abrogating of a number of Saints daies & of other the like cuſtoms it appeareth they did, till afterwards the forme of cōmon Prayer being perfited, Articles of ſound Religion & Diſcipline agreed upon, Catechiſmes framed for the needfull inſtructiō of youth, Churches purged of things that indeed were burthenſome to the people, or to the ſimple offenſive & ſcandalous, all was brought at the length unto that wherin now we ſtand? Or, was it amiſſe, that having this way eaſed the Church as they thought of ſuperfluity, they went on till they had pluckt up even thoſe things alſo which had taken a great deale ſtronger and deeper root, thoſe things which to abrogate without conſtraint of manifeſt harme thereby ariſing, had beene to alter unneceſſarily (in their iudgments) the ancient received cuſtome of the whole Church, the univerſall practice of the people of God, & thoſe very decrees of our Fathers which were not only ſet down by agreement of generall Councels, but had accordingly been put in ure, and ſo continued in uſe till that very time preſent? True it is that neither Councels nor cuſtomes, be they never ſo ancient and ſo generall, can lett the Church from taking away that thing which is hurtfull to be retained. Where things have beene inſtituted, which being convenient and good at the firſt, doe afterward in proceſſe of time wax otherwiſe, wee make no doubt but they may be altered, yea though Councels or Cuſtomes Generall have received them. And therefore it is but a needleſſe

T. C. l. 2. p. 29. It may well be, their purpoſe was by that temper of Popiſh Ceremonies with the Goſpell, partly the eaſilier to draw the Papiſts to the Goſpell, &c. partly to redeem peace thereby.

T. C. l. 3. p. 333

kind

kind of oppoſition which they make who thus diſpute, *If in theſe things which are not expreſſed in the Scripture, that is to bee obſerved of the Church, which is the cuſtome of the people of God and decree of our forefathers; then how can theſe things at any time be varied*, which heretofore have bin once ordained in ſuch ſort? Whereto we ſay, that things ſo ordained are to be kept, howbeit not neceſſarily, any longer than till there grow ſome urgent cauſe to ordaine the contrarie. For there is not any Poſitive Law of men, whether it be generall or particular, received by formall expreſſe cõſent, as in Councels; or by ſecret approbation, as in cuſtomes it commeth to paſſe; but the ſame may be taken away if occaſion ſerve. Even as we all know, that many things kept generally heretofore, are now in like ſort generally unkept and aboliſhed every where. Notwithſtanding till ſuch things bee aboliſhed, what exception can there be taken againſt the judgement of S. *Auguſtine*, who ſaith, that, Of things harmleſſe whatſoever there is, which the whole Church doth obſerve throughout the world, to argue for any mans immunitie from obſerving the ſame, it were a point of moſt inſolent madneſſe. And ſurely, odious it muſt needs have bin for one Chriſtian Church, to aboliſh that which all had received and held for the ſpace of many ages, and that without any detriment unto Religion ſo manifeſt and ſo great, as might in the eyes of unpartiall men appeare ſufficient to cleere them from all blame of raſh and inconſiderate proceeding, if in fervor of zeale they had removed ſuch things. Wheras contrariwiſe ſo reaſonable moderation herein uſed, hath freed us from being deſervedly ſubject unto that bitter kind of obloquie, whereby as the Church of Rome doth under the colour of love towards thoſe things which be harmleſſe, maintaine extremely moſt hurtfull corruptions; ſo we peradventure might be upbrayded, that under colour of hatred towards thoſe things that are corrupt, we are on the other ſide as extreme, even againſt moſt harmeleſſe Ordinances; And as they are obſtinate to retaine that, which no man of any conſcience is able well to defend: ſome might be reckoned fierce and violent, to teare away that which if our owne mouthes did condemne, our conſciences would ſtorme and repine thereat. The Romans having baniſhed *Tarquinius* the Proud, & taken a ſolemn oath that they never would permit any man more to reigne, could not herewith content themſelves, or think that tyranny was throughly extinguiſhed, till they had driven one of their Conſuls to depart the Citie, againſt whom they found not in the world what to object, ſaving only that his name was *Tarquine*, and that the Cõmon-wealth could not ſeeme to have recovered perfect freedome, as long as a man of ſo dangerous a name was left remayning. For the Church of England to have done the like, in caſting out Papall tyranny and ſuperſtition, to have ſhewed greater willingneſſe of accepting the very Ceremonies of the Turke, Chriſts profeſſed enemy, than of the moſt indifferent things which the Church of Rome approveth: to have left not ſo much as the names which the Church of Rome doth give unto things innocent: to have ejected whatſoever that Church doth make account of, be it never ſo harmeleſſe in it ſelfe, and of never ſo ancient continuance, without any other crime to charge it with, than only that it hath beene the hap thereof to be uſed by the Church of Rome, and not to bee commanded in the Word of God: this kinde of proceeding might haply have pleaſed ſome few men, who having begunne ſuch a courſe them-

T.C.lib.3.p.30.

Aug. Ep.118.

T.C.li.1.p.131. For indeed it were more ſafe for us to conforme our indifferent Ceremonies to the Turkes which are far off, than to the Papiſts which are ſo neere.

ſelves,

selves must needs bee glad to see their example followed by us. But the Almightie which giveth wisdome, and inspireth with right understanding whomsoever it pleaseth him, he foreseeing that which mans wit had never bin able to reach unto; namely, what Tragedies the attempt of so extreme alteration would raise in some parts of the Christian World, did for the endlesse good of his Church (as wee cannot chuse but interpret it) use the bridle of his provident restrayning hand, to stay those eager affections in some, & to settle their resolutiõ upon a course more calme & moderate; lest as in other most ample and heretofore most flourishing Dominions it hath since falne out, so likewise if in ours it had come to passe, that the adverse part being inraged, and betaking it selfe to such practices as men are commonly wont to embrace, when they behold things brought to desperate extremities, and no hope left to see any other end than only the utter oppression and clean extinguishment of one side; by this mean Christendom flaming in all parts of greatest importance at once, they had all wanted that cõfort of mutuall reliefe, whereby they are now for the time sustained (& not the least by this our Church which they so much impeach) till mutuall cõbustions, bloud-sheds and wastes (because no other inducements will serve) may enforce them through very faintnes, after the experience of so endlesse miseries, to enter on all sides at the length into some such consultation, as may tend to the best re-establishment of the whole Church of Iesus Christ. To the singular good whereof it cãnot but serve as a profitable direction, to teach men what is most likely to prove available, when they shall quietly consider the triall that hath bin thus long had of both kinds of Reformation; as well this moderate kind which the Church of England hath taken, as that other more extrem & rigorous which certain Churches elsewhere have better liked. In the meane while it may be, that suspence of judgement and exercise of charitie were safer and seemelier for Christian men, than the hot pursuite of these Controversies, wherein they that are more fervent to dispute, be not alwayes the most able to determin. But who are on his side and who against him, our Lord in his good time shall reveale. And sith thus farre we have proceeded in opening the things that have bin done, let not the principall doers themselves be forgottē. When the ruines of the house of God (that house which consisting of religious Soules, is most immediatly the precious Temple of the Holy Ghost) were become not in his sight alone, but in the eyes of the whole world so exceeding great, that very Superstition began even to feele it selfe too farre grown: the first that with us made way to repaire the decayes thereof by beheading Superstition, was King *Henry* the Eight; the Sonne and Successor of which famous King, as we know, was *Edward* the Saint: in whom (for so by the event we may gather) it pleased God Righteous and Iust to let England see, what a blessing sin & iniquitie would not suffer it to enjoy. Howbeit that which the Wiseman hath said cõcerning *Enoch* (whose dayes were, though many in respect of ours, yet scarce, as three to nine in comparison of theirs with whom he lived) the same to that admirable Child most worthily may be applied, *Though He departed this world soone, yet fulfilled He much time.* But what ensued? That worke, which the one in such sort had begun, and the other so farre proceeded in, was in short space so overthrowne, as if almost it had never

never bin: till such time as that God, whose property is to shew his mercies then greatest when they are neareſt to be utterly despaired of, caused in the depth of discomfort and darkneſſe a most glorious Starre to arise, and on her head setled the Crown, whom himself had kept as a Lambe from the slaughter of those bloudy times, that the experience of his goodneſſe in her owne deliverance, might cause her mercifull disposition to take so much the more delight in saving others, whom the like neceſſitie should presse. What in this behalf hath been done towards Nations abroad, the parts of Christendome most afflicted can best testifie. That which especially concerneth our selves in the present matter we treat of, is, the state of reformed Religion, a thing at Her comming to the Crowne, even raised as it were by miracle from the dead; a thing which wee so little hoped to see, that even they which beheld it done, scarcely beleeved their owne senses at the first beholding. Yet being then brought to passe, thus many yeares it hath continued, standing by no other worldly meane but that one only hand which erected it; that hand, which as no kind of imminēt danger could cause at the first to with-hold it selfe, so neither have the practises, so many, so bloudy, following since, bin ever able to make weary. Nor can we say in this case so justly, that *Aaron* and *Hur*, the Eccleſiasticall and Civill States have sustained the hand which did lift it selfe to Heaven for them; as that Heaven it selfe hath by this hand sustained them, no aid or helpe having thereunto beene ministred for performance of the worke of reformation, other then such kind of help or aid as the Angel in the Prophet *Zacharie* speaketh of, saying, *Neither by an Army nor strength, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hoſts.* Which grace and favour of Divine assistance having not in one thing or two shewed it selfe, nor for some few dayes or yeeres appeared, but in such sort so long continued, our manifold sinnes and transgressions striving to the contrary; what can we leſſe thereupon conclude, than that God would at least wise by tract of time teach the World, that the thing which he blesseth, defendeth, keepeth so strangely, cannot choose but be of him? Wherfore if any refuse to beleeve us disputing for the veritie of Religion

established, let them beleeve God himselfe thus miraculously working for it, and wish life even for ever and ever unto that Glorious and Sacred Instrument whereby he worketh.

OF

OF THE LAWES OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITIE.

The fifth Booke.

By

RICHARD HOOKER.

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1639.

TO

THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, MY VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD ×ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY HIS GRACE, Primate and Metropolitan of all ENGLAND.

× Whitgift.

MOst Reverend in Christ, the long continued and more than ordinary favour, which hitherto your Grace hath been pleased to shew towards me, may justly claime at my hands some thankefull acknowledgement thereof. In which consideration, as also for that I embrace willingly the ancient received course, and conveniencie of that Discipline, which teacheth inferiour degrees, and orders in the Church of God, to submit their writings to the same authoritie, from which their allowable dealings whatsoever, in such affaires, must recive approbation, I nothing feare but that your accustomed clemency will take in good worth, the offer of these my simple and meane labours, bestowed for the necessary justification of lawes heretofore made questionable, because, as I take it, they were not perfectly understood. For surely, I cannot find any great cause of just complaint, that good lawes have so much been wanting unto us, as we to them. To seek

reformation of evill Lawes is a cõmendable endevor, but for us the more neceſſary is a ſpeedy redreſſe of our ſelves. We have on all ſides loſt much of our firſt fervency toward God; and therefore concerning our own degenerated wayes we have reaſon to exhort with St. Gregory, ὁπῶς ἥμεν ποτε.

Greg. Naz. Let us returne againe unto that which we ſometime were: *but touching the exchange of lawes in practice, with lawes in device, which, they ſay, are better for the ſtate of the Church, if they might take place, the farther we examin them, the greater cauſe we finde to conclude,* μένωμεν ὅπῃ ἐσμέν, although we continue the ſame we are, the harm is not great. *Theſe fervent reprehenders of things eſtabliſhed by publique authority, are alwayes confident and bold ſpirited men. But their confidence for the moſt part riſeth from too much credit given to their owne wits, for which cauſe they are ſeldome free from errours. The errours which we ſeek to reform in this kinde of men, are ſuch as both received at your own hands their firſt wound, and from that time to this preſent, have been proceeded in with that moderation, which uſeth by patience to ſuppreſſe boldneſſe, and to make them conquer that ſuffer. Wherein conſidering the nature and kinde of theſe controverſies, the dangerous ſequels whereunto they were likely to grow, and how many wayes we have been thereby taught wiſdome, I may boldly averre concerning the firſt, that as the waightieſt conflicts the Church hath had, were thoſe which touched the head, the perſon of our Saviour Chriſt, and the next of importance, thoſe queſtions, which are at this day between us and the Church of Rome, about the actions of the body of the Church of God, ſo theſe which*

have

have lastly sprung up for complements, rites and ceremonies of Church actions, are in truth for the greatest part such silly things, that very easines doth make them hard to be disputed of in serious manner. VVhich also may seeme to be the cause, why divers of the Reverend Prelacie, and other most judicious men, have especially bestowed their paines about the matter of jurisdiction. Notwithstanding led by your Graces example, my selfe have thought it convenient to wade through the whole cause, following that method, which searcheth the truth by the causes of truth. Now, if any marvell, how a thing in it selfe so weak, could import any great danger, they must consider not so much how smal the spark is that flieth up, as how apt things about it are to take fire. Bodies politick, being subject as much as naturall, to dissolution, by divers means, there are undoubtedly moe estates overthrown through diseases, bred within themselves, than through violence from abroad, because our manner is alwayes to cast a doubtfull and a more suspicious eye towards that, over which we know we have least power; and therefore, the feare of externall dangers, causeth forces at home to be the more united, it is to all sorts a kind of bridle, it maketh vertuous minds watchfull, it holdeth contrarie dispositions in suspence, and it setteth those wits on work in better things, which could bee else imployed in worse; whereas on the other side, domesticall evils, for that wee thinke wee can master them at all times, are often permitted to runne on forward, till it bee too late to recall them. In the meane while the Common-wealth is not only through unsoundnesse so farre impaired, as those evils chance to prevaile; but farther also

through oppoſition ariſing between the unſound parts and the ſound, where each endevoureth to draw evermore contrarywayes, till deſtruction in the end bring the whole to ruine. To reckon up how many cauſes there are by force wherof diviſions may grow in a Common-wealth, is not here neceſſary. Such as riſe from variety in matter of Religion, are not only the fartheſt ſpred, becauſe in Religion all men preſume themſelves intereſſed alike; but they are alſo for the moſt part hotlier perſecuted and purſued than other ſtrifes, for as much as coldneſſe, which in other contentions may be thought to proceed from moderation, is not in theſe ſo favourably conſtrued. The part which in this preſent quarrell ſtriveth againſt the current and ſtream of Lawes, was a long while nothing feared, the wiſeſt contented not to call to minde how errours have their effect, many times not proportioned to that little appearance of reaſon wherupon they would ſeeme built, but rather to the vehement affection or fancy which is caſt towards them, and proceedeth from other cauſes. For there are divers motives drawing men to favour mightily thoſe opinions, wherein their perſwaſions are but weakly ſettled; and if the paſſions of the minde be ſtrong, they eaſily ſophiſticate the underſtanding, they make it apt to beleeve upon every ſlender warrant, and to imagine infallible truth, where ſcarce any probable ſhew appeareth. Thus were thoſe poore ſeduced creatures, Hacquet, *and his other two adherents, whom I can neither ſpeak nor think of, but with much commiſeration and pitie, thus were they trained by faire wayes firſt, accounting their owne extraordinary love to this Diſcipline, a token of Gods more than ordinary love towards them:*

them: from hence they grew to a ſtrong conceipt, that God which had moved them to love his Diſcipline, more than the common ſort of men did, might have a purpoſe by their means to bring a wonderfull work to paſſe, beyond all mens expectation, for the advancement of the thron of diſcipline by ſome tragicall execution, with the particularities wherof it was not ſafe for their friends to be made acquainted, of whom they did therefore but covertly demand what they thought of extraordinary motions of the ſpirit in theſe dayes, and withall requeſt to be commended unto God by their Prayers, whatſoever ſhould be undertaken by men of God, in meere zeale to his glory, and the good of his diſtreſſed Church. With this unuſuall and ſtrange courſe they went on forward, till God, in whoſe heavieſt worldly jugdements, I nothing doubt, but that there may lie hidden mercie, gave them over to their owne inventions, and left them made in the end an example for head-ſtrong and inconſiderate zeale, no leſſe fearfull than Achitophel, *for proud and irriligious wiſdome. If a ſpark of error have thus farre prevailed, falling even where the wood was greene, and fartheſt off to all mens thinking, from any inclination unto furious attempts, muſt not the perill thereof be greater in men, whoſe minds are of themſelves as dry fewell, apt beforehand unto tumults, ſeditions and broyles? But by this we ſee in a cauſe of Religion, to how deſperat adventures men will ſtrain themſelves for reliefe of their owne part, having law & authority againſt them, Furthermore, let not any man think, that in ſuch diviſiõs, either part can free it ſelfe from incõveniences, ſuſtained not only through a kind of truce, which vertue on both ſides doth make*

with

with vice, during warre betweene truth and error; but alſo in that there are hereby ſo fit occaſions miniſtred for men to purchaſe to themſelves well-willers by the colour, under which they oftentimes proſecute quarrels of envie or inveterate malice, & eſpecially becauſe contentions were as yet never able to prevent two evils, the one a mutuall exchange of unſeemely and unjuſt diſgraces, offered by men, whoſe tongues and paſſions are out of rule, the other a common hazard of both, to be made a prey by ſuch as ſtudy how to work upon all occurrents, with moſt advantage in private. I deny not therfore, but that our Antagoniſts in theſe controverſies may peradventure have met with ſome, not unlike to Ithacius, *who mightily bending himſelfe by all meanes againſt the heriſie of* Priſcillian, *the hatred of which one evill, was all the vertue he had, became ſo wiſe in the end, that every man, carefull of vertuous converſation, ſtudious of Scripture, and given unto any abſtinence in diet, was ſet downe in his Kalender of ſuſpected Priſcillianiſts, for whom it ſhould be expedient to approve their ſoundneſſe of faith by a more licentious & looſe behavior. Such Proctors & Patrons the truth might ſpare. Yet is not their goodneſſe ſo intolerable, as on the contrary ſide, the ſcurrilous and more than Satyricall immodeſtie of Martiniſme, the firſt publiſhed ſchedules whereof, being brought to the hands of a grave, and a very Honourable Knight, with ſignification given, that the Book would refreſh his ſpirits, hee took it, ſaw what the title was, read over an unſavory ſentence or two, and delivered back the Libell with this anſwer;* I am ſorry you are of the minde to bee ſolaced with theſe ſports, and ſorrier you have herein thought mine af-

Sulp. Sever. Epiſt. hiſt. Eccl.

fection

fection to be like your owne. *But as theſe ſores on all hands lie open, ſo the deepeſt wounds of the Church of God have been more ſofily and cloſely given. It being perceived that the plot of Diſcipline did not only bend it ſelfe to reform ceremonies, but ſeek farther to erect a popular authoritie of Elders, and to take away Epiſcopall juriſdiction, together with all other ornaments and meanes, wherby any difference or inequality is upheld in the Eccleſiaſticall Order, towards this deſtructive part, they have found many helping hands, divers although peradventure not willing to be yoked with Elderſhips, yet contented (for what intent God doth know) to uphold oppoſition againſt Biſhops, not without greater hurt to the courſe of their whol proceedings in the buſines of God & her Majeſties ſervice, than otherwiſe much more waighty adverſaries had bin able by their owne power to have brought to paſſe. Men are naturally better contented to have their cõmendable actions ſuppreſt, than the contrary much divulged. And becauſe the wits of the multitude are ſuch, that many things they cannot lay hold on at once, but being poſſeſt with ſome notable either diſlike or liking of any one thing whatſoever, ſundry other in the mean time may eſcape them unperceived; therefore if men deſirous to have their vertues noted, do in this reſpect greeve at the fame of others, whoſe glory obſcureth & darkneth theirs, it cãnot be choſen, but that when the eares of the people are thus cõtinually beaten with exclamations againſt abuſes in the Church, theſe tunes come alwayes moſt acceptable to them, whoſe odious & corrupt dealings in ſecular affaires, both paſſe by that mean the more covertly, and whatſoever happen do alſo the leaſt feele that ſcourge*

of

of vulgar imputation, which notwithſtanding they moſt deſerve. All this conſidered, as behoveth, the ſequell of duty on our part is only that, which our Lord and Saviour requireth, harmleſſe diſcretion, the wiſdome of Serpents tempered with the innocent meeknes of doves. For this world wil teach them wiſdome that have capacitie to apprehend it. Our wiſdom in this caſe muſt be ſuch, as doth not propoſe to it ſelf τὸ ἴδιον *our own particular, the partial and immoderat deſire wherof poiſoneth wherſoever it taketh place: but the ſcope & mark which we are to aim at, is* τὸ κοινὸν *the publike and common good of all, for the eaſier procurement whereof, our diligence muſt ſearch out all helps and furtherances of direction, which Scriptures, councels, fathers, hiſtories, the lawes and practices of all Churches, the mutuall conference of all mens collections and obſervations may afford, our induſtry muſt even anatomize every particle of that bodie, which we are to uphold ſound; & becauſe, be it never ſo true which we teach the world to believe, yet if once their affections begin to be alienated, a ſmall thing perſwadeth them to change their opinions, it behoveth that we vigilantly note and prevent by all meanes thoſe evils, wherby the hearts of men are loſt, which evils for the moſt part being perſonall, do arme in ſuch ſort the adverſaries of God and his Church againſt us, that if through our too much neglect and ſecurity the ſame ſhould run on, ſoone might we feele our eſtate brought to thoſe lamentable termes, whereof this hard and heavy ſentence was by one of the ancients uttered upon like occaſions,* Dolens dico, gemens denuncio, ſacerdotium quod apud nos intus cecidit, foris diu ſtare non poterit. *But the gracious providence of Almightie God hath*

Leg. Carol. Mag. fol. 421.

hath, I truſt, put theſe thornes of contradiction in our ſides, leſt that ſhould ſteale upon the Church in a ſlumber, which now, I doubt not, but through his aſſiſtance may be turned away from us, bending thereunto our ſelves with conſtancy, conſtancy in labour to doe all men good, conſtancy in prayer unto God for all men, her eſpecially, whoſe ſacred power matched with incomparable goodneſſe of nature, hath hitherto been Gods moſt happy inſtrument, by him miraculouſly kept for works of ſo miraculous preſervation and ſafety unto others; that as, By the ſword of God and Gedeon, *was ſometime the cry of the people Iſrael, ſo it might deſervedly be at this day the joyfull ſong of innumerable multitudes, yea the Embleme of ſome Eſtates and Dominions in the world, and (which muſt bee eternally confeſt even with teares of thankfulneſſe) the true inſcription, ſtile or title of all Churches as yet ſtanding within this Realme,* By the goodneſſe of Almighty God and his ſervant Elizabeth we are. *That God, who is able to make mortalitie immortall, give her ſuch future continuance as may be no leſſe glorious unto all poſterity, than the dayes of her regiment paſt have been happy unto our ſelves, and for his moſt deare anoynteds ſake, grant them all proſperity, whoſe labours, cares, and counſels, unfainedly are referred to her endleſſe welfare, through his unſpeakable mercy, unto whom wee all owe everlaſting praiſe. In which deſire I will here reſt, humbly beſeeching your Grace, to pardon my great boldneſſe, and God to multiply his bleſſings upon them that feare his name.*

Judges 7.20

Your Graces in all dutie,

RICHARD HOOKER.

OF THE LAWES OF ECCLESIASTICALL POLITIE.

The fifth Book.

Of their fourth Assertion, that touching the severall publike duties of Christian Religion, there is amongst us much superstition retained in them; and concerning persons which for performance of those duties are indued with the power of Ecclesiasticall order, our Laws and proceedings according thereunto are many wayes herein also corrupted.

The matter contained in this fifth Book.

1 *TRue Religion is the root of all true vertues, and the stay of all well-ordered common-wealths.*
2 *The most extreme opposite to true Religion is affected Atheisme.*
3 *Of superstition and the root thereof, either misguided zeale, or ignorant feare of divine glory.*
4 *Of the redresse of superstition in Gods Church, and concerning the question of this Book.*
5 *Foure generall propositions demanding that which may reasonably be granted concerning matters of outward forme in the exercise of true Religion. And fiftly. Of a rule, not safe, nor reasonable in these cases.*
6 *The first Proposition touching judgement, what things are convenient in the outward publike ordering of Church affaires.*
7 *The second Proposition.*
8 *The third Proposition.*
9 *The fourth Proposition.*
10 *The Rule of mens private Spirits, not safe in these cases to be followed.*
11 *Places for the publike service of God.*
12 *The solemnity of erecting Churches, condemned; the hallowing and dedicating of them, scorned by the Adversary.*
13 *Of the names, whereby we distinguish our Churches.*
14 *Of the fashion of our Churches.*

15 The ſumptuouſneſſe of Churches.
16 What holineſſe and vertue we aſcribe to the Church, more than other places.
17 Their pretence, that would have Churches utterly razed.
18 Of publike teaching, or preaching, and the firſt kind thereof, Catechizing.
19 Of preaching, by reading publikely the Books of holy Scripture; and concerning ſuppoſed untruths in thoſe tranſlations of Scripture, which we allow to be read; as alſo of the choice which we make in reading.
20 Of preaching by the publike reading of other profitable inſtructions; and concerning books Apocriphall.
21 Of preaching by Sermons, and whether Sermons be the onely ordinary way of teaching, whereby men are brought to the ſaving knowledge of Gods truth.
22 What they attribute to Sermons only, and what we to reading alſo.
23 Of Prayer.
24 Of publike Prayer.
25 Of the forme of Common Prayer.
26 Of them, which like not to have any ſet forme of common Praier.
27 Of them, who allowing a ſet forme of Prayer, yet allow not ours.
28 The forme of our Liturgy too neere the Papiſts, too farre different from that of other reformed Churches, as they pretend.
29 Attire belonging to the ſervice of God.
30 Of geſture in praying, and of different places, choſen to that purpoſe.
31 Eaſineſſe of praying after our forme.
32 The length of our ſervice.
33 Inſtead of ſuch prayers, as the Primitive Churches have uſed, and thoſe that be reformed now uſe, we have (they ſay) divers ſhort [illegible]nts, or ſhreddings, rather Wiſhes than Praiers.
34 Leſſons intermingled with our Prayers.
35 The number of our Prayers for earthly things, and our oft rehearſing of the Lords Prayer.
36 The peoples ſaying after the Miniſter.
37 Our manner of reading the Pſalmes, otherwiſe than the reſt of the Scripture.
38 Of Muſique with Pſalmes.
39 Of ſinging or ſaying Pſalmes, and other parts of common Prayer, wherein the people and the Miniſter anſwer one another by courſe.
40 Of Magnificat, Benedictus, and Nunc dimittis.
41 Of the Letanie.
42 Of Athanaſius Creed, and Gloria Patri.
43 Our want of particular thankſgiving.
44 In ſome things the matter of our Prayer, as they affirme, is unſound.
45 When thou hadſt overcome the ſharpneſſe of death, thou didſt open the Kingdom of heaven unto all beleevers.
46 Touching Prayer for deliverance from ſuddaine death.
47 Prayer for thoſe things, which wee for our unworthineſſe dare not aske, God, for the worthineſſe of his ſon, would vouchſafe to grant.
48 Prayer to be evermore delivered from all adverſity.
49 Prayer that all men may find mercy, and of the will of God, that all men might be ſaved.

50 Of

50 *Of the name, the authour, and the force of Sacraments, which force conſiſteth in this, that God hath ordained them as meanes to make us partakers of him in Chriſt, and of life through Chriſt.*

51 *That God is in Chriſt by the perſonall incarnation of the Son, who is very God.*

52 *The miſ interpretations which hereſie hath made of the manner how God and man are united in one Chriſt.*

53 *That by the union of the one with the other nature in Chriſt, there groweth neither gaine nor loſſe of eſſentiall properties to either.*

54 *What Chriſt hath obtained according to the fleſh by the union of his fleſh with deity.*

55 *Of the perſonall preſence of Chriſt every where, and in what ſenſe it may bee granted, he is every where preſent according to the fleſh.*

56 *The union or mutuall participation which is betweene Chriſt and the Church of Chriſt in this preſent world.*

57 *The neceſſity of Sacraments unto the participation of Chriſt.*

58 *The ſubſtance of Baptiſme, the rites or ſolemnities thereunto belonging, and that the ſubſtance thereof being kept, other things in Baptiſme may give place to neceſſity.*

59 *The ground in Scripture whereupon a neceſſity of outward Baptiſme hath beene built.*

60 *What kind of neceſſity in outward Baptiſme hath beene gathered by the words of our Saviour Chriſt, and what the true neceſſity thereof indeed is.*

61 *What things in Baptiſme have beene diſpenſed with by the Fathers reſpecting neceſſity.*

62 *Whether Baptiſme by women be true Baptiſme, good, and effectuall to them that receive it.*

63 *Of interrogatories in Baptiſme touching faith and the purpoſe of a Chriſtian life.*

64 *Interrogatories propoſed unto infants in Baptiſme, and anſwered as in their names by Godfathers.*

65 *Of the Croſſe in Baptiſme.*

66 *Of confirmation after Baptiſme.*

67 *Of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt.*

68 *Of faults noted in the forme of adminiſtring that holy Sacrament.*

69 *Of Feſtivall daies and the naturall cauſes of their convenient inſtitution.*

70 *The manner of celebrating Feſtivall dayes.*

71 *Exceptions againſt our keeping of other Feſtivall daies beſides the Sabbath.*

72 *Of daies appointed as well for ordinary as for extraordinary faſts in the Church of God.*

73 *The celebration of Matrimony.*

74 *The Churching of women.*

75 *The rites of Buriall.*

76 *Of the nature of that Miniſtery which ſerveth for performance of divine duties in the Church of God, and how happineſſe not eternall onely, but alſo temporall doth depend upon it.*

77 *Of power given unto men to execute that heavenly office, of the gift of the holy Ghoſt in Ordination; and whether conveniently the power of order may bee ſought or ſued for.*

78 *Of degrees whereby the power of order is diſtinguiſhed, and concerning the attire of Miniſters.*

79 *Of obluations, foundations, endowments, Tithes, all intended for perpetuity of Religion, which purpoſe being chiefly fulfilled by the Clergies certain & ſufficient maintenãce, muſt needs by alienation of Church livings be made fruſtrate.*

80 *Of ordinations lawfull without title and without any popular election precedent, but in no caſe without regard of due information what their quality is that enter into holy orders.*

81 *Of the learning that ſhould be in Miniſters, their reſidence, and the number of their livings.*



FEw there are of ſo weak capacity, but publique evils they eaſily eſpie; fewer ſo patient, as not to complaine, when the grievous inconveniences thereof work ſenſible ſmart. Howbeit to ſee wherin the harme which they feele conſiſteth, the ſeeds from which it ſprang, and the method of curing it, belongeth to a skill, the ſtudy wherof is ſo full of toyle, and the practiſe ſo beſet with difficulties, that wary and reſpective men had rather ſeek quietly their own, & wiſh that the world may goe well, ſo it bee not long of them, than with paine and hazard, make themſelves adviſers for the common good. We weh thought it at the very firſt a ſign of cold affection towards the Church of God, to prefer private eaſe before the labour of appeaſing publike diſturbance, muſt now of neceſſity, referre events to the gracious providence of Almigty God, and, in diſcharge of our duty towards him, proceed with the plaine, and unpartiall defence of a common cauſe. Wherein our endeavour is not ſo much to overthrow them with whom wee contend, as to yeeld them iuſt and reaſonable cauſes of thoſe things, which for want of due conſideration hertofore, they miſconceived, accuſing laws for mens overſights, imputing evils grown through perſonall defects unto that which is not evill, framing unto ſome ſoares unwholſom plaſters, & applying other ſome where no ſoare is. To make therefore our beginning that which to both parts is moſt acceptable, *We agree* that pure and unſtained Religion ought to be the higheſt of all cares appertaining to publique regiment: as well in regard of that [a] aide and protection, which they, who faithfully ſerve God, confeſſe they receive at his mercifull hands; as alſo for the force which Religion hath to qualifie all ſorts of men, and to make them in publike affaires the more ſerviceable, governours the apter to rule with conſcience, inferiours for conſcience ſake the willinger to obey. It is no peculiar conceit, but a matter of ſound conſequence, that all duties are by ſo much the better performed, by how much the men are more religious from whoſe habilities the ſame proceed. For if [b] the courſe of politique affaires cannot in any good ſort go forward without fit inſtruments, and that which fitteth them be their vertues, let Politie acknowledge it ſelfe indebted to Religion, godlineſſe being the [c] chiefeſt top and welſpring of all true vertues, even as God is of all good things. So naturall is the union of Religion with iuſtice, that wee may boldly deem there is neither, where

True Religion is the roote of all true vertues and the ſtay of all wel ordered commonwealths.

[a] Pſal. 144. 2. C. Th. lib. 16. tit. 2. *Gaudere & gloriari ex fide ſemper volumus ſcientes magis religionibusquam officiis & labore corporis vel ſudore noſtram rem publicam contineri.*

[b] Ἔστι δ' οὐδὲν οὕτω πολιτικὸν ὡς περὶ τὰς εὐχὰς διατρίβειν· τοιοῦτον δὲ λέγω ὅσον σπουδαῖον τὸν σπουδαῖον εἶναι τοῦ πατρίου κρατεῖν. *Ariſt. Magn. mor. li. 1. cap. 1.*

[c] Ἀρχὴ δ' ἀγαθῶν πάντων καὶ τῶν θείων ἀρετὴ δι' ἣν θεοσεβὴς *Plut. de dec. precept.*

where both are not. For how ſhould they be unfainedly iuſt, whom religion doth not cauſe to be ſuch; or they religious, which are not found ſuch by the proofe of their iuſt actions? If they, which imploy their labour and travaile about the publique adminiſtration of Iuſtice, follow it onely as a trade, with unquenchable and unconſcionable thirſt of gaine, being not in heart perſwaded that [d] Iuſtice is Gods owne work, and themſelves his agents in this buſineſſe, the ſentence of right, Gods owne verdict, and themſelves his Prieſts to deliver it; formalities of Iuſtice doe but ſerve to ſmother right, and that which was neceſſarily ordained for the common good, is through ſhamefull abuſe made the cauſe of common miſerie. The ſame piety, which maketh them that are in authority deſirous to pleaſe and reſemble God by Iuſtice, inflameth every way men of action with zeale to do good (as far as their place will permit) unto all. For [e] that they know, is moſt noble and divine. Whereby, if no naturall nor caſuall inability croſſe their deſires, they alwaies delighting to inure themſelves with actions moſt beneficiall to others, cannot but gather great experience, and through experience the more wiſdome, becauſe conſcience, and the feare of ſwarving from that which is right, maketh them diligent obſervers of circumſtances, the looſe regard wherof is the nurſe of vulgar folly, no leſſe than *Salomons* attention thereunto was of naturall furtherances the moſt effectuall to make him eminent above others. For he [f] gave good heed, and pierced every thing to the very ground, and by that meanes became the author of many parables. Concerning fortitude, ſith evils great and unexpected (the true touchſtone of conſtant minds) do cauſe oftentimes even them to thinke upon divine power with [g] fearefulleſt ſuſpicions, which have been otherwiſe the moſt ſecure deſpiſers thereof, how ſhould we look for any conſtant reſolution of mind, in ſuch caſes, ſaving only where unfained affection to God-ward hath bred the moſt aſſured confidence to be aſſiſted by his hand? For proofe whereof, let but the acts of the ancient Iewes be indifferently weighed, from whoſe magnanimity, in cauſes of moſt extream hazard, thoſe ſtrange and unwonted reſolutions have grown, which for all circumſtances, no people under the roofe of heaven did ever hitherto match. And that which did alwayes animate them, was their meere religion. Without which, if ſo be it were poſſible that all other ornaments of mind might be had in their full perfection, nevertheleſſe, the mind that ſhould poſſeſſe them divorced from piety, could be but a ſpectacle of commiſeration; even as that body is, which adorned with ſundry other admirable beauties, wanteth eye-ſight, the chiefeſt grace that Nature hath in that kind to beſtow. They which commend ſo much the felicity of that innocent world, wherein it is ſaid, that men of their owne accord did embrace fidelity and honeſty, not for feare of the Magiſtrate, or becauſe revenge was before their eyes, if at any time they ſhould do otherwiſe, but that which held the people in awe, was the ſhame of ill doing, the love of equity and right it ſelfe, a barre againſt all oppreſſions which greatneſſe of power cauſeth, they which deſcribe unto us any ſuch eſtate of happineſſe amongſt men, though they ſpeake not of religion, doe notwithſtanding declare that which is in truth her onely working. For if religion did poſſeſſe ſincerely and ſufficiently the hearts of all men, there would need

[d] *Deut.* 1. 9. 6.

[e] Ἀγαπητὸν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ μόνῳ καλλιον δὲ καὶ θειοτερον ἐνδεχεται καὶ πλειστον. *Ariſt. Ethic. lib.* 1. *cap.* 2.

[f] *Eccleſ.* 12. 9.

[g] *Wiſd.* 17. 13.

need no other reſtraint from evill. This doth not onely give life and perfection to all endeavours wherewith it concurreth; but what event ſoever enſue, it breedeth, if not ioy and gladneſſe alwayes, yet alwayes patience, ſatisfaction, and reaſonable contentment of mind. Whereupon it hath beene ſet downe as an axiome of good experience, that all things religiouſly taken in hand, are [a] proſperouſly ended; becauſe whether men in the end have that which Religion did allow them to deſire, or that which it teacheth them contentedly to ſuffer, [b] they are in neither event unfortunate. But leſt any man ſhould here conceive, that it greatly skilleth not of what ſort our Religion bee, in as much as Heathens, Turkes, and Infidels, impute to Religion a great part of the ſame effects, which our ſelves aſcribe thereunto, they having ours in the ſame deteſtation that we theirs: it ſhall be requiſite to obſerve well, how farre-forth there may be agreement in the effects of different Religions. Firſt, by the bitter ſtrife, which riſeth oftentimes from ſmall differences in this behalfe, and is by ſo much alwayes greater, as the matter is of more importance; wee ſee a generall agreement in the ſecret opinion of men, that every man ought to embrace the Religion which is true, and to ſhun, as hurtfull, whatſoever diſſenteth from it, but that moſt which doth fartheſt diſſent. The generality of which perſwaſion argueth, that God hath imprinted it by nature, to the end it might be a ſpurre to our induſtry, in ſearching and maintainig that Religion, from which as to ſwarve in the leaſt points, is errour; ſo the capitall enemies thereof God hateth as his deadly foes, aliens, and without repentance, children of endleſſe perdition. Such therefore, touching mans immortall ſtate after this life, are not likely to reap benefit by their Religion, but to look for the clean contrary, in regard of ſo important contrariety betweene it and the true Religion. Nevertheleſſe, in as much as the errours of the moſt ſeduced this way have beene mixed with ſome truthes, wee are not to marvaile, that although the one did turne to their endleſſe woe and confuſion, yet the other had many notable effects, as touching the affaires of this preſent life. There were in [c] theſe quarters of the world, ſixteene hundred yeares agoe, certaine ſpeculative men, whoſe authority diſpoſed the whole Religion of thoſe times. By their meanes it became a received opinion, that the ſoules of men departing this life, do flit out of one body into ſome other. Which opinion, though falſe, yet entwined with a true, that the ſoules of men do never periſh, abated the feare of death in them which were ſo reſolved, and gave them courage unto all adventures. The Romans had a vaine ſuperſtitious cuſtome in moſt of their enterpriſes, to coniecture beforehand of the event, by certaine tokens which they noted in birds, or in the intrailes of beaſts, or by other the like frivolous divinations. From whence notwithſtanding as oft as they could receive any ſigne, which they took to be favourable, it gave them ſuch hope, as if their gods had made them more than halfe a promiſe of proſperous ſucceſſe. Which many times was the greateſt cauſe that they did prevaile, eſpecially being men of their own naturall inclination, hopefull and ſtrongly conceited, whatſoever they tooke in hand. But could their fond ſuperſtition have furthered ſo great attempts, without the mixture of a true perſwaſion,

[a] Ρᾴδια τὰ εὖ ἀρξάμενα τελευτᾶται.

[b] Τὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἔμφρονα πάσας ὁμοίως τὰς τύχας εὐσχημόνως φέρειν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀεὶ τὰ κάλλιστα πράττειν. Ariſt. Eth. li. 1. cap. 10.

[c] Caeſ. de bel. Gall. lib. 6.

ſion, concerning the unreſiſtable force of divine power? Vpon the wilfull violation of oaths, execrable blaſphemies, and like contempts, offered by deriders of Religion, even unto falſe gods, fearefull tokens of divine revenge have beene knowne to follow. Which occurrents the devouter ſort did take for manifeſt arguments, that the gods whom they worſhipped, were of power to reward ſuch as ſought unto them, and would plague thoſe that feared them not. In this they erred. For (as the *Wiſeman* rightly noteth concerning ſuch) it was not the power of them by whom they ſwore, but the vengeance of them that ſinned, which puniſhed the offences of the ungodly. It was their hurt untruly to attribute ſo great power unto falſe gods. Yet the right conceit which they had, that to peiurie vengeance is due, was not without good effect, as touching the courſe of their lives, who feared the wilfull violation of oaths in that reſpect. And whereas we read ſo many of them ſo much commended, ſome for their milde and mercifull diſpoſition, ſome for their vertuous ſeverity, ſome for integrity of life, all theſe were the fruits of true and infallible principles delivered unto us in the word of God, as the axiomes of our Religion, which being imprinted by the God of Nature in their hearts alſo, and taking better root in ſome than in moſt others, grew, tho not from, yet with & amidſt the heaps of manifold repugnant errors, which errors of corrupt religion had alſo their ſutable effects in the lives of the ſelfe ſame parties, without all controverſie, the purer and perfecter our religion is, the worthier effects it hath in them who ſtedfaſtly and ſincerely embrace it, in others not. They that love the religion which they profeſſe, may have failed in choiſe, but yet they are ſure to reap what benefit the ſame is able to afford; whereas the beſt and ſoundeſt profeſſed by them that beare it not the like affection, yeeldeth them, retaining it in that ſort, no benefit. *David* was a man after Gods owne heart, ſo termed, becauſe his affection was hearty towards God. Beholding the like diſpoſition in them which lived under him, it was his prayer to Almighty God, b *O keep this for ever in the purpoſe and thoughts of the heart of this people.* But when, after that *David* had ended his dayes in peace, they who ſucceeded him in place, for the moſt part followed him not in quality, when their Kings (ſome few excepted) to better their worldly eſtate (as they thought) left their own and their peoples ghoſtly condition uncared for, by wofull experience they both did learne, that to forſake the true God of heaven, is to fall into all ſuch evils upon the face of the earth, as men either deſtitute of grace divine may commit, or unprotected from above endure. Seeing therfore it doth thus appeare, that the ſafety of all eſtates dependeth upon Religion; that Religion unfainedly loved, perfecteth mens abilities unto all kinds of vertuous ſervices in the Common-wealth; that mens deſire is in generall to hold no Religion but the true; and that whatſoever good effects do grow out of their religion, who embrace inſtead of the true, a falſe, the roots thereof are certaine ſparkes of the light of truth intermingled with the darkneſſe of errour, becauſe no Religion can wholly and onely conſiſt of untruthes, we have reaſon to thinke that all true vertues are to honour true Religion as their parent, and all well ordered Common-weales to love her as their chiefeſt ſtay.

a *Wiſd.* 14. 15.

b 1 *Chron.* 29. 18

2 They

The moſt extream oppoſite to true religion, is affected Atheiſme.

2 They of whom God is altogether unapprehended, are but few in number, and for groſſeneſſe of wit ſuch, that they hardly and ſcarcely ſeeme to hold the place of humane being. Theſe wee ſhould iudge to bee of all others moſt miſerable, but that a wretcheder ſort there are, on whom, wheras nature hath beſtowed riper capacity, their evill diſpoſition ſeriouſly goeth about therewith to apprehend God, as being not God. Whereby it commeth to paſſe, that of theſe two ſorts of men, both godleſſe, the one having utterly no knowledge of God, the other ſtudying how to perſwade themſelves that there is no ſuch thing to be knowne. The [a] fountaine and welſpring of which impiety, is a reſolved purpoſe of mind to reape in this world what ſenſuall profit or pleaſure ſoever the world yeeldeth, and not to bee barred from any whatſoever meanes availeable thereunto. And that that is the very radicall cauſe of their Atheiſme, no man (I thinke) will doubt, which conſidereth what paines they take to deſtroy thoſe principall ſpurs and motives unto all vertue, the creation of the World, the providence of God, the reſurrection of the Dead, the ioyes of the Kingdome of Heaven, and the endleſſe paines of the wicked, yea above all things, the authority of the Scripture, becauſe on theſe points it evermore beateth, and the Soules immortallity, which granted, draweth eaſily after it the reſt, as a voluntary traine. Is it not wonderfull, that baſe deſires ſhould ſo extinguiſh in men the ſenſe of their owne excellency, as to make them willing that their ſoules ſhould bee like to the ſoules of beaſts, mortall and corruptible with their bodies? till ſome admirable or unuſuall accident happen (as it hath in ſome) to work the beginning of a better alteration in their minds; diſputation about the knowledge of God with ſuch kind of perſons commonly prevaileth little. For how ſhould the brightneſſe of wiſdome ſhine, where the windowes of the ſoule are of [b] very ſet purpoſe cloſed? True Religion hath many things in it, the only mention wherof gauleth and troubleth their minds. Being therfore loth, that inquiry into ſuch matters ſhould breed a perſwaſion in the end contrary unto that they embrace, it is their endevour to baniſh, as much as in them lyeth, quite and cleane from their cogitation whatſoever may ſound that way. But it commeth many times to paſſe (which is their torment) that the thing they ſhun doth follow them, the truth, as it were, even obtruding it ſelfe into their knowledge, and not permitting them to be ſo ignorant as they would bee. Whereupon, in as much as the nature of man is unwilling to continue, doing that wherein it ſhall alwayes condemne it ſelfe, they continuing ſtill obſtinate, to follow the courſe which they have begun, are driven to deviſe all the ſhifts that wit can invent for the ſmoothering of this light, all that may but with any the leaſt ſhew of poſſibility ſtay their mindes from thinking that true, which they heartily wiſh were falſe, but cannot thinke it ſo, without ſome ſcruple and feare of the contrary. Now becauſe that iudicious learning, for which wee commend moſt worthily the ancient Sages of the World, doth not in this caſe ſerve the turne, theſe trenchermates (for ſuch the moſt of them bee) frame to themſelves a way more pleaſant, a new method they have of turning things that are ſerious into mockerie, an Art of Contradiction by way of ſcorne, a learning wherewith wee were

[a] *Wiſd.* 2. 21. Such things they imagine, and go astray, becauſe their own wickednes hath blinded them.

Εστι γαρ η κακια φθαρτικη αρχης. *Ariſt. Ethic. l. 6. cap. 5.*

[b] *Suſan. verſ. 9.* They turned away their mind, and caſt down their eyes, that they might not ſee heaven nor remember juſt judgements.

[c] *Hæc eſt ſumma delicti, nolle agnoſcere quem ignorare non poſſis. Cypr. de Idol. vanit.*

were[b] long ſithence forwarned, that the miſerable times wherinto we are fallen ſhould abound. This they ſtudy, this they practiſe, this they grace with a wanton ſuperfluity of wit, too much inſulting over the patience of more vertuouſly diſpoſed minds. For towards theſe ſo forlorne creatures we are (it muſt be confeſt) too patient. In Zeale to the glory of God, Babylon hath excelled Sion. We want that [c] decree of Nabuchodonoſor, the fury of this wicked brood hath the reines too much at liberty, their tongues walk at large, the ſpit-venom of their poiſoned hearts breaketh out to the annoyance of others, what their untamed luſt ſuggeſteth, the ſame their licentious mouths do every where ſet abroach. With our contentions their irreligious humor alſo is much ſtrengthened. Nothing pleaſeth them better, than theſe manifold oppoſitions about the matter of religion, as well for that they have hereby the more opportunity to learne on one ſide how an other may be oppugned, and ſo to weaken the credit of all unto themſelves; as alſo becauſe by this hot purſute of lower controverſies amongſt men profeſſing religion, and agreeing in the principall foundations therof, they conceive hope that about the higher principles themſelves time will cauſe altercation to grow. For which purpoſe, when they ſee occaſion, they ſtick not ſometime in other mens perſons, yea ſometime, without any vizard at all, directly to trie, what the moſt religious are able to ſay in defence of the higheſt points whereupon all religion dependeth. Now for the moſt part it ſo falleth out touching things which generally are received, that although in themſelves they be moſt certaine, yet becauſe men preſume them granted of all, wee are hardlieſt able to bring ſuch proofe of their certainty as may ſatisfie gainſayers, when ſuddainly and beſides expectation they require the ſame at our hands. Which impreparation and unreadineſſe when they find in us, they turne it to the ſoothing up of themſelves in that curſed phanſie, wherby they would faine believe that the hearty devotion of ſuch as indeed feare God, is nothing elſe but a kind of harmeleſſe error, bred and confirmed in them by the ſlights of wiſer men. For a politique uſe of religion they ſee there is, and by it they would alſo gather that religion it ſelfe is a meere politique device, forged purpoſely to ſerve for that uſe. Men fearing God are therby a great deale more effectually than by poſitive laws reſtrain'd from doing evill, in as much as thoſe laws have no farther power than over our outward actions only, whereas unto mens [d] inward cogitations, unto the privy intents and motions of their hearts, religion ſerveth for a bridle. What more ſavage, wilde, and cruell, than man if he ſee himſelfe able either by fraud to over-reach, or by power to over-beare, the lawes whereunto he ſhould be ſubiect? wherefore in ſo great boldneſſe to offend, it behoveth that the world ſhould be held in awe, not by a vaine ſurmiſe, but a true apprehenſion of ſomewhat, which no man may thinke himſelfe able to withſtand. This is the politique uſe of religion. In which reſpect there are of theſe wiſe malignants ſome, who have vouchſafed it their marvellous favourable countenance and ſpeech, very gravely affirming that religion honoured, addeth greatnes, and contemned, bringeth ruine unto Common-weales; that Princes & States, which will continue, are above all things to uphold the reverend regard of religion, and to provide for the ſame by all meanes in the making of their lawes,

b 2 *Pet.* 3. 2. *Iud. verſ.* 18.

c *Dan.* 3. 29.

d *Vos ſcelera admiſſa punitis, apud nos & cogitare peccare eſt; vos conſcios timetis, nos etiã conſcientiam ſolam, ſine qua eſſe non poſſumus.* Minut. Fel. in Octav.

Summum præſidium regni eſt juſtitia ob apertos tumultus, & religio ob occultos. Carda. de Sapien. li. 3.

lawes. But when they ſhould define what meanes are beſt for that purpoſe, behold, they extoll the wiſdome of Paganiſme, they give it out as a myſticall precept of great importance, that Princes, and ſuch as are under them in moſt authority or credit with the people, ſhould take all occaſions of rare events, and, from what cauſe ſoever the ſame do proceed, yet wreſt them to the ſtrengthning of their Religion, and not make it nice for ſo good a purpoſe to uſe, if need be, plaine forgeries. Thus while they ſtudy how to bring to paſſe that Religion may ſeeme but a matter made, they loſe themſelves in the very maze of their owne diſcourſes, as if reaſon did even purpoſely forſake them, who of purpoſe forſake God the author thereof. For ſurely a ſtrange kind of madneſſe it is, that thoſe men who though they be voyd of piety, yet, becauſe they have wit, cannot chooſe but know, that trechery, guile, and deceipt, are things, which may for a while, but do not uſe long to go uneſpied, ſhould teach that the greateſt honour to a ſtate is perpetuity; and grant, that alterations in the Service of God, for that they impaire the credit of Religion, are therfore perillous in Common-weales, which have no continuance longer than Religion hath all reverence done unto it; and withall acknowledge (for ſo they do) that when people began to eſpie the falſhood of Oracles, whereupon all Gentilitie was built, their hearts were utterly averted from it; and notwithſtanding counſell Princes, in ſober earneſt for the ſtrengthning of their ſtates, to maintaine Religion, and for the maintenance of Religion not to make choiſe of that which is true, but to authorize that they make choiſe of by thoſe falſe and fraudulent means, which in the end muſt needs overthrow it. Such are the counſels of men godleſſe, when they would ſhew themſelves politick deviſers able to create God in man by Art.

Of ſuperſtition and the root thereof, either miſguided zeale, or ignorant feare of divine glory

3. Wherefore to let go this execrable cure, and to come to extremities on the contrary hand, two affections there are, the forces whereof, as they beare the greater or leſſer ſway in mans heart, frame accordingly to the ſtamp and character of his Religion, the one zeale, the other feare. Zeale, unleſſe it be rightly guided, when it endeoureth moſt buſily to pleaſe God, forceth upon him thoſe unſeaſonable offices which pleaſe him not. For which cauſe, if they who this way ſwarve be compared with ſuch ſincere ſound and diſcreet as *Abraham* was in matter of Religion, the ſervice of the one, is like unto flattery, the other like the faithfull ſedulitie of friendſhip. Zeale, except it be ordered aright, when it bendeth it ſelfe unto conflict with all things either in deed, or but imagined to be oppoſite unto Religion uſeth the razor many times with ſuch eagernes, that the very life of Religion it ſelfe is thereby hazarded, through hatred of tares the corn in the field of God is pluckt up. So that Zeale needeth both waies a ſober guide. Feare on the other ſide, if it have not the light of true underſtanding concerning God, wherewith to be moderated, breedeth likewiſe ſuperſtition. It is therfore dangerous that in things divine, we ſhould work too much upon the ſpur either of zeale or feare. Feare is a good ſolicitor to devotion. Howbeit, ſith feare in this kind doth grow from an apprehenſion of deity indued with ineſtimable power to hurt, and is of all affections (anger excepted) the unapteſt to admit any conference with reaſon, for which cauſe the wiſeman doth ſay of feare, that it is a betrayer of the forces of

a *Chron.* 20. 7. Abraham thy friend.

b *Ibid.* 17. 1.

reaſonable

ſonable underſtanding, therefore except men know beforehand what manner of ſervice pleaſeth God, while they are fearefull, they trie all things which fancy offereth. Many there are who never think on God, but when they are in extremity of feare: and then becauſe, what to thinke, or what to doe they are uncertaine, perplexity not ſuffering them to be idle, they thinke and doe, as it were in a phrenſie, they know not what. Superſtition neither knoweth the right kind, nor obſerveth the due meaſure of actions belonging to the ſervice of God, but is alwaies ioyned with a wrong opinion touching things divine. Superſtition is, when things are either abhorred or obſerved, with a zealous or fearefull, but erronious relation to God. By meanes whereof, the ſuperſtitious doe ſometimes ſerve, though the true God, yet with needleſſe offices, and defraud him of duties neceſſary, ſometime load others than him with ſuch honours as properly are his. The one their overſight, who miſſe in the choyce of that wherwith; the other theirs, who faile in the election of him towards whom they ſhew devotion: this the crime of Idolatry, that the fault of voluntary, either niceneſſe, or ſuperfluity in Religion. The Chriſtian world it ſelfe being divided into two grand parts, it appeareth by the generall view of both, that with matter of hereſie the Weſt hath beene often and much troubled; but the Eaſt part never quiet, till the deluge of miſery, wherein now they are, overwhelmed them. The chiefeſt cauſe whereof doth ſeeme to have lien in the reſtleſſe wits of the Grecians, evermore proud of their owne curious and ſubtile inventions, which when at any time they had contrived, the great facility of their language ſerved them readily to make all things faire and plauſible to mens underſtanding. Thoſe grand hereticall impieties therfore, which moſt highly and immediately touched God and the glorious Trinity, were all in a manner the monſters of the Eaſt. The Weſt bred fewer a great deale, and thoſe commonly of a lower nature, ſuch as more neerely and directly concerned rather men than God, the Latines being alwaies to capitall hereſies leſſe inclined, yet unto groſſe ſuperſtition more. Superſtition ſuch as that of the [b] Phariſies was, by whom divine things in deed were leſſe, becauſe other things were more divinly eſteemed of than reaſon would; the ſuperſtition that riſeth voluntarily, and by degrees, which are hardly diſcerned, mingleth it ſelfe with the rites even of very divine ſervice done to the only true God, muſt be conſidered of, as a creeping and incroching evill, an evill; the firſt beginnings whereof are commonly harmeleſſe, ſo that it proveth onely then to be an evill, when ſome farther accident doth grow unto it, or it ſelfe come unto farther growth. For in the Church of God ſometimes it commeth to paſſe, as in over battle grounds, the fertile diſpoſition whereof is good; yet becauſe it exceedeth due proportion, it bringeth forth abundantly, through too much rankneſſe, things leſſe profitable, whereby, that which principally it ſhould yeeld, being either prevented in place, or defrauded of nouriſhment, faileth. This (if ſo large a diſcourſe were neceſſary) might be exemplified even by heapes of rites and cuſtomes, now ſuperſtitious in the greateſt part of the Chriſtian world, which in their firſt originall beginnings, when the ſtrength of vertuous, devout or charitable affection bloomed them, no man could iuſtly have condemned as evill.

[b] *Marke 7. 9.*

4 But

Of the redresse of superstition in Gods Church, and concerning the question of this book.

4 But howsoever superstition do grow, that wherein unfounder times have done amisse, the better ages ensuing must rectifie, as they may. I now come therfore to those accusations brought against us by pretenders of reformation; the first in the ranke whereof is such, that if so be the Church of England did at this day therewith as iustly deserve to bee touched as they in this cause have imagined it doth, rather would I exhort all sorts to seek pardon even with teares at the hands of God, than meditate words of defence for our doings, to the end that men might think favourably of them. For as the case of this world, especially now, doth stand, what other stay or succour have we to leane unto, save the testimony of our conscience, and the comfort we take in this, that we serve the living God (as neere as our wits can reach unto the knowledge thereof) even according to his owne will, and do therefore trust that his mercy shall be our safegard against those enraged powers abroad, which principally in that respect are become our enemies. But, sith no man can do ill with a good conscience, the consolation which we herein seeme to finde, is but a meere deceitfull pleasing of our selves in errour, which at the length must needs turne to our greater griefe, if that which we do to please God most, be for the manifold defects thereof offensive unto him. For so it is iudged, our prayers, our Sacraments, our fasts, our times and places of bublique meeting together for the worship and service of God, our matiages, our burials, our functions, elections and ordinations Ecclesiasticall, almost whatsoever we do in the exercise of our Religion according to lawes for that purpose established, all things are some way or other thought faulty, all things stained with superstition. Now although it may be, the wiser sort of men are not greatly moved hereat, considering how subiect the very best things have bin alwaies unto cavill, when wits possessed either with disdaine or dislike thereof, have set them up as their mark to shoot at: safe notwithstanding it were not therfore to neglect the danger which from hence may grow, and that especially in regard of them, who desiring to serve God as they ought, but being not so skilfull as in every point to unwind themselves where the snares of glosing speech do lie to intangle them, are in mind not a little troubled, when they heare so bitter invectives against that which this Church hath taught them to reverence as holy, to approve as lawfull, and to observe as behovefull, for the exercise of Christian duty. It seemeth therefore at the least for their sakes very meet, that such as blame us in this behalf be directly answerd, & they which follow us, informed plainly in the reasons of that we do. On both sides the end intended between us, is to have lawes & ordinances, such as may rightly serve to abolish superstition, & to establish the service of God with all things thereunto appertaining, in some perfect forme. There is an inward *reasonable, and there is a [b] solemne outward serviceable worship belonging unto God. Of the former kind are all manner vertuous duties, that each man in reason and conscience to God-ward oweth. Solemne and serviceable worship wee name for distinction sake, whatsoever belongeth to the Church or publique society of God by way of external adoration. It is the later of these two, whereupon our present question groweth. Againe, this later being ordered, partly, and as touching principall matters, by none but precepts

a *Rom.* 12. 1
b *Luc.* 1. 23.

precepts divine only; partly, and as concerning things of inferior regard, by ordinances as well humane as divine, about the ſubſtance of Religion wherein Gods onely law muſt bee kept, there is here no controverſie; the crime now intended againſt us is, that our lawes have not ordered thoſe inferiour things as behoveth, and that our cuſtomes are either ſuperſtitious, or otherwiſe amiſſe, whether we reſpect the exerciſe of publike duties in religion, or the functions of perſons authoriſed thereunto.

5 It is with teachers of Mathematicall Sciences uſuall, for us in this preſent queſtion neceſſary, to lay down firſt certaine reaſonable demands, which in moſt particulars following are to ſerve as principles whereby to worke, and therefore muſt be before-hand conſidered. The men whom we labour to informe in the truth, perceive that ſo to proceed is requiſite. For to this end they alſo propoſe touching cuſtomes and rites indifferent their generall axiomes, ſome of them ſubiect unto iuſt exceptions, and as we thinke, more meet by them to be farther conſidered, than aſſented unto by us. As that, *In outward things belonging to the ſervice of God, reformed Churches ought by all meanes to ſhun conformity with the Church of Rome*; that, *The firſt reformed ſhould bee a pattern whereunto all that come after ought to conforme themſelves*; that, *Sound religion may not uſe the things, which being not commanded of God, have beene either deviſed or abuſed unto ſuperſtition.* Theſe and the reſt of the ſame conſort we have in the book going before examined. Other Canons they alleadge, and rules not unworthy of approbation, as *That in all ſuch things the glory of God and the edification or ghoſtly good of his people muſt be ſought; that nothing ſhould bee undecently or unorderlydone.* But for as much as all the difficulty is in diſcerning what things doe glorifie God, and edifie his Church, what not; when we ſhould thinke them decent and fit, when otherwiſe: becauſe theſe rules being too generall, come not neere enough unto the matter which wee have in hand; and the former principles being neerer the purpoſe, are too far from truth, we muſt propoſe unto all men certain petitions incident, and very materiall in cauſes of this nature, ſuch as no man of moderate judgement hath cauſe to thinke unjuſt or unreaſonable.

Foure generall propoſitions, demanding that which may reaſonably be granted concerning matters of outward forme in the exerciſe of true religion. And fiftly, of a rule not ſafe nor reaſonable in theſe caſes.

6. The firſt thing therefore which is of force to cauſe approbation with good conſcience towards ſuch cuſtoms or rites, as publikly are eſtabliſh'd, is, when there riſeth from the due conſideration of thoſe cuſtoms & rites in themſelves apparent reaſon, although not always to prove them better than any other that might poſſibly be deviſed, (for who did ever require this in mans ordinances?) yet competent to ſhew their conveniency and fitnes, in regard of the uſe for which they ſhould ſerve. Now touching the nature of religious ſervices, and the manner of their due performance, thus much generally we know to be moſt cleare, that wheras the greatnes & dignity of all maner actions is meaſured by the worthines of the ſubject from which they proceed, & of the object wherabout they are converſant, we muſt of neceſſity in both reſpects acknowledg, that this preſent world affordeth not any thing comparable unto the publik duties of religion. For if the beſt things have the perfecteſt and beſt operations, it will follow, that ſeeing man is the worthieſt creature upon earth, and every ſociety of men more worthy than

The firſt propoſition touching iudgement, what things are convenient in the outward publike ordering of Church affaires.

any man, and of ſocieties that moſt excellent which we call the Church; there can bee in this world no work performed equall to the exerciſe of true religion, the proper operation of the Church of God. Againe, for as much as religion worketh upon him, who in maieſty and power is infinite, as we ought we account not of it, unleſſe we eſteeme it even [a] according to that very height of excellency which our hearts conceive, when divine ſublimity it ſelfe is rightly conſidered. In the powers and faculties of our ſoules God requireth the uttermoſt which our unfained affection towards him is able to yeeld: So that if we affect him not farre above and before all things, our religion hath not that inward perfection which it ſhould have, neither do we indeed worſhip him as our God. That which inwardly each man ſhould be, the Church outwardly ought to teſtifie. And therefore the duties of our religion which are ſeene, muſt be ſuch as that affection which is unſeene ought to be. Signes muſt reſemble the things they ſignifie. If religion beare the greateſt ſway in our hearts, our outward religious duties muſt ſhew it as farre as the Church hath outward ability. Duties of religion performed by whole ſocieties of men, ought to have in them according to our power a ſenſible excellency, [b] correſpondent to the maieſty of him whom wee worſhip. Yea then are the publike duties of Religion beſt ordered, when the militant Church doth [c] reſemble by ſenſible meanes, as it may in ſuch caſes, that hidden dignity and glory wherewith the Church triumphant in heaven is beautified. Howbeit, even as the very heat of the Sunne it ſelfe, which is the life of the whole world, was to the people of God in the Deſert a grievous annoyance, for eaſe whereof his extraordinary providence ordained a cloudy piller to over-ſhadow them: So things of generall uſe and benefit (for in this world what is ſo perfect that no inconvenience doth ever follow it?) may by ſome accident be incommodious to a few. In which caſe, for ſuch private evils remedies there are of like condition, though publike ordinances wherin the common good is reſpected, be not ſtirred. Let our firſt demand be therfore, that in the externall forme of Religion ſuch things as are apparently, or can be ſufficiently proved effectuall and generally fit to ſet forward godlineſſe, either as betokening the greatneſſe of God, or as beſeeming the dignitie of religion, or as concurring with celeſtiall impreſſions in the minds of men, may be reverently thought of; ſome few, rare, caſuall, and tolerable, or otherwiſe curable inconveniences notwithſtanding.

a Iohn 4.24. Wiſd. 6.10. 1 Chron. 29.17.

b 2 Cl ro. 2. 5.

c Ἐκκλησία ἀεὶ πίνει ὄμβρους ἄνωθεν ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν. Germa. περὶ τῶν ἀπροσδοκήτων. De'eſtatio Domini in Eccleſia eſt, Eccleſia verò eſt imago caleſtium. Ambr. de interpel. Dau. Facit in terris opera cælorum. Sidon. Apol. Epiſt. lib. 6.

7 Neither may we in this caſe lightly eſteeme what hath been allowed as fit in the iudgment of antiquity, & by the long continued practiſe of the whole Church, from which unneceſſarily to ſwarve, experience hath never as yet found it ſafe. For wiſdomes ſake we reverence them no leſſe that are yong, or not much leſſe, than if they were ſtricken in years. And therfore of ſuch it is rightly ſaid, that their ripneſſe of underſtanding is *d gray haire*, and their vertues *old age*. But becauſe wiſdome and youth are ſeldome ioyned in one, and the ordinary courſe of the world is more according to *Iobs* obſervation, who giveth men advice to ſeeke wiſdome *e amongſt the ancient*, and in the *length of daies* underſtanding, therfore if the compariſon do ſtand between man and man, which ſhall hearken unto other, ſith the aged for the moſt

The ſecond propoſition.

d Wiſd. 4. 9.

e Iob 10. 12.

moſt part are beſt experienced, leaſt ſubiect to raſh and unadviſed paſſions, it hath beene ever iudged reaſonable, that their ſentence in matter of counſell ſhould be better truſted, and more relied upon than other mens. The goodneſſe of God having furniſhed man with two chiefe inſtruments, both neceſſary for this life, hands to execute, and a mind to deviſe great things; the one is not profitable longer than the vigour of youth doth ſtrengthen it, nor the other greatly, til age and experience have brought it to perfection. In whom therfore time hath not perfected knowledge, ſuch muſt be contented to follow them in whom it hath. For this cauſe none is more attentively heard, than they whoſe ſpeeches are as *Davids* were, *I have beene young, and now am old*; much I have ſeene and obſerved in the world. Sharp and ſubtile diſcourſes of wit procure many times very great applauſe, but being laid in the ballance with that which the habit of ſound experience plainly delivereth, they are over-weighed. God may indue men extraordinarily with underſtanding as it pleaſeth him: but let no man preſuming thereupon neglect the inſtructions, or deſpiſe the ordinances of his elders, ſith hee, whoſe gift wiſdome is, hath ſaid, [a] *Aske thy Father, and he will ſhew thee, thine Ancients, and they ſhall tell thee.* It is therefore the voyce both of God and Nature, not of learning only, that eſpecially in matters of action and policie, [b] *The ſentences and iudgements of men experienced, aged and wiſe, yea though they ſpeak without any proofe or demonſtration, are no leſſe to be hearkned unto, than as being demonſtrations in themſelves, becauſe ſuch mens long obſervation is as an eye, wherewith they preſently and plainly behold thoſe principles which ſway over all actions.* Whereby we are taught both the cauſe wherefore wiſe mens iudgements ſhould bee credited, and the meane how to uſe their iudgements to the increaſe of our owne wiſdome. That which ſheweth them to bee wiſe, is the gathering of principles out of their owne particular experiments. And the framing of our particular experiments according to the rule of their principles, ſhall make us ſuch as they are. If therefore, even at the firſt, ſo great account ſhould be made of wiſe mens counſels touching things that are publikely done, as time ſhall adde thereunto continuance and approbation of ſucceeding ages, their credit and authority muſt needs be greater. They which do nothing but that which men of account did before them, are, although they do amiſſe, yet the leſſe faulty, becauſe they are not the authors of harme. And doing well, their actions are freed from preiudice of novelty. To the beſt and wiſeſt, [c] while they live, the world is continually a froward oppoſite, a curious obſerver of their defects and imperfections, their vertues it afterwards as much admireth. And for this cauſe, many times that which moſt deſerveth approbation, would hardly be able to find favour, if they which propoſe it, were not content to profeſſe themſelves therein ſchollers and followers of the ancient. For the world will not endure to heare that we are wiſer than any have beene which went before. In which conſideration there is cauſe why we ſhould be ſlow & unwilling to change, without very urgent neceſſity, the ancient ordinances, rites, and long approved cuſtomes of our venerable predeceſſors. The love of things ancient doth argue [d] ſtayednesſe; but levity & want of experience maketh apt unto innovations. That which wiſdome did firſt begin,

a Deut. 32. 7.

b Arist. Eth. 6. cap. 11.

c Πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ προδῶν φθόνος ἀφαιρεῖ φύεται. *Philo.* Πᾶσα δυσμένεια τῷ βίῳ τοῦτο σωφρονιστὴν βέβηκεν. *Syneſ.* Τὸ ἐκ προδῶν οὐτ' ἀντιπίπτει οὐ τετίμηται ἀφθόνως. *Gregor. Nazian.* ἐν Στιχ.

d ὅσοι δὲ νεωτερίσαι θεμιτὸν πρόσωπον τὸ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος σεμνὸν τῷ καινοπρεπεῖ

προστίμησαν καὶ ἀπαραίτητον τῶν πατέρων διεγύλαξαν γλῶ παράδοσιν κατὰ τε χώραν καὶ πόλιν ταύτην κεχρῶται τῇ φωνῇ. Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. cap. 7.

and hath beene with good men long continued, chalengeth allowance of them that ſucceed, although it plead for it ſelfe nothing. That which is new, if it promiſe not much, doth feare condemnation before triall; till triall, no man doth acquit or truſt it, what good ſoever it pretend and promiſe. So that in this kind there are few things known to bee good, till ſuch time as they grow to be ancient. The vain pretence of thoſe glorious names, where they could not bee with any truth, neither in reaſon ought to have beene ſo much alleadged, hath wrought ſuch a preiudice againſt them in the minds of the common ſort, as if they had utterly no force at all, whereas (eſpecially for theſe obſervances which concerne our preſent queſtion) antiquity, cuſtome, and conſent in the Church of God, making with that which Law doth eſtabliſh, are themſelves moſt ſufficient reaſons to uphold the ſame, unleſſe ſome notable publique inconvenience inforce the contrarie. For a [a] ſmall thing in the eye of Law is as nothing. Wee are therefore bold to make our ſecond petition this, that in things the fitneſſe whereof is not of it ſelfe apparant, nor eaſie to be made ſufficiently manifeſt unto all, yet the iudgement of antiquitie concurring with that which is received, may induce them to think it not unfit, who are not able to alleage any knowne waighty inconvenience which it hath, or to take any ſtrong exception againſt.

[a] ὃ μὲν μικρὸν τῷ ἐν ᾧ παρεκβαίνων οὐ φέγεται. Ariſt. Ethic. 2. cap. 9. *Modici nulla ſere ratio haberi ſolet.* Tiraquel de iud. inreg. exig c. 10.

The third propoſition.

8 All things cannot be of ancient continuance, which are expedient and needfull for the ordering of ſpiritual affaires: but the Church being a body which dieth not, hath alwayes power, as occaſion requireth, no leſſe to ordaine that which never was, than to ratifie what hath been before. To preſcrib the order of doing in all things, is a peculiar prerogative which [b] *wiſdom* hath as Queen or ſoveraign commandreſſe over other vertues. This in every ſeverall mans actions of common life appertaineth unto *Morall*; in publique and politick ſecular affaires unto *Civil* wiſdom. In like manner, to deviſe any certain forme for the outward adminiſtration of publike duties in the ſervice of God, or things belonging thereunto, and to find out the moſt convenient for that uſe, is a point of wiſdome *Eccleſiaſticall*. It is not for a man which doth know, or ſhould know what order is, and what peaceable government requireth, to aske, *why we ſhould hang our iudgement upon the Churches ſleeve*, and *why in matters of order more than in matters of doctrine*. The Church hath authority to eſtabliſh that for an order at one time, which at another time it may aboliſh, and in both do well. But that which in doctrine the Church doth now deliver rightly as a truth, no man will ſay that it may hereafter recall, and as rightly avouch the contrary. Lawes touching matter of order are changeable, by the power of the Church; articles concerning doctrine not ſo. Wee read often in the writings of Catholike and holy men touching matters of doctrin, *this we beleeve, this we hold, this the Prophets and Evangeliſts have declared, this the Apoſtles have delivered, this Martyrs have ſealed with their blood, and confeſſed in the midſt of torments, to this we cleave, as to the anker of our ſoules againſt this, though an Angell from heauen ſhould preach unto us, we would not beleeve.* But did we ever in any of them read touching of matters of meere comlineſſe, order, and decency, neither commanded nor prohibited by any Prophet, any Evangeliſt, any Apoſtle, *Although the Church wherein we live do*

[b] ἡ μὲν φρόνησις περὶ τὰ ποιητέα ὅρους αὐτοῖς τιθεῖσα. Philo. pag 35.

T. C. lib. 3. pag. 171.

do ordaine them to be kept, although they be never ſo generally obſerved, though all the Churches in the world ſhould command them; though Angels from heaven ſhould require our ſubjection therunto. I would hold him accurſed that *doth obey?* Be it in matter of the one kind or of the other, what Scripture doth plainely deliver, to that the firſt place both of credit and obedience is due; the next wherunto is whatſoever any man can neceſſarily conclud by force of reaſon; after theſe the voyce of the Church ſucceedeth. That which the Church by her Eccleſiaſticall authority ſhall probably think and define to be true or good, muſt in congruity of reaſon over-rule all other inferiour iudgements whatſoever. To them which aske why we thus hang our iudgement on the Churches ſleeve, I anſwer with *Salomon*, Becauſe [a] *two are better than one. Yea ſimply* (ſaith [b] *Baſil*) *and univerſally, whether it be in works of Nature, or of voluntary choyce and counſell, I ſee not any thing done as it ſhould be, if it be wrought by an agent ſingling it ſelfe from conſorts.* The Iewes have a ſentence of good advice, [c] *Take not upon thee to be a Iudge alone, there is no ſole Iudge but one only; ſay not to others, Receive my ſentence, when their authority is above thine.* The bare conſent of the whole Church ſhould it ſelt in theſe things ſtop their mouths, who living under it, dare preſume to bark againſt it. *There is* (ſaith [d] *Caſſianus*) *no place of audience left for them, by whom obedience is not yeelded to that which all have agreed upon.* Might we not thinke it more than wonderfull, that Nature ſhould in all communities appoint a predominant iudgement to ſway and over-rule in ſo many things; or that God himſelfe ſhould allow ſo much authority and power unto every poore family, for the ordering of all which are in it; and the City of the living God, which is his Church, be able neither to command, nor yet to forbid any thing, which the meaneſt ſhall in that reſpect, and for her ſole authorities ſake, be bound to obey? We cannot hide or diſſemble that evill, the grievous inconvenience whreof we feele. Our diſlike of them, by whom too much heretofore hath been attributed unto the Church, is grown to an errour on the contrary hand, ſo that now from the Church of God too much is derogated. By which removall of one extremity with another, the world ſeeking to procure a remedy, hath purchaſed a meere exchange of the evill which before was felt. Suppoſe we that the Sacred Word of God can at their hands receive due honor, by whoſe inticement the holy ordinances of the Church indure every where open contempt? No, it is not poſſible they ſhould obſerve as they ought the one, who from the other withdraw unneceſſarily their own, or their brethrens obedience. Surely the Church of God in this buſineſſe is neither of capacity, I truſt, ſo weake, nor ſo unſtrengthned, I know, with authority from above, but that her lawes may exact obedience at the hands of her owne children, and inioyn gain-ſayers ſilence, giving them roundly to underſtand, that where our duty is ſubmiſſion, weake oppoſitions betoken pride. Wee therefore crave thirdly to have it granted, that where neither the evidence of any law Divine, nor the ſtrength of any invincible argument otherwiſe found out by the light of reaſon, nor any notable publique inconvenience doth make againſt that which our owne lawes Eccleſiaſticall have, although but newly inſtituted, for the ordering of theſe affaires,

a *Eccleſ.* 4. 9.
b *Baſil. epiſt.* 68. *d.* 8. *s. quæ cõtra. Turpis eſt omnis pars univerſo ſuo non congruens.*
c *R. Iſmael in Cap. Patr.*
d *Caſſian. de incarn. lib.* 1. *ca.* 6.

the very authority of the Church it ſelfe, at the leaſt in ſuch caſes, may give ſo much credit to her owne lawes, as to make their ſentence as touching fitneſſe and conveniency waightier than any bare and naked conceit to the contrary; eſpecially in them who can owe no leſſe than childlike obedience to her that hath more than motherly power.

The fourth Propoſition.

9 There are ancient ordinances, lawes which on all ſides are allowed to be juſt & good, yea Divine & Apoſtolique Conſtitutions, which the Church, it may be, doth not alwaies keep, nor alwaies juſtly deſerve blame in that reſpect. For in evils that cannot be removed, without the manifeſt danger of greater to ſucceed in their roomes, wiſdome, of neceſſity, muſt give place to neceſſity. All it can do in thoſe caſes, is to deviſe, how that, which muſt be endured, may be mitigated, and the inconveniences thereof countervailed as neere as may be; that when the beſt things are not poſſible, the beſt may be made of thoſe that are. Nature, than which there is nothing more conſtant, nothing more uniforme in all her waies, doth notwithſtanding ſtay her hand, yea and change her courſe, when that which God by creation did command, he doth at any time by neceſſity countermand. It hath therefore pleaſed himſelfe ſometime to unlooſe the very tongues even of dumbe creatures, and to teach them to plead this in their own defence, leſt the cruelty of man ſhould perſiſt to afflict them for not keeping their wonted courſe, when ſome invincible impediment hath hindered. If wee leave nature, and looke into art, the workeman hath in his heart a purpoſe, he carrieth in mind the whole forme which his work ſhould have, there wanteth not in him ſkill and deſire to bring his labour to the beſt effect, onely the matter which he hath to worke on is unframable. This neceſſity excuſeth him, ſo that nothing is derogated from his credit, although much of his works perfection be found wanting. Touching actions of comon life, there is not any defence more favourably heard than theirs, who alleage ſincerely for themſelves, that they did as neceſſity conſtrained them. For when the mind is rightly ordered and affected as it ſhould be, in caſe ſome externall impediment croſſing well adviſed deſires, ſhall potently draw men to leave what they principally wiſh, and to take a courſe which they would not, if their choice were free; what neceſſity forceth men unto, the ſame in this caſe it maintaineth, as long as nothing is committed ſimply in it ſelfe evill, nothing abſolutly ſinfull or wicked, nothing repugnant to that immutable law, whereby, what ſoever is condemned as evill, can never any way be made good. The caſting away of things profitable for the ſuſtenance of mans life, is an unthankfull abuſe of the fruits of Gods good providence towards mankind. Which conſideration for all that did not hinder S. *Paul* from throwing corne into the ſea, when care of ſaving mens lives made it neceſſary, to loſe that which elſe had been better ſaved. Neither was this to do evil, to the end that good might come of it. For of two ſuch evils, being not both evitable, the choice of the leſſe is not evill. And evils muſt be in our conſtruction judged inevitable, if there be no apparent ordinary way to avoid them, becauſe where counſell and advice beare rule, of Gods extraordinary power, without extraordinary warrant we cannot preſume. In Civill affaires to declare what ſway neceſſity hath ever beene accuſtomed to beare, were

Numb. 22. 28.

a *Neceſſitas aut cogit aut excuſat.* Suarez. *Controv. lib.* 9.

b *Acts* 27. 38.

were labour infinite. The laws of all States and Kingdoms in the world have ſcarcely of any thing more common uſe. Should then onely the Church ſhew it ſelf inhumane & ſtern, abſolutly urging a rigorous obſervation of ſpirituall ordinances, without relaxation or exception, what neceſſity ſoever happen? We know the [a] contrary practiſe to have beene commended by him, upon the warrant of whoſe judgement, the Church moſt of all delighted with mercifull and moderate courſes, doth the oftner condeſcend unto like equity, permitting in caſes of neceſſity that, which otherwiſe it diſalloweth and forbiddeth. Caſes of neceſſity being ſometime but urgent, ſometime extreme, the conſideration of [b] publique utility is by very good advice judged at the leaſt equivalent with the eaſier kind of neceſſity. Now that which cauſeth numbers to ſtorme againſt ſome neceſſary tolerations, which they ſhould rather let paſſe with ſilence, conſidering that in Politie as well Eccleſiaſticall as Civill, there are and will be alwayes evils, which no art of man can cure, breaches & leakes moe than mans wit hath hands to ſtop; that which maketh odious unto them many things, wherein notwithſtanding the truth is, that very juſt regard hath been had of the publik good; that which in a great part of the waightieſt cauſes belonging to this preſent controverſie, hath inſnared the judgements both of ſundry good, & of ſome well learned men, is the manifeſt truth of certaine generall principles, whereupon the ordinances that ſerve for uſuall practiſe in the Church of God are grounded. Which principles men knowing to be moſt found, and that the ordinary practiſe accordingly framed is good, whatſoever is over & beſides that ordinary, the ſame they judge repugnant to thoſe true principles. The cauſe of which error is ignorance, what reſtraints & limitations al ſuch principles have, in regard of ſo manifold varieties, as the [c] *matter* wherunto they are appliable, doth commonly afford. Theſe varieties are not knowne but by much experience, from whence to draw the true bounds of all principles, to diſcern how far-forth they take effect, to ſee where & why they faile, to apprehend by what degrees & meanes they lead to the practiſe of things in ſhow, though not indeed repugnant & contrary one to another, requireth more ſharpnes of wit, more intricate circuſions of diſcourſe, more induſtry and depth of judgement than common ability doth yeeld. So that generall rules, till their limits be fully known (eſpecially in matter of publike and Eccleſiaſticall affaires) are, by reaſon of the manifold ſecret exceptions which lie hidden in them, no other to the eye of mans underſtanding, than cloudy miſts caſt before the eye of common ſenſe. They that walk in darkneſſe know not whither they go. And even as little is their certainty, whoſe opinions generalities only do guide. With groſſe and popular capacities, nothing doth more prevaile, than unlimited generalities, becauſe of their plainneſs at the firſt ſight; nothing leſſe with men of exact judgement, becauſe ſuch rules are not ſafe to be truſted over-far. Generall laws are like generall rules of Phyſick, according wherunto, as no wiſe man will deſire himſelf to be cured, if there be joyned with his diſeaſe ſome ſpeciall accident, in regard wherof, that whereby others in the ſame infirmity, but without the like accident, recover health, would be to him either hurtfull, or at the leaſt unprofitable; So we muſt not, under a colourable commendation of holy ordi-

[a] *Luc.* 6. 4.

[b] *Cauſa neceſſitatis & utilitatis æquiparantur in jure. Ab. Panor. ad c. ut ſuper. nu. 5. de reb. Eccleſ non alien.*

[c] Ἐν τοῖς περὶ πολιτικὰς πράξεις λόγοις ὁ μὲν τοῦ θέλου καθόλου ἔστιν ὁ δ' ἐπὶ μέρους ἀληθεύων πλείων γὰρ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα αἱ πράξεις. *Ariſt. Eth. li. 1. c. 7.*

ordinances in the Church, and of reasonable causes whereupon they have beene grounded for the common good, imagine that all mens cases ought to have one measure. Not without singular wisdome therfore it hath been provided, that as the ordinary course of common affaires is disposed of by generall lawes, so likwise mens rarer incident necessities & utilities should be with speciall equity considered. From hence it is, that so many priviledges, immunities, exceptions, and dispensations have been alwaies with great equity and reason granted, not to turne the edge of Iustice, or to make void at certaine times, and in certaine men through meere voluntary grace or benevolence, that which continually and universally should be of force (as some understand it) but in every truth to practise generall lawes according to their right meaning. We see in contracts and other dealings which dayly passe between man and man, that, to the utter undoing of some, many things by strictnesse of law may be done, which equity and honest meaning forbiddeth. Not that the law is unjust, but unperfect; nor equity against, but above the law; binding mens consciences in things which law cannot reach unto. Will any man say, that the vertue of private equity is opposite and repugnant to that law, the silence whereof it supplieth in all such private dealing? No more is publique equity against the law of publique affaires, albeit the one permit unto some in speciall considerations, that which the other agreably with generall rules of Iustice doth in general sort forbid. For sith all good lawes are the voices of right reason, which is the instrument wherwith God will have the world guided, and impossible it is that right should withstand right; it must follow that principles and rules of Iustice, be they never so generally uttered, doe no lesse effectually intend, than if they did plainly expresse an exception of all particulars, wherin their literall practise might any way prejudice equity: and because it is naturall unto all men to wish their own extraordinary benefit, when they think they have reasonable inducements so to do; and no man can be presumed a competent judge what equity doth require in his owne case, the likeliest meane wherby the wit of man can provide, that he which useth the benefit of any speciall benignity above the common course of others, may injoy it with good conscience, & not against the true purpose of laws, which in outward shew are contrary, must needs be to arme with authority some fit both for quality & place to administer that, which in every such particular shall appeare agreeable with equity: wherin, as it cannot be denied, but that sometimes the practise of such iurisdiction may swarve through error even in the very best, and for other respects, where lesse integrity is. So the watchfullest observers of inconveniences that way growing, & the readiest to urge them in disgrace of authorised proceedings, do very well know, that the disposition of these things resteth not now in the hands of Popes, who live in no worldly awe or subiection, but is committed to them whom law may at all times bridle, & superiour power controll; yea to them also in such sort, that law it self hath set down to what persons, in what causes, with what circumstances, almost every faculty or favour shall be granted, leaving in a manner nothing unto them, more than only to deliver what is already given by law. Which maketh it by many degrees lesse reasonable, that under pretence of inconve-

inconveniences ſo eaſily ſtopped, if any did grow, and ſo well prevented, that none may, men ſhould bee altogether barred of the liberty that law with equity and reaſon granteth. Theſe things therefore conſidered, wee laſtly require that it may not ſeeme hard, if in caſes of neceſſitie, or for common utilities ſake, certaine profitable ordinances ſometimes be releaſed, rather than all men alwayes ſtrictly bound to the generall rigor thereof.

10 Now where the word of God leaveth the Church to make choyce of her owne ordinances, if againſt thoſe things which have beene received with great reaſon, or againſt that which the ancient practiſe of the Church hath continued time out of mind, or againſt ſuch ordinances as the power and authority of that Church under which wee live hath in it ſelfe deviſed, for the publique good, or againſt the diſcretion of the Church in mitigating ſometimes with favourable equitie, that rigour which otherwiſe the literall generalitie of Eccleſiaſticall Lawes hath iudged to bee more convenient and meet, if againſt all this it ſhould bee free for men to prove, to diſgrace, to reiect at their owne libertie what they ſee done and practiſed according to order ſet downe, if in ſo great variety of wayes, as the wit of man is eaſily able to find out towards any purpoſe, and in ſo great liking as all men eſpecially have unto thoſe inventions, whereby ſome one ſhall ſeeme to have beene more inlightned from above than many thouſands, the Church did give every man licence to follow what himſelfe imagineth that *Gods Spirit doth reveale* unto him, or what hee ſuppoſeth that God is likely to have revealed to ſome ſpeciall perſon, whoſe vertues deſerve to be highly eſteemed, what other effect could hereupon enſue, but the utter confuſion of his Church under pretence of being taught, led, and guided by his Spirit? the gifts and graces whereof do ſo naturally all tend unto common peace, that where ſuch ſingularitie is, they whoſe hearts it poſſeſſeth, ought to ſuſpect it the more, in as much as if it did come of God, and ſhould for that cauſe prevaile with others, the ſame God which revealeth it to them, would alſo give them power of confirming it unto others, either with miraculous operation, or with ſtrong and invincible remonſtrance of ſound reaſon, ſuch as whereby it might appeare that God would indeed have all mens iudgements give place unto it; whereas now the errour and unſufficience of their arguments doth make it on the contrarie ſide againſt them a ſtrong preſumption, that God hath not moved their hearts to think ſuch things, as he hath not inabled them to prove. And ſo from rules of generall direction it reſteth, that now we deſcend to a more diſtinct explication of particulars, wherein thoſe rules have their ſpeciall efficacie.

The rule of mens private ſpirits not ſafe in theſe caſes to be followed.

11 Solemne duties of publique ſervice to bee done unto God, muſt have their places ſet and prepared in ſuch ſort, as beſeemeth actions of that regard. *Adam* even in during the ſpace of his ſmall continuance in Paradiſe, had [a] where to preſent himſelfe before the Lord. *Adams* ſons had out of Paradiſe in like ſort [b] whither to bring their ſacrifices. The Patriarks uſed [c] altars, and [d] mountains, and [e] groves, to the ſelfe ſame purpoſe. In the vaſt wilderneſſe when the people of God had themſelves no ſetled habitaton, yet a movable [f] tabernacle they were commanded of God to make. The like charge

Places for the publique ſervice of God.

a *Gen.* 3. 8.
b *Gen.* 4. 3.
c *Gen.* 13. 4.
d 22. 1.
e 21. 33.
f *Exod.* 25.

charge was given them againſt the time they ſhould come to ſettle themſelves in the land which had beene promiſed unto their fathers, [a] *Yee ſhall ſeeke that place which the Lord your God ſhall chuſe.* When God had choſen Ieruſalem, and in Ieruſalem mount [b] *Moria*, there to have his ſtanding habitation made, it was in the chiefeſt of [c] *Davids* deſires to have performed ſo good a work. His griefe was no leſſe, that he could not have the honour to build God a Temple, than their anger is at this day, who bite aſunder their owne tongues with very wrath, that they have not as yet the power to pull downe the Temples which they never built, and to levell them with the ground. It was no mean thing which hee purpoſed. To performe a work ſo maieſticall and ſtately was no ſmall charge. Therefore [d] hee incited all men unto bountifull contribution, and procured towards it with all his power, gold, ſilver, braſſe, iron, wood, precious ſtones, in great abundance. Yea moreover, [e] *becauſe I have* (ſaith *David*) *a joy in the houſe of my God, I have of mine owne gold and ſilver, beſides all that I have prepared for the houſe of the Sanctuary, given to the houſe of my God three thouſand talents of gold, even the gold of Ophir, ſeven thouſand talents of fined ſilver.* After the overthrow of this firſt houſe of God, a ſecond was in ſtead therof erected, but with ſo great oddes, that [f] they wept which had ſeene the former, and beheld how much this later came behind it, the beauty whereof notwithſtanding was ſuch, that even this was alſo the wonder of the whole world. Beſides which Temple, there were both in other parts of the Land, and even in Ieruſalem, by proceſſe of time, no ſmall number of Synagogues for men to reſort unto. Our Saviour himſelfe, and after him the Apoſtles frequented both the one and the other. The Church of Chriſt which was in Ieruſalem, and held that profeſſion which had not the publique allowance and countenance of authority, could not ſo long uſe the exerciſe of Chriſtian religion but in [g] private only. So that as Iewes they had exceſſe to the Temple and Synagogues, where God was ſerved after the cuſtome of the Law; but for that which they did as Chriſtians, they were of neceſſity forced otherwhere to aſſemble themſelves. And as God gave increaſe to his Church, they ſought out both there and abroad for that purpoſe not the fitteſt (for ſo the times would not ſuffer them to do) but the ſafeſt places they could. In proceſſe of time ſomewhiles by ſufferance, ſomewhiles by ſpeciall leave and favour, they began to erect to themſelves Oratories, not in any ſumptuous or ſtately manner, which neither was poſſible by reaſon of the poore eſtate of the Church, and had beene perilous in regard of the worlds envie towards them. At length, when it pleaſed God to raiſe up Kings and Emperours favouring ſincerely the Chriſtian truth, that which the Church before either could not, or durſt not do, was with all alacrity performed. Temples were in all places erected. No coſt was ſpared, nothing iudged too deare which that way ſhould be ſpent. The whole world did ſeeme to exult, that it had occaſion of powring out gifts to ſo bleſſed a purpoſe. That cheerefull devotion which *David* this way did exceedingly delight to behold, and [h] wiſh that the ſame in the Iewiſh people might be perpetuall, was then in Chriſtian people every where to bee ſeene. Their actions till this day alwayes accuſtomed to bee ſpoken of with great honour, are now called openly into queſtion. They and as many

as

a *Deut.* 12.5.
b 2 *Chron.* 3.1.
c 2 *Chron.* 6.7. *Pſalm.* 132.5.
d 2 *Chron.* 25.9.
e 1 *Chro.* 29.3.
f *Ezr.* 3.12. *Agge.* 2.4.
g *Act.* 1.19. & 2.1. & 2.46.
h 1 *Chron.* 29. 17.18.

as have beene followers of their example in that thing; wee eſpecially that worſhip God, either in Temples which their hands made, or which other men ſithence have framed by the like pattern, are in that reſpect charged no leſſe than with the very ſinne of Idolatry. Our Churches in the ſoame of that good Spirit, which directeth ſuch fiery tongues, they terme ſpiteſully the Temples of *Baal.* are idoll Synogogues, abominable ſtyes.

12 Wherein the firſt thing which moveth them thus to caſt up their poyſon, are certaine ſolemnities uſuall at the firſt erection of Churches. Now although the ſame ſhould be blame-worthy, yet this age (thanks bee to God) hath reaſonably well forborne to incurre the danger of any ſuch blame. It cannot bee laid to many mens charge at this day living, either that they have beene ſo curious, as to trouble Biſhops with placing the firſt ſtone in the Churches they built, or ſo ſcrupulous, as after the erection of them, to make any great ado for their dedication. In which kinde notwithſtanding as we do neither allow unmeet, nor purpoſe the ſtiffe defence of any unneceſſary cuſtome [a] heretofore received: So wee know no reaſon wherefore Churches ſhould be the worſe, if at the firſt erecting of them, at the making of them publique, at the time when they are delivered, as it were, into Gods owne poſſeſſion, and when the uſe whereunto they ſhall ever ſerve is eſtabliſhed, Ceremonies fit to betoken ſuch intents, and to accompany ſuch actions be uſuall, as [b] in the pureſt times they have been. When [c] *Conſtantine* had finiſhed an houſe for the ſervice of God at Ieruſalem, the dedication he iudged a matter not unworthy, about the ſolemn performance wherof, the greateſt part of the Biſhops in Chriſtendom ſhould meet together. Which thing they did at the Emperours motion, each moſt willingly ſetting forth that action to their power, ſome with Orations, ſome with Sermons, ſome with the ſacrifice of Prayers unto God for the peace of the world, for the Churches ſafety, for the Emperours and his childrens good. [d] By *Athanaſius* the like is recorded concerning a Biſhop of Alexandria, in a work of the like devout magnificence. So that whether Emperours or Biſhops in thoſe dayes were Church-founders, the ſolemn dedication of Churches they thought not to be a work in it ſelfe either vaine, or ſuperſtitious. Can we iudge it a thing ſeemely for any man to go about the building of an houſe to the God of heaven with no other appearance, than if his end were to reare up a kitchen, or a parlor for his owne uſe? Or when a work of ſuch nature is finiſhed, remaineth there nothing but preſently to uſe it, and ſo an end? It behoveth that the place where God ſhall be ſerved by the whole Church, be a publike place, for the avoyding of privie conventicles, which covered with pretence of religion, may ſerve unto dangerous practiſes. Yea, though ſuch aſſemblies bee had indeed for religions ſake, hurtfull nevertheleſſe they may eaſily prove, as well in regard of their fitneſſe to ſerve the turne of Heretiques, and ſuch as privily will ſooneſt adventure to inſtil their poyſon into mens minds; as alſo for the occaſion, which thereby is given to malicious perſons, both of ſuſpecting, and of traducing with more colourable ſhew thoſe actions, which in themſelves being holy, ſhould be ſo ordered, that no man might probably otherwiſe think of them. Which conſiderations have by ſo much the greater waight, for that of thoſe inconveniences the Church heretofore

The ſolemnity of erecting Churches condemned by *Bar.* pag. 130. The hallowing and dedicating of them ſcorned. pag. 141.

a *Durand. rational. lib. 1. cap. 6. & de conſecr. d. 1. c. tabernaculum. Greg. Mag. lib. 10. epiſt. 12. & lib. 7. epiſt 71. & lib. 8. epiſt. 63.*

b Ἐγκαίνια τιμᾶσθαι καλλαιος νόμος, ᾧ καλῶς ἔχων, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ ἅγια τιμᾶσθαι δικαίως. Καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἐκάσης τῆς ἐνιαυτοῦ περὶ τροπῆς τῶν αὐτῶν ἡμέραν ἐπαγούσης ἵνα μὴ ἐξίτηλα τοῦ χρόνου γένηται τὰ καλά. *Greg. Nazian. orat. in laud. Cypriani.*

c *Vide Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. lib. 4. cap. 41. 43. 44. 45.*

d *Athanaſius Apolog. ad Conſtantium.*

heretofore had ſo plain experience, when Chriſtian men were driven to uſe ſecret meetings, becauſe the liberty of publique places was not granted them. There are which hold, that the preſence of a Chriſtian multitude, and the duties of religion performed amongſt them, doe make the place of their aſſembly publique, even as the preſence of the King and his retinue maketh any mans houſe a Court. But this I take to be an errour, in as much as the onely thing which maketh any place publique, is the publique aſſignement thereof unto ſuch duties. As for the multitude there aſſembled, or the duties which they performe, it doth not appeare how either ſhould be of force to infuſe any ſuch prerogative. Nor doth the ſolemne dedication of Churches ſerve onely to make them publike, but further alſo to ſurrender up that right which otherwiſe their founders might have in them, and to make God himſelfe their owner. For which cauſe at the erection and conſecration as well of the [a] Tabernacle, as of the Temple, it pleaſed the Almighty to give a manifeſt ſigne that hee tooke poſſeſſion of both. Finally, [b] it notifieth in ſolemne manner the holy and religious uſe whereunto it is intended ſuch houſes ſhall bee put. [c] Theſe things the wiſdome of *Salomon* did not account ſuperfluous. He knew how eaſily that which was meant ſhould bee holy and ſacred, might be drawn from the uſe whereunto it was firſt provided; he knew how bold men are to take even from God himſelfe; how hardly that houſe would be kept from impious profanation, he knew; and right wiſely therefore endevoured by ſuch ſolemnities to leave in the minds of men that [d] impreſſion, which might ſomewhat reſtraine their boldneſſe, and nouriſh a reverend affection towards the houſe of God. For which cauſe when the firſt houſe was deſtroyed, and a new in the ſtead thereof erected by the children of Iſrael after their returne from captivity, they kept the [e] dedication even of this houſe alſo with joy. The [f] argument which our Saviour uſeth againſt profaners of the Temple, he taketh from the uſe whereunto it was with ſolemnity conſecrated. And as the Prophet *Ieremie* forbiddeth the carrying of [g] burdens on the Sabbath, becauſe that was a Sanctified day: So becauſe the Temple was a place ſanctified, our Lord would not ſuffer, no [h] not the carriage of a veſſell thorow the Temple. Theſe two commandements therefore are in the Law conioyned, [i] *Ye ſhall keepe my Sabbaths, and reverence my Sanctuary.* Out of thoſe the Apoſtles words, [k] *Have yee not houſes to eate and drinke?* albeit Temples, ſuch as now, were not than erected for the exerciſe of Chriſtian Religion, [l] it hath beene nevertheleſſe not abſurdly conceived, that he teacheth what difference ſhould be made betweene houſe and houſe; that what is fit for the dwelling place of God, and what for mans habitation he ſheweth; requireth that Chriſtian men at their owne home take common food and in the houſe of the Lord none but that food which is heavenly; he inſtructeth them, that as in the one place they uſe to refreſh their bodies, ſo they may in the other learne to ſeeke the nouriſhment of their ſoules; and as there they ſuſtaine temporall life, ſo here they would learne to make proviſion for eternall. Chriſt could not ſuffer that the Temple ſhould ſerve for a place of Mart, nor the Apoſtle of Chriſt, that the Church ſhould bee made an Inne. When therefore we ſanctifie or hallow Churches, that which

a *Exod.*40.34.
1 *Reg.*8.11.
b *Exod.*.49.
c 1 *Reg.*8.
d *Levit.*16.2. The place named holy.
e *Esr.*6.16.
f *Matth.*21.13
g *Ier.*17.24.
h *Mark.*11.16.
i *Levit.*26.2.
k 1 *Cor.*11.22.
l *Pet. Cluniac.*

which we do, is only to teſtifie that we make them places of publike reſort, that we inveſt God himſelfe with them, that we ſever them from common uſes. In which action, other ſolemnities than ſuch as are decent and fit for that purpoſe we approve none. Indeed we condemne not all as unmeet, the like whereunto have been either deviſed or uſed haply amongſt Idolaters. For why ſhould conformity with them in matter of opinion bee lawfull, when they think that which is true, if in action, when they do that which is meet, it be not lawfull to be like unto them? are we to forſake any true opinion, becauſe Idolaters have maintained it? or to ſhun any requiſite action, only becauſe we have in the practiſe therof been prevented by Idolaters. It is no impoſſible thing, but that ſomtimes they may iudge as right ly what is decent about externall affaires of God, as in greater things what is true. Not therefore whatſoever Idolaters have either thought or done, but let whatſoever they have either thought or done *idolatrouſly, be ſo farre forth* abhorred. For of that which is good in evill things, God is Author.

13 Touching the names of Angels and Saints, whereby the moſt of our Churches are called; as the cuſtome of ſo naming them is very ancient, ſo neither was the cauſe thereof at the firſt, nor is the uſe and continuance with us at this preſent hurtfull. That Churches were conſecrated unto none but the Lord only, the very generall name it ſelfe doth ſufficiently ſhew, is as much as by plaine grammaticall conſtruction, [a]*Church* doth ſignifie no other thing than *The Lords houſe*. And becauſe the multitude, as of perſons, ſo of things particular cauſeth variety of proper names to be deviſed for diſtinction ſake, founders of *Churches* did herein that which beſt liked their owne conceit at their preſent time; yet each intending, that as oft as thoſe buildings came to bee mentioned, the name ſhould put them in mind of ſome memorable thing or perſon. Thus therefore it commeth to paſſe, that all Churches have had their names, [b]ſome as memorials of peace, ſome of wiſdome, ſome in memory of the Trinity it ſelfe; ſome of Chriſt under ſundry titles; of the bleſſed Virgin not of a few, many of one Apoſtle, Saint, or Martyr, many of all. In which reſpect their commendable purpoſe being not of every one underſtood, they have beene in later ages conſtrued as though they had ſuperſtitiouſly meant, either that thoſe places which were denominated of Angels and Saints, ſhould ſerve for the worſhip of ſo glorious creatures, or elſe thoſe glorified creatures for defence, protection, and patronage of ſuch places. A thing which the Ancients do utterly diſclaim. [c] To them ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, we appoint no Churches, becauſe they are not to us as Gods. Againe, *The Nations to their Gods erected Temples, we not Temples unto our Martyrs as unto Gods, but memorials as unto dead men, whoſe ſpirits with God are ſtill living.* Divers conſiderations there are, for which Chriſtian Churches might firſt take their names of Saints: as either becauſe by the miniſtery of Saints it pleaſed God there to ſhew ſome rare effect of his power; or elſe in regard of death, which thoſe Saints having ſuffered for the teſtimonie of Ieſus Chriſt, did thereby make the places where they dyed venerable; or thirdly, for that it liked good and vertuous men to give ſuch occaſion of mentioning them often to the end that the naming of their perſons might cauſe enquirie to bee made, and meditation to bee had of their vertues.

Of the names whereby wee diſtinguiſh our Churches.

[a] From Κυριακὴ, Kyrc, and by adding letters of aſpiration, *Chyrch*.

[b] *Vide Socr. lib. 1. cap. 16. Evagr. lib. 4. cap. 30. Hiſt. Trip. lib. 4. cap. 1. 18.*

[c] *Vide Aug. l. 8. de Civ. Dei, c. 27 lib. 22. cap. 10. Epiſt 49 ad Deogra.*

The duty which Chriſtian men performed in keeping feſtivall dedications. S. *Baſil* termeth λατρείαν τῶ θεῶ acknowledging the ſame to have been withall τιμὴν εἰς τὸς μάρτυρας. *Baſil in Pſal 114.*

vertues. Wherefore seeing that we cannot iustly account it superstition, to give unto Churches those fore-rehearsed names, as memorials either of holy persons or things, if it be plaine that their founders did with such meaning name them, shall not we in otherwise taking them, offer them iniurie? Or if it be obscure or uncertaine what they meant, yet this construction being more favourable, charity (I hope) constraineth no man which standeth doubtfull of their minds, to leane to the hardest and worst interpretation that their words can carrie. Yea, although it were cleere, that they all (for the error of some is manifest in this behalfe) had therein a superstitious intent, wherefore should their fault preiudice us, (who as all men know) do use but by way of meere distinction the names which they of superstition gave? In the use of those names whereby wee distinguish both dayes and months, are we culpable of superstition, because they were, who first invented them? The signe [a] *Castor* and *Pollux* superstitiously given unto that ship wherein the Apostle sailed, polluteth not the Evangelists pen, who thereby doth but distinguish that ship from others. If to *Daniel* there had beene given no other name, but only [b] *Beltishazzer*, given him in honour of the Babylonian Idoll *Belti*, should their idolatrie, which were authors of that name, cleave unto every man which had so tearmed him by way of personall difference only? were it not to satisfie the minds of the simpler sort of men, these nice curiosities are not worthy the labour which we bestow to answer them.

[a] *Act.* 28. 11.

[b] *Dan.* 4. 5. *Vide Scal. de emendat. temp. lib.* 6. *pag.* 377.

Of the fashion of the Churches.

14 The like unto this is a fancie, which they have against the fashion of our Churches, as being framed according to the patterne of the Iewish Temple. A fault no lesse grievous, if so bee it were true, than if some King should build his mansion house by the modell of *Salomons* Palace. So farforth as our Churches and their Temple have one end, what should let, but that they may lawfully have one forme? The Temple was for sacrifice, and therefore had roomes to that purpose, such as ours have none. Our Churches are places provided, that the people might there assemble themselves in due and decent manner, according to their severall degrees and orders, Which thing being common unto us with Iewes, we have in this respect our Churches divided by certaine partition, although not so many in number as theirs. They had their severall for Heathen Nations, their severall for the people of their owne Nation, their severall for men, their severall for women, their severall for their Priests, and for the high Priest alone their severall. There being in ours for locall distinction betweene the Clergie and the rest (which yet we do not with any great strictnesse or curiosity observe neither) but one partition, the cause whereof at the first (as it seemeth) was, that as many as were capable of the holy mysteries, might there assemble themselves, and no other creep in amongst them; this is now made a matter so hainous, as if our Religion thereby were become even plaine Iudaisme, and as though we retained a most holy place, whereinto there might not any high Priest alone enter, according to the custome of the Iewes.

The sumptuousnesse of Churches.

15 Some it highly displeaseth, that so great expences this way are imployed: *The mother of such magnificence* (they think) *is but only a proud ambitious desire to be spoken of far & wide. Suppose we that God himselfe delighted to dwell sumptuously,*

tuouſly, or taketh pleaſure in chargeable pomp? No, then was the Lord moſt acceptably ſerved, when his Temples were roomes borrowed within the houſes of poore men. This was ſutable unto the nakedneſſe of Ieſus Chriſt and the ſimplicity of his Goſpell. What thoughts or cogitations they had which were authors of thoſe things, the uſe and benefit wherof hath deſcended unto our ſelves, as we do not know, ſo we need not ſearch. It cōmeth (we grant) many times to paſſe, that the works of men being the ſame, their drifts and purpoſes therin are divers. The charge of *Herod* about the Temple of God was ambitious, yet *Salomons* vertuous, *Conſtantines* holy. But howſoever their hearts are diſpoſed by whom any ſuch thing is done in the World, ſhall we think that it baneth the work which they leave behind them, or taketh away from others the uſe and benefit thereof? Touching God himſelfe, hath hee any where revealed, that it is his delight to dwell beggerly? and that he taketh no pleaſure to bee worſhiped, ſaving only in poore Cottages? Even then was the Lord acceptably honoured of his people as ever, when the ſtateli-eſt places and things in the whole World were ſought out to adorne his Temple. This is moſt [a] ſutable, decent, and fit for the greatneſſe of Ieſus Chriſt, for the ſublimity of his Goſpell, except we think of Chriſt and his Goſpell as [b] the Officers of *Iulian* did. As therfore the ſon of *Syrach* giveth verdict concerning thoſe things, which God hath wrought, [c] *A man need not ſay this is worſe than that, this more acceptable to God, that leſſe, for in their ſeaſon they are all worthy praiſe:* the like we may alſo conclude, as touching thoſe two ſo contrary waies of providing in meaner or in coſtlier ſort for the honour of Almighty God, *A man need not ſay this is worſe than that, this more acceptable to God, that leſſe, for with him they are in their ſeaſon both allowable,* the one, when the ſtate of the Church is poore, the other, when God hath inriched it with plenty. When they, which had ſeene the beauty of the firſt Temple, built by *Salomon* in the dayes of his great proſperity and peace, beheld how far it excelled the ſecond, which had not builders of like ability, the teares of their grieved eyes the Prophets [d] endevoured with comforts to wipe away. Whereas if the houſe of God were by ſo much the more perfect, by how much the glory therof is leſſe, they ſhould have done better to reioyce than weep, their Prophets better to reprove than comfort. It being obiected againſt the Church in the times of univerſall perſecution, that her ſervice done to God was not ſolemnly performed in Temples fit for the honour of divine Maieſtie, their moſt convenient anſwer was, that [d] *The beſt Temples which we can dedicate to God are our ſanctified ſoules and bodies.* Whereby it plainely appeareth, how the Fathers, when they were upbraided with that defect, comforted themſelves with the meditation of Gods moſt gracious and mercifull nature, who did not therefore the leſſe accept of their heartie affection and zeale rather, than tooke any great delight, or imagined any high perfection in ſuch their want of externall Ornaments, which when they wanted, the cauſe was their only lack of abilitie; abilitie ſerving, they wanted them not. Before the [e] Emperour *Conſtantines* time, under *Severus*, *Gordian*, *Philip*, and *Galienus*, the ſtate of Chriſtian affaires being tolerable, the former building which were but of mean and ſmall eſtate contented them not, ſpacious and ample Churches they erected throughout everie Citie. No envie was able to be their

[a] Γρηγεν τὸ μέγα καὶ καλὸν τίμιον· τῷ γὰρ τοιούτῳ θεαρίᾳ θαυμαςὴ. *Ariſt. Eth. l. 4. c. 2.* τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς καλὰ καὶ νόσῳ καλῶν εἰκόνες. *Philo Iud.*

[b] Fœlix totius imperialis quæſtor conſpicatus ſacrorum vaſorum pretia, Eu inquit qualibus vaſis miniſtratur Mariæ filio. Theodoret hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3. cap. 12.

[b] *Eccleſ. 39. 34.*

[c] *Agge 2. 5, 10.*

[d] *Minut. Fel. in Octav.*

[e] *Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 1.*

their hindrance, no practice of Sathan or fraud of men availeable against their proceedings herein, while they continued as yet worthy to feele the aid of the arme of God extended over them for their safety. These Churches *Diocleſian* [a] caused by ſolemne Edict to bee afterwards overthrowne. *Maximinus* with like authority giving leave to erect them, the hearts of all men were even wrapt with divine ioy, to ſee thoſe places, which tyrannous impiety had laid waſte, recovered, as it were out of mortall calamitie, Churches [b] *reared up to an height immeaſurable, and adorned with farre more beauty in their reſtauration, than their Founders before had given them.* Whereby we ſee how moſt Chriſtian minds ſtood then affected, wee ſee how ioyfull they were to behold the ſumptuous ſtatelineſſe of Houſes built unto Gods glory. If we ſhould, over and beſides this, alleage the care which was had, that all things about the Tabernacle of *Moſes* might bee as beautifull, gorgeous, and rich, as Art could make them, or what travell or coſt was beſtowed, that the goodlineſſe of the Temple might be a ſpectacle of admiration to all the World; this they will ſay was figurative, and ſerved by Gods appointment but for a time, to ſhadow out the true everlaſting glory of a more divine Sanctuary, whereinto Chriſt being long ſithence entred, it ſeemeth that all thoſe curious exornations ſhould rather ceaſe. Which thing we alſo our ſelves would grant, if the uſe thereof had been meerely and only myſticall. But ſith the Prophet *David* doth mention a naturall conveniencie which ſuch kind of bounteous expences have, as wel for that we do thereby give unto God a teſtimony of our [c] cheerefull affection, which thinketh nothing too deere to bee beſtowed about the furniture of his ſervice, as alſo becauſe it ſerveth to the world for a witneſſe of his [d] Almightineſſe, whom we outwardly honour with the chiefeſt of outward things, as being of all things himſelfe incomparably the greateſt. Beſides, were it not alſo ſtrange, if God ſhould have made ſuch ſtore of glorious creatures on earth, and leave them all to be conſumed in ſecular vanity, allowing none but the baſer ſort to be imployed in his owne ſervice? To ſet forth the [e] Maieſty of Kings his Vicegerents in this world, the moſt gorgeous and rare treaſures which the world hath, are procured. We think, [f] belike, that he will accept what the meaneſt of them would diſdaine. If there be great care to build and beautifie theſe corruptible Sanctuaries, little or none, that the living Temples of the holy Ghoſt, the deerly redeemed ſoules of the people of God may be edified huge expences upon Timber and Stone, but towards the reliefe of the poore ſmall devotion; Coſt this way infinite, and in the meane while Charity cold; wee have in ſuch caſe iuſt occaſion to make complaint as [g] Saint *Ieremie* did, *The walls of the Church there are enow contented to build, and to underſet it with goodly pillars, the marbles are poliſhed, the roofes ſhine with gold, the Altar hath precious ſtones to adorne it: and of Chriſts Miniſters no choyce at all.* The ſame *Ierome* doth in that place and [h] elſewhere debaſeth with like intent the glory of ſuch magnificence (a thing whereunto mens affections in thoſe times needed no ſpurre) thereby to extoll the neceſſity ſometimes of charity and almes, ſometimes of other the moſt principall duties belonging unto Chriſtian men, which duties were neither ſo highly eſteemed as they ought, and being compared with that in queſtion, the

a *Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 2.*

b *Euſeb. lib. 10. cap. 2.*

c *1 Chro. 28. 14*

d *2 Chron. 2. 5.*

e *Matth. 6. 29.*

f *Malac. 1. 8.*

g *Ad Nepotian. de vita cleric.*

h *Ad Demetr. & ſæpiſt. 12. ad Gaudent. um.*

directeſt

directeſt ſentence we can give of them both, as unto me it ſeemeth, is this; *God who requireth the one as neceſſary, accepteth the other alſo as being an honourable worke.*

16 Our opinion concerning the force and vertue which ſuch places have, is, I truſt, without any blemiſh or ſtaine of hereſie. Churches receive, as every thing elſe, their chiefe perfection from the end wherunto they ſerve. Which end being the publike worſhip of God, they are, in conſideration, houſes of greater dignitie, than any provided for meaner purpoſes. For which cauſe they ſeeme after a ſort even to mourne, as being injured and defrauded of their right, when places not ſanctified as they are, prevent them *unneceſſarily* in that preeminence and honour. Whereby alſo it doth come to paſſe, that the ſervice of God hath not then it ſelfe *ſuch perfection of grace and comelineſſe*, as when the dignity of the place it wiſheth for doth concurre. Againe, albeit the true worſhip of God be to God in it ſelfe acceptable, who reſpecteth not ſo much in what place, as with what affection he is ſerved; and therefore *Moſes* in the midſt of the ſea, *Iob* on the dunghill, *Ezechias* in bed, *Ieremie* in mire, *Ionas* in the Whale, *Daniel* in the den, the Children in the furnace, the Thiefe on the Croſſe, *Peter* and *Paul* in priſon, calling unto God, were heard; as [a] S. *Baſil* noteth: manifeſt notwithſtanding it is, that the very maieſty and holineſſe of the place where God is worſhiped, hath *in regard of us* great vertue, force and efficacy, for that it ſerveth as ſenſible help to ſtirre up devotion, and *in that reſpect*, no doubt, *bettereth* even our holieſt and beſt actions in this kind. As therefore we every where exhort all men to worſhip God, even ſo, for performance of this ſervice by the people of God aſſembled, we thinke not any place *ſo good* as the Church, neither any exhortation ſo fit as that of *David* [b] *O worſhip the Lord in the beauty of holineſſe.*

What holines and vertue we aſcribe to the Church, more than other places.

a *Exhort. ad bapt. & panitent.*

b *Pſal. 96.*

17 For of our Churches thus it becommeth us to eſteeme, howſoever others rapt with the pang of a furious zeale, doe poure out againſt them devout blaſphemy, crying; [c] *Down with them, down with them, even to the verie ground; For to Idolatry they have been abuſed. And the places where Idols have been worſhipped, are by* [d] *the Law of God devote to utter deſtruction. For execution of which Law, the* [e] *Kings that were Godly, as* Aſa, Iehoſaphat, Ezechia, Ioſia, *deſtroyed all the high places, Altars and Groves, which had beene erected in Iuda and Iſrael. He that ſaid; Thou ſhalt have no other gods before my face, hath likewiſe ſaid, Thou ſhalt utterly deface and deſtroy all theſe Sinagogues and places where ſuch Idols have beene worſhipped. This Law containeth the temporall puniſhment which God hath ſet downe, and will that men execute, for the breach of the other Law. They which ſpare them therefore, doe but reſerve, as the Hypocrite* Saul *did, execrable things, to worſhip God withall.* The truth is, that as no man ſerveth God, and loveth him not; ſo neither can any man ſincerely love God, and not extreemly abhorre that ſin, which is the higheſt degree of treaſon againſt the ſupreame Guide and Monarch of the whole world, with whoſe divine authority and power it inveſteth others. By meanes whereof the ſtate of Idolaters is two waies miſerable. Firſt, in that which they worſhip [f] they find no ſuccour; and ſecondly, at his hands whom they ought to ſerve, there is no other thing to be looked for, but the effects of moſt juſt diſpleaſure, the [g] withdrawing of grace, [h] derelictiõ in this world, & in the world to come [i] confuſion,

c *Pſal. 137. 7.*
d *Deut. 12. 2.*
e *1 Chron. 17. 6. 2 Chron. 29. 2 Chron. 3.*

f *Iſa. 8. 21. 45. 20. Hoſ. 14. 4. Iſa 41. 24.*
g *Pſal. 115. 8. 18. 13. Rom 1. 24.*
h *Iudic. 6. 13.*
i *Apoc. 21. 8. Iſa. 2. 21.*

sion. [k] *Paul* and *Barnabas*, when Infidels admiring their vertues, went about to sacrifice unto them, rent their garments in token of horrour, & as frighted persons, ran crying thorow the preasse of the people, *O men, wherefore doe ye these things?* They knew the force of that dreadfull [l] curse whereunto Idolatry maketh subiect. Nor is there cause why the guilty sustayning the same, should grudge or complaine of iniustice. For whatsoever evill befalleth in that respect [m] themselves have made themselves worthy to suffer it. As for those things either *whereon*, or else *wherewith* superstition worketh, polluted they are by such *abuse*, and deprived of that dignitie which their nature delighteth in. For there is nothing which doth not grieve, and as it were, even loath it selfe, whensoever iniquitie causeth it to serve unto vile purposes. Idolatrie therefore maketh, whatsoever it toucheth, the worse. Howbeit sith creatures which have no understanding can shew no will; and where no will is, there is no sin; and only that which sinneth is subiect to *punishment*; which way should any such creature be *punishable* by the Law of God? There may be cause sometime to *abolish*, or to *extinguish* them. But surely never by way of punishment *to the things themselves*. Yea farther, howsoever the Law of *Moses* did punish Idolaters, we find not that God hath appointed for us any definite or *certain temporall judgement*, which the Christian Magistrate *is of necessity for ever* bound to execute upon *offenders* in that kind, much lesse upon *things* that way *abused* as meere *instruments*. For what God did command touching Canaan, the same concerneth not us any otherwise than only as a fearfull patterne of his iust displeasure and wrath against sinnefull Nations. It teacheth us how *God thought good* to plague and afflict them, it doth not appoint in what forme and manner *we ought* to punish the sinne of Idolatrie *in all others*. Vnlesse they will say, that because the Israelites were commanded to make no covenant with the people of that Land, therefore leagues and truces made between superstitious persons, and such as serve God aright, are unlawfull altogether; or because God commanded the Israelites to smite the inhabitants of Canaan, and to roote them out, that therefore reformed Churches are bound to put all others to the edge of the sword. Now whereas [n] *Commandement* was also given to destroy all *places* where the Canonites had served the gods, and not to convert any of them to the honour of the true God: *this precept had reference unto a speciall intent* and purpose, which was that there should be *but one only place* in the whole Land, whereunto the people might bring such offerings, gifts, and sacrifices, as their *Leviticall* Law did require. By which Law, severe charge was given them in that respect, not to convert *those places* to the worship of the living God, where Nations before them had served Idols, [o] *But to seeke the place which the Lord their God should chuse out of all their tribes*. Besides, it is reason we should likwise consider how great a difference there is betweene their proceedings, who erect a new Common-wealth, which is to have neither people nor law, neither regiment nor religion the same that was, and theirs who only reforme a decaied estate, by reducing it to that perfection from which it hath swarved. In this case we are to retaine as much, in the other as little of former things as we may. Sith therefore examples have nor *generally* the force of lawes which all men ought to keep, but of counsels only and perswasions not amisse to be followed by them whose case

k *Act.*14.14.

l *Deut.*28.20.

m *Ier.*2.17.

n *Deut.*12.2.

o *Deut.*12.4.5.

caſe is the, like ſurely where caſes are ſo unlike as theirs and ours, I ſee not how that which they did, ſhould induce, much leſſe any way enforce us to the ſame practice, eſpecially conſidering that *groves* and *hill-altars* were, while they did remaine, both dangerous in regard of the ſecret acceſſe, which people ſuperſtitiouſly given, might have alwaies thereunto with eaſe, neither could they remaining ſerve with any fitneſſe unto better purpoſe, whereas our Temples (their former abuſe being by order of law removed) are not only free from ſuch perill, but withall ſo conveniently framed for the people of God to ſerve and honour him therein, that no man beholding them, can chuſe but thinke it exceeding great pittie they ſhould be everany otherwiſe employed. Yea but the cattell of *Amalek* (you will ſay) were *ſit* for ſacrifice; and this was the very conceit which ſometime deceived *Saul*. It was ſo. Nor do I any thing doubt, but that *Saul* upon this conceit might even lawfully have offered to God thoſe reſerved ſpoiles, had not the Lord *in that particular caſe* given *ſpeciall charge* to the contrarie. As therefore notwithſtanding the commandement of *Iſrael* to deſtroy Cananites, Idolaters may be converted and live: ſo the Temples which have ſerved Idolatrie as Inſtruments, may be ſanctified againe and continue, albeit, to *Iſrael* commandement have beene given, that *they* ſhould deſtroy all Idolatrous places *in their land*; and to the good Kings of *Iſrael* commendation for fulfilling, to the evill for diſobeying the ſame commandement, ſometimes puniſhment, alwaies ſharp and ſerve reproofe hath even from the Lord himſelfe befallen. Thus much it may ſuffice to have written in defence of thoſe Chriſtian Oratories, the overthrow and ruine whereof is deſired, not now by Infidels, Pagans, or Turkes, but by a ſpeciall refined ſect of Chriſtian beleevers; pretending themſelves exceedingly grieved at our ſolemnities in erecting Churches, at the names which we ſuffer them to hold, at their forme and faſhion, at the ſtatelineſſe of them and coſtlineſſe, at the opinion which we have of them, and at the manifold ſuperſtitious abuſes whereunto they have been put.

18 Places of publike reſort being thus provided for, our repaire thither is eſpecially for mutuall conference, and as it were commerce to bee had between God and us. Becauſe therefore want [a] of the knowledge of God is the cauſe of all iniquity amongſt men, as contrariwiſe, the very ground of all our happineſſe, and the ſeed of whatſoever perfect vertue groweth from us, is a right opinion touching things divine; this kinde of knowledge wee may iuſtly ſet down for the firſt and chiefeſt thing which God imparteth unto his people, and our dutie of receiving this at his mercifull hands, for the firſt of thoſe religious offices wherewith we publikely honour him on earth. For the inſtruction therefore of all ſorts of men to eternall life, it is neceſſary, that the ſacred and ſaving truth of God be openly publiſhed unto them. Which open publication of *heavenly myſteries*, is by an excellency termed *preaching*. For, otherwiſe there is not any thing *publikely notified*, but we may in that reſpect, rightly and properly ſay it is [b] *preached*. So that when the ſchoole of God doth uſe it as *a word of Art*, wee are accordingly to underſtand it with reſtraint to

Of publique teaching, or preaching, and the firſt kind thereof, Catechiſing.

a *Contraria fortia in quibus homines ſibi invicem oppugnantur ſecundùm cecitta & deſideria & opiniones omnia proveniunt ex ignorantia: ſicut cecus ex privatione ſui viſus vocatur ubique & laditur Scientia veritatis tollit hominum inimicitiam & odium.*

Hoc promiſit ſancta Theologia dicens, Habitabit agnus cum lupo. Et aſſignat rationem, repleta eſt terra ſapientia Domini. Moſes Aegyptius Dior. Hamebuch lib. 3. c. 12. b *Luc.* 8. 39. 1. 3.

ſuch

ſuch ſpeciall matter as that ſchoole is accuſtomed to publiſh. We find not in the world any people that hath lived altogether without religion. And yet this duty of religion, which provideth that publikely all ſorts of men may be inſtructed in the feare of God, is to the Church of God, and hath been alwaies ſo peculiar, that none of the Heathens, how curious ſoever in ſearching out all kinds of outward Ceremonies like to ours, could ever once ſo much as endevour to reſemble *herein* the Churches care for the endleſſe good of her Children. Waies of teaching there have been ſundry alwaies uſuall in Gods Church. For the firſt introduction of youth, to the knowledge of God, [b] the Iewes even till this day have their Catechiſmes. With Religion it fareth as with other Sciences, the firſt delivery of the elements thereof muſt, for [c] like conſideration, be framed according to the weake and ſlender capacity of young beginners: unto which manner of teaching principles in Chriſtianity, the Apoſtle in the ſixt of the Hebrews is himſelfe underſtood to allude. For this cauſe therfore, as the Decalogue of *Moſes* declareth ſummarily thoſe things which wee ought to do; the Prayer of our Lord what ſoever we ſhould requeſt or deſire: ſo either by the [d] Apoſtles, or at the leaſt wiſe out of their writings, we have the ſubſtance of Chriſtian beliefe compendiouſly drawn into few and ſhort Articles, to the end that the weakneſſe of no mans wit might either hinder *altogether* the knowledg, or excuſe the utter ignorance of needfull things. Such as were trained up in theſe rudiments, and were ſo made fit to be afterward by Baptiſm received into the Church, the Fathers uſually in their Writings doe terme [e] *Hearers*, as having no farther communion or fellowſhip with the Church, than only this, that they were admitted to heare the principles of Chriſtian faith made plaine unto them. Catechiſing may be in ſchooles, it may be in private families. But when we make it a kind of Preaching, we meane alwaies the publike performance thereof in the open hearing of men, becauſe things are preached not in that they are taught, but in that they are publiſhed.

a *Vide Tertul: de præſcr: adverſ. hær.*

b The Iewes *Catech.* called *Lekach*, Tob.

c *Incipientibus brevius ac ſimplicius tradi præcepta magis convenit. Aut enim diffidentiæ inſtitutionis tam numeroſæ atque perplexæ deterreri ſolent; aut eo tempore quo præcipuæ alenda ingenia atque indulgentia quædam enutrienda ſunt aſperiorum rerum tractatu atteruntur.* Fab. procem. lib. 8. *Incipientibus nobis exponere jura populi Romani, ita videntur poſſe tradi cõmodiſſimè, ſi primo levi ac ſimplici via poſt deinde diligentiſſima atque exactiſſimâ interpretatione ſingula tradantur. Alioqui ſi ſtatim ab initio rudem adhuc & infirmum animum ſtudioſi multitudine ac varietate rerum oneraverimus duorum alterum, aut deſertorem ſtudiorum aſſiciemus, aut cum magno labore ejus, ſæpè etiam cum diffidentia (quæ plerumque juvenes avertit) ſerius ad id perducemus, ad quod leviore via ductus, ſine magno labore & ſine ulla diffidentia maturius perduci potuiſſet.* Inſtitut. Imper. l. 1. tit. 1

d *Vide Kuff. in Symb.*

e Tertul. de pœnitent. *An alius eſt tinctu Chriſtus? Alius Audientibus? Audientes optare intinctionem non præſumere oportet.* Cyprian. Epiſt. 17. lib. 3. *Audientibus vigilantia veſtra non deſit.* Rupert. de divin. offic. lib. 4. cap. 18. *Audiens quiſque regulam fidei, Catechumenus dicitur. Catechumenus namque Auditor interpretatur.*

Of Preaching, by reading publikely the Books of holy Scripture; and concerning ſuppoſed untruths in thoſe tranſlations of Scripture which we allow to be read; as alſo of the choiſe which wee make in reading. *Act.* 15. 21.

19 *Moſes* and the Prophets, Chriſt and his Apoſtles, were in their times all Preachers of Gods Truth; ſome by word, ſome by writing, ſome by both. This they did partly as faithfull *Witneſſes*, making meere *relation* what God himſelfe had *revealed* unto them; and partly as carefull *Expounders*, Teachers, Perſwaders thereof. The Church in like caſe *Preacheth* ſtill, firſt publiſhing by way of *Teſtimonie* or relation, the truth which from them ſhe hath received, even in ſuch ſort as it was received, *written in the ſacred volumes of Scripture*: ſecondly, by way of *explication*, diſcovering the myſteries which lie hid therein. The Church as a witneſſe, preacheth his meere revealed Truth, by *reading* publikely the ſacred Scripture. So that a ſecond kind of preaching is the reading of holy Writ. For thus we may the boldier ſpeak, being ſtrengthned with the example

example ſo reverend a Prelate as ſaith, that *Moſes* from the time of ancient generations and ages long ſince paſt, had amongſt the Cities of the very Gentiles them that preached him, *in the* hee was read every Sabboth day. For ſo of neceſſity it muſt be meant, in as much as we know, that the Iewes have alwayes had their weekly readings of the *Law of Moſes*; but, that they alwayes had in like manner their weekly *Sermons upon ſome part of the Law of Moſes*, we no where find. Howbeit ſtill we muſt here remember, that the Church, by her publike reading of the Book of God, preached only *as a witnes*. Now the principall thing required in a witneſſe is a fidelity. Wherfore as we cannot excuſe that Church, which either through corrupt tranſlations of Scripture, delivereth in ſtead of divine ſpeeches, any thing repugnant unto that which God ſpeaketh; or, through falſified additions, propoſeth that to the people of God as Scripture, which is in truth no Scripture: So the blame, which in both theſe reſpects hath been laid upon the Church of England, is ſurely altogether without cauſe. Touching Tranſlations of Holy Scripture, albeit we may not diſallow of their painfull travels herein, who ſtrictly have tied themſelves to the very originall letter, yet the iudgement of the Church as we ſee by the practiſe of all Nations, *Greeks*, *Latines*, *Perſians*, *Syrians*, *Ethiopians*, *Arabians*, hath been ever, that the fitteſt for publike audience are ſuch, as following a middle courſe between the rigor of literall Tranſlators, and the liberty of Paraphraſts, do with greateſt ſhortneſſe and plainneſſe deliver the meaning of the Holy Ghoſt. Which being a labour of ſo great difficulty, the exact performance therof we may rather wiſh than look for. So that, except between the *words of tranſlation* and the *mind of Scripture* it ſelfe, there be *Contradiction*, every little difference ſhould not ſeeme an intollerable blemiſh neceſſarily to be ſpunged out. Whereas therefore the [a] Prophet *David* in a certain Pſalm doth ſay concerning *Moſes* and *Aaron*, that they *were* obedient to the word of God, and in the ſelfe-ſame place our allowed Tranſlation ſaith, they *were not* obedient, wee are for this cauſe challenged as manifeſt gainſayers of Scripture, even in that which we read for Scripture unto the people. But for as much as words are reſemblances of that which the mind of the ſpeaker conceiveth, and conceits are images repreſenting that which is ſpoken of, it followeth that they who will iudge of words, ſhould have recourſe to the things themſelves from whence they riſe. In ſetting down that miracle, at the ſight wherof *Peter* fell down aſtoniſhed before the feet of Ieſus, and cryed, *Depart, Lord, I am a ſinner*, the [b] Evangeliſt S. *Luke* ſaith, the ſtore of the fiſh which they took was ſuch, that the net they took it in *broke*, and the ſhips which they loaded therewith ſunk; [c] S. *Iob* recording the like miracle, ſaith, that albeit the fiſhes in number were ſo many, yet the net with ſo great a waight was *not broken*. Suppoſe they had written both of one miracle. Although there be in their words a manifeſt ſhew of iarre; yet none, if wee look upon the difference of matter, with regard whereunto they might both have ſpoken even of one miracle, the very ſame which they ſpake of divers, the one intending thereby to ſignifie that the greatneſſe of the burthen exceeded the naturall ability of the inſtruments which they had to beare it; the other, that the weakneſſe thereof was ſupported by a ſupernaturall and miraculous addi-

[a] *Pſal.* 106. 16.

[b] *Luc.* 5. 6. 7.

[c] *Iohn* 21. 11.

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tion of ſtrength. The Nets, as touching themſelves *brake*, but through the power of God they *held*. Are not the words of the [a] Prophet *Micheas* touching *Bethelem*, Thou *Bethelem* the leaſt? And doth not the very [b] Evangeliſt tranſlate theſe words, Thou *Bethelem not the leaſt*? the one regarding the quantity of the place, the other the dignity. *Micheas* attributeth unto it ſmalneſſe, in reſpect of circuit; *Matthew* greatneſſe, in regard of honour and eſtimation, by being the native ſoyle of our Lord and Saviour Chriſt. Sith therfore ſpeeches, which gain-ſay one another, muſt of neceſſity be applied both unto one and the ſame ſubiect; ſith they muſt alſo the one affirme, the other deny the ſelfe-ſame thing: what neceſſity of contradiction can there be between the letter of the Prophet *David* and our authorized tranſlation thereof, if the underſtanding *Moſes* and *Aaron* do ſay, *They* were not *diſobedient*, we applying our ſpeech to *Pharo* and the *Egyptians*, do ſay of them, *They* were not *obedient*? Or (which the matter it ſelf will eaſily enough likewiſe ſuffer) if the *Egyptians* being meant by both, it be ſaid that *they*, in regard of their offer to let go the people, when they ſaw the fearfully darkneſſe, *diſobeyed not* the Word of the Lord; and yet that they *did not obey* his Word, in as much as the ſheep and cattell at the ſelfe-ſame time they with held. Of both Tranſlations the better. I willingly acknowledge, that which commeth neerer to the very letter of the very originall verity: yet ſo, that the other may likewiſe ſafely enough be read, without any perill at all of gain-ſaying, as much as the leaſt iot or ſyllable of Gods moſt ſacred and precious truth. Which truth as in this we do not violate, ſo neither is the ſame gain-ſayed or croſt, no not in thoſe very preambles placed before certain readings, wherin the ſteps of the Latin Service-book have bin ſomwhat too neerly followed. As when we ſay, Chriſt ſpake [d] *to his Diſciples*, that whereas the Goſpel declareth he ſpake [e] *unto the Phariſes*. For doth the Goſpell affirm he ſpake to the *Phariſes only*? doth it meane that they, & beſides them, no man elſe was at that time ſpoken unto by our Saviour Chriſt? If not, then is there in this diverſity no contrariety. I ſuppoſe it ſomwhat probable, that St. *Iohn* and St. *Matthew* which have recorded thoſe Sermons, heard them, and being hearers, did think themſelves as well reſpected as the *Phariſes* in that which their Lord & Maſter taught, concerning the Paſtorall care he had over his own flock, & his offer of grace made to the whole World, which things are the matter wherof he treateth in thoſe Sermons. Wherfore as yet there is nothing found, wherein we read for the Word of God that which may be condemned as repugnant unto his Word. Furthermore ſomewhat they are diſpleaſed, in that wee follow not the method of reading which [f] in their iudgement is moſt commendable, the method uſed in ſome forren Churches, where Scriptures are read *before* the time of divine Setvice, and without either *choyce* or *ſtint appointed* by any *determinate* order. Nevertheleſſe, til ſuch time as they ſhall vouchſafe us ſome iuſt and ſufficient reaſon to the contrary, wee muſt by their patience, if not not allowance, retain the ancient received cuſtome which we now obſerve. For with us the reading of Scripture in the Church is a part of our Church Liturgie, a ſpeciall portion of the Service which we do to God, & not an exerciſe to ſpend the time when one doth wait for anothers comming, til the aſſembly of them that ſhall afterward worſhip him be complete. Where-

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a *Matth.* 5. 2.
b *Matth.* 2 6.
c *Exod* 10. 24.
d The Goſpell on the ſecond Sunday after Eaſter, and on the twentieth after Trinity.
e *Iohn* 10. 11. *Matth.* 22. 1.
f *T. C. l.* 2. *p.* 321 Although it be very convenient which is uſed in ſome Churches, where before preaching time the Church aſſembled hath the Scriptures read; yet neither is this, nor any other order of bare publike reading in the Church neceſſary had.
g *Aug. de civit. dei l.* 22. *cap.* 8. *Facto ſilentio ſcripturarum ſunt lecta divina ſolemnia.* That for ſeverall times ſeverall pieces of Scripture were read as parts of the Service of the Greek Church the Fathers therof in their ſundry Homilies and other Writings do all teſtifie the like order in the Syrian Churches, is cleere by the very inſcriptions of Chapters throughout their tranſlation of the New Teſtament. See the Edition at Vienna, Paris, and Antwerp.

fore as the forme of our publique ſervice is not voluntary, ſo neither are the parts thereof uncertaine, but they are all ſet downe in ſuch order, and with ſuch choyſe, as hath in the wiſdome of the Church ſeemed beſt to concurre as well with the ſpeciall occaſions, as with the generall purpoſe which we have to glorifie God.

Of preaching by the publike reading of other profitable inſtructions; and concerning books Apocryphall.

20 Other publike readings there are of Books and writings not Canonicall, whereby the Church doth alſo preach, or openly make knowne the doctrine of vertuous converſation; whereupon beſides thoſe things, in regard whereof wee are thought to read the Scriptures of God amiſſe, it is thought amiſſe, that we read in our Churches any thing at all beſides the Scriptures. To exclude the reading of any ſuch profitable inſtruction, as the Church hath deviſed for the better underſtanding of Scripture, or for the eaſier trayning up of the people in holineſſe and righteouſneſſe of life, they [a] plead, that God in the Law would have *nothing* brought into the Temple, neither beſomes, nor fleſh-hooks, nor trumpets, but thoſe only which were ſanctified; that for the expounding of darker places, we *ought* to follow the Iewes Politie, who under *Antiochus*, where they had not the commodity of Sermons, appointed alwayes at their meetings ſomewhat out of the Prophets to be read together with the Law, and ſo by the one made the other plainer to be underſtood; that before and after our Saviours comming, they neither read *Onkelos* nor *Ionathans* Paraphraſe, though having both, but contented themſelves [b] with the reading only of Scriptures; that if in the Primitive Church there had been any thing read beſides the monuments of the Prophets and Apoſtles, [c] *Iuſtin Martyr* and *Origen*, who mention theſe, would have ſpoken of the other likewiſe; that [d] the moſt ancient and beſt Councels forbid any thing to bee read in Churches, ſaving Canonicall Scripture only; that when [e] other things were afterwards permitted [f] fault was found with it, it ſucceeded but ill, the Bible it ſelfe was thereby in time quite and clean thruſt out. Which arguments, if they be only brought in token of the Authors good-will and meaning towards the cauſe which they would ſet forward, muſt accordingly be accepted of by them, who already are perſwaded the ſame way. But if their drift and purpoſe be to perſwade others, it would be demanded, by what rule the legall *hallowing of* beſomes and fleſh-hooks muſt needs exclude all other readings in the Church ſaving Scripture. Things ſanctified were thereby in ſuch ſort appropriated unto God, as that they might never afterwards againe bee made common. For which cauſe, the Lord, to ſigne and mark them as his owne, [g] appoynted oyle of holy oyntment, the like whereunto it was not lawfull to make for ordinary and daily uſes. Thus the [h] anoynted of *Aaron* and his ſonnes tyed them to the office of the Prieſt-hood for ever; the anoynting not of thoſe ſilver trumpets (which [i] *Moſes* as well for ſecular as ſacred uſes was commanded to make, not to ſanctifie) but the unction of the [k] Tabernacle, the table, the laver, the Altar of God, with all the inſtruments appertaining thereunto, this made them for ever holy unto him, in whoſe ſervice they were imployed. But what of this? Doth it hereupon follow, that all things

[a] *T. C. l. 1. pag. 196.* Neither the Homilies nor the Apocrypha are all to be read in the Church. Wherein firſt it is good to conſider the order which the Lord kept with his people in times paſt, when hee commanded *Exod.* 30. 29. that no veſſell, nor no inſtrument, either beſome or fleſh-hook, or part ſhould once come into the Temple, but thoſe only which were ſanctified and ſet apart for that uſe. And in the Booke of Numbers, hee will have no other trumpets blowne to call the people together, but thoſe only which were ſet apart for that purpoſe. *Numb.* 10. 2.

[b] *T. C. l. 8. p. 197* Beſides this, the Politie of the Church of God in times paſt is to bee followed, &c.

b *Acts* 13. 15. *Acts* 15. 21.

c *Iuſtin. Apol. 2.* *Origen. Hom. 1. ſuper Exod. & in Iudic.*

d *Concil. Laod. cap.* 59.

e *Concil. Vaſenſ.* 2.

f *Concil. Co'on. par.* 2.

g *Exod.* 30. 25. 32.

h *Exod.* 40. 15.

i *Numb.* 10. 2.

k *Exod.* 27. 3. & 30. 26. 27. 28

things now in the Church, from the greateſt *to the leaſt*, are unholy, which the Lord hath not himſelfe preciſely inſtituted? For ſo thoſe rudiments, they ſay, do import. Then is there nothing holy, which the Church by her authority hath appointed, and conſequently all poſitive ordinances that ever were made by Eccleſiaſticall power, touching ſpirituall affaires, are prophane, they are unholy. I would not wiſh them to undertake a work ſo deſperate as to prove, that for the peoples inſtruction no kind of reading is good, but only that which the Iewes deviſed under *Antiochus*, although even that bee alſo miſtaken. For according to [m] *Elias* the Levite (out of whom it doth ſeeme borrowed) the thing which *Antiochus* forbad, was the publique reading of the Law, and not *Sermons* upon the Law. Neither did the Iewes read a portion of the Prophets, together with the Law, to ſerve for an interpretation thereof, becauſe Sermons were not permitted them; But inſtead of the Law, which they might not read openly, they read of the Prophets that, which in likeneſſe of matter came neereſt to each ſection of their Law. Whereupon, when afterwards the liberty of reading the [a] Law was reſtored, the ſelfe ſame cuſtome [b] as touching the Prophets did continue ſtill. If neither the Iewes have uſed publikely to read their Paraphraſts, [c] nor the Primitive Church for a long time any other writings than Scripture, except the cauſe of their not doing it, were ſome Law of God, or reaſon forbidding them to do that which we do, why ſhould the later ages of the Church be deprived of the Liberty the former had? Are wee bound while the world ſtandeth, to put nothing in practice, but only that which was at the very firſt? Concerning the Councell of *Laodicea*, as it forbiddeth the reading of thoſe things which are not Canonicall, ſo it maketh [d] ſome things not Canonicall which are. Their iudgement in this wee may not, and in that wee need not follow. We have by thus many yeeres experience found, that exceeding great good, not incumbred with any notable inconvenience, hath growne by the cuſtome which wee now obſerve. As for the harme whereof iudicious men have complained in former times; it came not of this, that other things were read beſides the Scripture, but that ſo evill choyſe was made. With us there is never any time beſtowed in divine Service, without the reading of a great part of the holy Scripture, which wee account a thing moſt neceſſary. We dare not admit any ſuch forme of Liturgie, as either appointeth no Scripture at all, or very little to be read in the Church. And therfore the thruſting of the Bible out of the Houſe of God, is rather there to be feared, where men eſteem it a matter ſo indifferent, whether the ſame be by ſolemne appointment read publikely, or not read, the bare text excepted, which the Preacher happily chuſeth out to expound. But let us here conſider what the Practice of our Fathers before us hath beene, and how farre forth the ſame may be followed. Wee finde, that in ancient times there was publiquely read firſt the [e] Scripture, as namely, ſomething out of the Books of the [f] Prophets of God, which were of old, ſomething out of

[T.C.l.1.p.197. The Lord would by theſe rudiments and pædagogies teach, that he would have nothing brought into the Church, but that which hee had appointed.

[m] *Elias Theſh in verbo Patar.*

[a] *Acts* 15. 21.

[b] *Acts* 13. 15.

[c] *T.C.l.* 1 *p.*197 This practiſe continued ſtill in the Churches of God after the Apoſtles times, as may appeare by the ſecond Apologie of *Iuſtin. Martyr. Idem. p.*198. It was decreed in the Councell of Laodicea, that nothing ſhould be read in the Church but the Canonicall books of the old and new Teſtament. Afterwards, as corruptions grew in the Church, the reading of Homilies and of Martyrs lives was permitted. But beſides the evill ſucceſſe thereof, that uſe and cuſtom was controled as may appeare by Councell of Colon. albeit otherwiſe Popiſh. The bringing in of Homilies and Martyrs lives, hath thruſt the Bible cleane out of the Church, or into a corner.

[d] The Apocalyps.

[e] *T. C. l.* 2. *p.*381. It is untrue, that *ſimple reading* is neceſſary in the Church. A number of Churches which have noſuch order of ſimple reading, cannot be in this point charged with breach of Gods Commandement, which they might be if ſimple reading were *neceſſary*. [By ſimple reading, hee meaneth the cuſtome of bare reading more than the Preacher at the ſame time expoundeth unto the people.]

[f] *Coimus ad divinarum literarum commemorationem.* Tertul. Apolog. p. 692.

[g] *Iudaicarum hiſtoriarum libri traditi ſunt ab Apoſtolis legendi in Eccleſiis.* Orig. in Ioſ. Hom. 15.

the

[a] the Apoſtles writings; & laſtly out of the holy [b] Euangeliſts, ſome things which touched the perſon of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe. The cauſe of their reading firſt the old Teſtament, then the new, and alwaies ſomwhat out of both, is moſt likely to have been that which *Iuſtin Martir*, and Saint *Auguſt.* obſerve in comparing the two Teſtaments. [c] *The Apoſtles* (ſaith the one) *hath taught us as themſelves did learne, firſt the precepts of the Law, and then the Goſpels. For what elſe is the Law, but the Goſpel foreſhewed? What other the Goſpell than the Law fulfilled?* In like ſort the other, [d] *What the old Teſtament, hath the very ſame the new containeth, but that which lieth there as under a ſhadow, is here brought forth into the open Sun. Things there prefigured, are here performed.* Again, *in the old Teſtament there is a cloſe comprehenſion of the new, in the new an open diſcovery of the old.* To be ſhort, the method of their publike readings either purpoſely did tend, or at the leaſtwiſe doth fitly ſerve, [e] *That from ſmaller things the mind of the hearers may go forward to the knowledge of greater, and by degrees climb up from the loweſt to the higheſt things.* Now beſides the Scripture, the Books which they called *Eccleſiaſticall*, were thought not unworthy ſometime to be brought into publike audience, and with that name they entituled the Books which we terme *Apocryphall*. Vnder the ſelf-ſame name they alſo compriſed certain, no otherwiſe annexed unto the new, than the former to the old Teſtament, as a book of *Hermes*, Epiſtles of *Clement*, and the like. According therefore to the Phraſe of Antiquitie, theſe we may terme *the new*, and the other the *old Eccleſiaſticall* Bookes or Writings. For wee being directed by a ſentence (I ſuppoſe) of Saint *Ierome*, who ſaith, that [f] *All writings not Canonicall are Apocryphall*, uſe not the title *Apocryphall*, as the reſt of the Fathers ordinarily have done, whoſe cuſtome is ſo to name for the moſt part only, ſuch as might not publiquely be read or divulged. *Ruffinus* therefore having rehearſed the ſelfe-ſame books of Canonicall Scripture, which with us are held to be alone Canonicall, addeth immediatly by way of caution, [g] *We muſt know that other books there are alſo, which our fore-fathers have uſed to name not Canonicall, but Eccleſiaſticall books, as the book of* Wiſdome, Eccleſiaſticus, Tobie, Iudith, *the* Maccabes *in the old Teſtament; in the new, the book of* Hermes, *and ſuch others: All which Books and Writings they willed to bee read in Churches, but not to be alleaged, as if their authority did bind us to build upon them our Faith. Other writings they named Apocryphall, which they would not have read in Churches. Theſe things delivered unto us from the Fathers, we have in this place thought good to ſet down.* So farre *Ruffinus*. He which conſidereth notwithſtanding what ſtore or falſe and forged Writings, dangerous unto Chriſtian beliefe, and yet bearing [h] glorious inſcriptions, began ſoone upon the Apoſtles times to be admitted into the Church, and to be honoured as if they had been indeed Apoſtolique, ſhall eaſily perceive what cauſe the Provinciall Synod of [i] *Laodicea* might have *as then to prevent*, eſpecially the danger of books made newly Eccleſiaſticall, and for feare of the fraud of Hereticks, to provide, that ſuch publique readings might be altogether taken out of Canonicall Scripture. Which ordi-

[a] Παῦλον καλὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγρὸς μενόντων ἐναὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συμβέλευσιν γινέσθαι καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεσθαι. Iuſtin. Apol. 2. pag. 162. Factum eſt ut iſta die Dominica Prophetica lectione jam lecta, ante altare adſtant, equi lectionem S. Pauli proferret, beatiſſimus Anniſles Ambroſius, &c. Sulpit. Sever. lib. 3. de vita S. Mart. [b] Vide Concil. Vaſc. 2. habitum an. Dom. 444. to Concil 2. p. 19. Item Synod. Laod. cap. 16. Cypr. lib. 2. epiſt. 5. & lib. 4. epiſt. 5. Ambr. l. b. 1. Offic ca. 8. & Epiſt. 75 & lib de Helia atque jejunio, cap. 20. [c] Iuſt. quæſt. 101. [d] Auguſt. quæſt. 33. in Numer.

[e] Walfr. Strab. de rebus Eccleſiaſt. cap. 22.

[f] Hieron. in Prolog. Galeat.

[g] Ruffinus in Symbol. Apoſt. apud Cyſt.

[h] Vide Gelaſ. in de. ret to. Concil. 2. p. 454.

[i] Circa An. Dom. 365.

ordinance reſpecting, but that abuſe that grew through the intermingling of leſſons humane with ſacred, at ſuch time as the one both affected the credit, and uſurped the name of the other (as by the Canon of [a] a later Councell providing remedy for the ſelfe ſame evill, and yet allowing the old Eccleſiaſticall Bookes to be read, it doth more plainly and cleerly appear) neither can be conſtrued, nor ſhould be urged utterly to prejudice our uſe of thoſe old Eccleſiaſticall writings; much leſſe of Homilies, which were a third kind of readings uſuall in former times, a moſt commendable inſtitution as well then [b] to ſupply the caſuall, as now the neceſſary defect of Sermons. In the heat of generall perſecution whereunto Chriſtian Beleefe was ſubject, upon the firſt promulgation thereof throughout the World, it much confirmed the courage and conſtancy of weaker mindes, when publique relation was made unto them, after what manner God had been glorified through the ſufferings of Martyrs, famous amongſt them for holineſſe during life, and at the time of their death admirable in all mens eyes, through miraculous evidence of grace divine aſſiſting them from above. For which cauſe the vertues of ſome being thought expedient to be annually had in remembrance above the reſt, this brought in a fourth kind of publique reading, whereby the lives of ſuch Saints and Martyrs had at the time of their yeerly memorials ſolemn recognition in the Church of God. The fond imitation of which laudible cuſtome being in later ages reſumed, when there was neither the like cauſe to doe as the Fathers before had done; nor any care, conſcience, or wit, in ſuch as undertook to performe that worke, ſome brainleſſe men have by great labour and travaile brought to paſſe, that the Church is now aſhamed of nothing more than of Saints. If therefore Pope [d] *Gelaſius* did ſo long ſithence ſee thoſe defects of judgement even then, for which the reading of the Acts of Martyrs ſhould be, and was at that time forborn in the Church of *Rome*; we are not to marvaile, that afterwards Legends being growne in a manner to be nothing elſe but heaps of frivolous and ſcandalous vanities, they have been even with diſdain throwne out, the very neſts which bred them abhorring them. We are not therefore to except only Scripture, and to make confuſedly all the reſidue of one ſute, as if they, who abolish Legends, could not without incongruity retaine in the Church either Homilies, or thoſe old *Eccleſiaſticall Bookes*: Which bookes in caſe my ſelfe did think, as ſome others doe, ſafer and better to be left publikely unread; nevertheleſſe as in other things of like nature, even ſo in this, [e] my private judgement I ſhould be loth to oppoſe againſt the force of their reverend authority, who rather conſidering the divine excellency of ſome things in all, & of all things in certain of thoſe *Apocrypha* which we publikely read, have thought it bettet to let them ſtand as a liſt or marginall border unto the old Teſtament, and, though with divine, yet as humane compoſitions to grant at the leaſt unto certain of them publipue audience in the houſe of God. For in as much as the due eſtimation of heavenly truth dependeth wholly upon the knowne and approved authority of thoſe famous Oracles of God, it greatly behoveth the Church to have alwayes moſt eſpecial care, leſt through confuſed mixture at any time humane uſurp the roome and title of divine writings. Wherefore

[a] *Concil. Carthag. 3. cap. 47. Praeter ſcripturas Canonicas nihil in Eccleſiis legatur ſub nomine divinarum ſcripturarum. Circa. an D. 401.*

[b] *Conſil. Vaſten. 2. habitum, an. Dom. 444. to Concil. 2. p. 19. Si presbiter aliqua infirmitate prohibente per. ſeipſum non poterit dedicare ſanctorum patrum homilias à Diaconibus recitentur.*

[c] *Concil. Carthag. 3. Can. 23. & Greg. Turon. de gloria mart. ca. 86. & Hadria epiſt. ad Carol. Magn.*

[d] *Gelaſ. circa an. Dom 492. to Concil. 2. p. 461.*

Concil. Coloniens. celebrat. an Dom. 536. part. 2. cap. 6. Melch. Can. lo. cor. theol. lib 11 Viv. de trad. diſc. lib. 5.

[e] *in errorum barathrum facilitèr ruunt, qui conceptus proprios patrum de ſinitionibus an reponunt. c. unde relig. do in Extra.*

peoples [a] more plaine inſtruction (as the ancient uſe hath been) we read in our Churches certaine Bookes beſides the Scripture, yet as the Scripture we read them not. All men know our profeſſed opinion touching the difference whereby we ſever them from the Scripture. And if any where it be ſuſpected that ſome one or other will haply miſtake a thing ſo manifeſt in every mans eye, there is no let, but that as often as thoſe Bookes are read, and need ſo requireth, the ſtile of their differences may expreſly be mentioned, to barre even all poſſibility of error. It being then knowne, that we hold not the *Apocrypha* for ſacred (as we doe the holy Scripture) but for humane compoſitions, the ſubject whereof are ſundry divine matters; let there be reaſon ſhewed, why to read any part of them publikly, it ſhould be unlawfull or hurtfull unto the Church of God. I heare it ſaid, that [b] *many things* in them are very *frivolous*, and unworthy of publike audience; yea, many contrary, *plainly contrary to the holy Scripture*. Which hitherto is neither ſufficiently proved by him who ſaith it, and if the proofes thereof were ſtrong, yet the very allegation it ſelfe is weak. Let us therefore ſuppoſe (for I will not demand to what purpoſe it is, that againſt our cuſtome of reading Bookes not Canonicall, they bring exceptions of matter in thoſe Books which we never uſe to read) ſuppoſe (I ſay) that what faults ſoever they have obſerved throughout the paſſages of all thoſe Books, the ſame in every reſpect were ſuch as neither could be conſtrued, nor ought to be cenſured otherwiſe, than even as themſelvs pretend: Yet as men, through too much haſte, oftentimes forget the errand whereabout they ſhould go, ſo here it appeareth, that an eager deſire to rake together whatſoever might prejudice or any way hinder the credit of Apoctyphall Books, hath cauſed the Collectors pen ſo to run as it were on wheeles, that the mind which ſhould guide it, had no leiſure to think, whether that which might haply ſerve to with-hold from giving them the authority which belongeth unto ſacred Scripture, and to cut them off from the Canon, would as effectually ſerve to ſhut them altogether out of the Church, & to withdraw from granting unto them that publike uſe, wherin they are only held as profitable for inſtruction. Is it not acknowledged, that thoſe Bookes are [c] *Holy*, that they are *Eccleſiaſticall* and *Sacred*, that to terme them *Divine*, as being for their excellency next unto them which are properly ſo termed, is no way to honor them above deſert; yea, even that the whole Church of Chriſt, as well *at the firſt as ſithence* hath moſt worthily approved their fitneſſe for the publike inſtructions of life and manners: Is not thus much I ſay acknowledged, and that by them, how notwithſtanding receive not the ſame for *any part of Canonicall Scripture*, by them who deny not but that they are *faultie*, by them who are ready enough to give inſtances, wherein they ſeeme to containe matter *ſcarce agreeable with holy Scripture?* So little doth ſuch their ſuppoſed faultineſſe in moderate mens judgement inforce the removall of them out of the houſe of God, that ſtill they are judged to retaine worthily thoſe very Tittles of Commendation; than which, there cannot greater be given to Writings, the Authors wherof are Men. As in truth, if the Scripture it ſelfe, aſcribing to the perſons of men righteouſneſſe in regard of their manifold vertues, may not rightly be conſtrued, as though it did therby clear them & make them quite free from all faults, no reaſon we

[a] *Hier præfat. ad libros Salom. Aug. de præd. Sanct. l. 1. c. 14. Præfat. gloſſ. ord. & Lyr. ad prol. Hieron. in Tob.*

[b] *T. C. lib. 2. pag. 400. 401.*

[c] *Harm. Confeſ. Sect. 1. Bel. con. art. Lubert. de princip. Chriſt. dogm. lib. 1. c. 5.*

should iudge it absurd to commend their Writings as reverend, holy, and sound, wherein there are so many singular perfections, only for that the exquisite wits of some few peradventure are able dispersedly here and there to find now a word & then a sentence, which may be more probably suspected than easily cleared of error by us which have but coniecturall knowledg of their meaning. Against immodest Invectives therfore wherby they are charged as being fraught with [a] *outragious lies*, we doubt not but their more allowable censure wil prevaile, who without so passionate termes of disgrace, doe note a difference great enough betweene Apocryphall and other writings, a difference such as [b] *Iosephus* and *Epiphanius* observe: the one declaring, that amongst the Iews, Books written after the daies of *Artaxerxes*, were not of equall credit with them which had gone before, in as much as the Iewes sithence that time had not the like exact succession of Prophets; the [c] other acknowledging that they are *profitable*. although denying them to be *divine*, in such construction and sense as the Scripture it self is so termed. With what intent they were first published, those words of the [d] Nephew of *Iesus* doe plainly enough signifie, *After that my grandfather* Iesus *had given himself to the reading of the* Law *and the* Prophets, *and* other Books of our Fathers, *and had* gotten therein *sufficient judgement*, *he* purposed *also to write something* pertaining to Learning and Wisdome, *to the intent*, that they which were desirous to learne, *and would give themselves to these things*, might profit *much more in living according to the Law*. Their end in writing, and ours in reading them, is the same. The Books of *Iudith*, *Toby*, *Baruch*, *Wisdome*, and *Ecclesiasticus*, we read, as serving most unto that end. The rest we leave unto men in private. Neither can it be reasonably thought, because upon certaine solemne occasions, some Lessons are chosen out of those Books, and of Scripture it selfe some Chapters not appointed to be read at all, that we thereby doe offer disgrace to the Word of God, or lift up the Writings of men above it. For in such choice we doe not thinke, but that *fitnesse* of speech may be more respected than *worthinesse*. If in that which we use to read, there happen by the way any Clause, Sentence, or Speech, that soundeth towards error, should the mixture of a little drosse constraine the Church to deprive her selfe of so much Gold, rather than learne how by art and iudgement to make separation of the one from the other? To this effect very fitly, from the counsell that S. *Ierome* giveth *Læta*, of taking heed how she read the *Apocrypha*, as also by the help of other learned mens iudgements delivered in like case, we may take direction. But surely, the arguments that should bind us not to read them, or any part of them publiquely at all, must be stronger than as yet we have heard any.

Of preaching by Sermons & whether Sermons be the only ordinary way of teaching, whereby mẽ are brought to the saving knowledge of Gods Truth.

21 We marvaile the lesse that our reading of Books not Canonicall is so much impugned, when so little is attributed unto the reading of Canonical Scripture it selfe; that now it hath grown to be a question, whether the *Word of God* be any *ordinary meane* to save the soules of men, in that it is either privately studied, or publikly read, and so made known, or else only as the same is *preached*, that is to say, *explained by lively voice*, and *applied* to the peoples use, *as the speaker in his Wisdome* thinketh meet. For this alone is it which they use to call *Preaching*. The publike reading of the *Apocrypha* they condemn alto-

a The Libell of *Metaphys. Schoolp. art.* 34.

b *Ioseph. cont. App. lib.* 1.

c *Epiph. in Anc yrot.* χρήσιμοι μέν εἰσι καὶ οὗτοι ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀριθμὸν φημὶ τῶν ἁγιογράφων.

d *Præf. ad lib. Eccles.*

altogether as a thing effectuall unto evill, the *bare* reading *in the ſight* of whatſoever, yea even of Scriptures themſelvs, they miſlike, as a thing *unfruitfull* to do *that good*, which we are perſwaded may grow by it. Our deſire is in this preſent controverſie, as in the reſt, not to be carried up and down with the waves of uncertaine arguments, but rather poſitively to lead on the minds of the ſimpler ſort by plaine and eaſie degrees, till the very nature of the thing it ſelfe doe make manifeſt what is truth. Firſt therefore, becauſe whatſoever is ſpoken concerning the efficacie or neceſſitie of *Gods Word*, the ſame they tie and reſtraine only unto *Sermons*, howbeit not Sermons read neither (for ſuch they alſo abhorre in the Church) but Sermons without book, Sermons which ſpend their life in their birth, and may have publike audience but once: for this cauſe, to avoid ambiguities, wherewith they often intangle themſelves, not marking what doth agree to the word of God in it ſelfe, and what in regard of outward accidents which may befall it, we are to know that the Word of God is his heavenly Truth, touching matters of eternall life revealed and uttered unto Men, unto Prophets and Apoſtles by immediate divine inſpiration, from them to us by their books and writings. We therfore have no *Word of God* but the Scripture. Apoſtolike Sermons were unto ſuch as heard them, his word, even as properly as to us their Writings are. Howbeit not ſo our own Sermons, the expoſitions which our diſcourſe of wit doth gather and miniſter out of the Word of God. For which cauſe, in this preſent queſtion we are, when we name the *Word of God*, alwaies to meane the *Scripture only*. The end of the Word of God is *to ſave*, and therfore we terme it *the Word of Life*. The way for all men to be ſaved, is by the knowledge of that truth which the word hath taught. And ſith eternall Life is a thing of it ſelfe communicable unto all, it behoveth that the Word of God, the neceſſary meane thereunto, be ſo likewiſe. Wherefore the Word of Life hath been alwaies a treaſure, though precious, yet eaſie, as well to attain, as to find, leſt any man deſirous of life ſhould periſh through the difficulty of the way. To this end the word of God no otherwiſe ſerveth, than only in the nature of a doctrinall inſtrument. It ſaveth, becauſe it maketh *wiſe to ſalvation*. Wherfore the ignorant it ſaveth not, they which live by the Word, muſt know it. And being it ſelfe the inſtrument which God hath purpoſly framed, therby to work the knowledge of ſalvation in the hearts of men, what cauſe is there wherefore it ſhould not of it ſelfe be acknowledged a moſt apt and a likely meane, to leave an *apprehenſion* of things divine in our underſtanding, and in the mind an *aſſent* therunto? For touching the one, ſith God, who knoweth and diſcloſeth beſt the rich treaſures of his own wiſdome, hath by delivering his Word, made choiſe of the Scriptures, as the moſt effectuall meanes, wherby thoſe treaſures might be imparted unto the world, it followeth, that to mans underſtanding the Scripture muſt needs be even of it ſelfe intended as a full and perfect diſcovery, ſufficient to imprint in us the lively character of all things neceſſarily required for the attainment of eternall Life. And concerning our aſſent to the myſteries of heavenly Truth, ſeeing that the word of God, for the Authors ſake, hath credit with all that confeſſe it (as we all doe) to be his Word, every Propoſition of holy Scripture, every Sentence being to us a principle; if the principles of all kinds of knowledge elſe have

2 Tim. 3. 15.

that vertue in themſelves, whereby they are able to procure our aſſent unto ſuch concluſions, as the induſtry of right diſcourſe doth gather from them, we have no reaſon to think the principles of that Truth, which tendeth unto mans everlaſting happineſſe, leſſe forcible than any other, when wee know that of all other they are for their certaintie the moſt infallible. But as everie thing of price, ſo this doth require travaile. We bring not the knowledge of God with us into the world. And the leſſe our own opportunitie or abilitie that way, the more wee need the helpe of other mens Iudgements, to be our direction herein. Nor doth any man ever beleeve, into whom the doctrin of beliefe is not inſtilled by inſtruction, ſome way received at the firſt from others. Wherin whatſoever fit meanes there are to notifie the myſteries of the word of God, whether publikly (which we call *Preaching*) or in private howſoever, the word by *every ſuch meane* even *ordinarily* doth ſave, and not only by being delivered unto men in Sermons. *Sermons* are not *the only preaching* which doth ſave Soules. For concerning the the uſe and ſence of this word *Preaching*, which they ſhut up in ſo cloſe a priſon, although more than enough have already been ſpoken, to redeeme the liberty thereof, yet becauſe they inſiſt ſo much, and ſo proudly inſult thereon, we muſt a little inure their eares with hearing, how others whom they more regard, are in this caſe accuſtomed to uſe the ſelfe-ſame language with us, whoſe manner of ſpeech they deride. [a] *Iuſtin Martyr* doubteth not to tell the Grecians, that even in certain of their *Writings* the very Iudgement to come is preached; nor the [b] Councell of *Vaus* to inſinuate, that Presbiters, abſent through infirmitie from their Churches, might be ſaid to preach by thoſe Deputies, who in their ſtead did but read *Homilies*; nor the [c] Councell of *Toledo*, to call the uſuall publike reading of the *Goſpels* in the Church, preaching; not [d] others, long before theſe our daies to write, that by him who but readeth a *Leſſon* in the ſolemne Aſſembly as part of Divine Service, the very Office of Preaching is ſo far-forth executed. Such kind of ſpeeches were then familiar, thoſe phraſes ſeemed not to them abſurd, they would have marvelled to heare the [e] out-cries which we do, becauſe we thinke, that the Apoſtles *in writing*, and others *in reading* to the Church thoſe Bookes which the Apoſtles wrote, are neither untruly nor unfitly ſaid to *preach*. For although mens *Tongues* and their *Pens* differ, yet to one and the ſelfe-*ſame* generall, if not particular *effect* they may both ſerve. It is no good argument, St. *Paul* could not *write with his Tongue*, therefore neither could he *preach with his Pen*. For preaching is a generall end whereunto writing and ſpeaking do both ſerve. Men ſpeake not with the inſtruments of writing, neither write with the inſtruments of ſpeech, and yet things *recorded* with the one, and *uttered* with the other, may be [f] *preached* well enough with both. By their patience therefore be it ſpoken, the Apoſtles preached as well when they wrote as when they ſpake the Goſpell of Chriſt, & our uſuall *publike reading* of the Word of God for the peoples inſtruction, *is preaching*. Nor about words would we ever contend, were not their purpoſe in ſo reſtraining the ſame, iniurious to Gods moſt ſacred Word and Spirit. It is on both ſides confeſt, that the word of God outwardly adminiſtred (his [g] Spirit inwardly concurring therewith) converteth, edifieth, and ſaveth Soules. Now whereas the externall adminiſtration

a *Parenti ad Gent. p. 17.*
b *Concil. Vaſen. 2. c. 2.*
c *Concil. Tol. 4. cap. 11.*
d *Rupert de Divin. Offic. lib. 1. c. 12. 13. Iſidor. de Eccleſ. Offic. l. 1. c. 10.*
e The Libell of *School-part. 11. T. C. lib. 2. Pag. 388.* Saint *Paul's* writing is no more preaching, than his pen or his hand is his Tongue: ſeeing they cannot bee the ſame, which cannot be made by the ſame Inſtruments.
f *Evangelizo manu & ſcriptione. Raino. de Rom. Eccleſ Idololat. praf. ad Co. Eſſex.*
g *Iohn 6. 46. Mat. 16. 17. 2 Cor. 4. 6. 1 Cor. 12. 3. Act. 16. 14.*

ſtration of his word is as well by reading barely the Scripture, as by explaining the ſame when Sermons thereon be made; in the one they deny, that the finger of God hath *ordinarily* certain *principall operations*, which wee moſt ſtedfaſtly hold and beleeve that it hath in both.

What they attribute to Sermons only, and what we to Reading alſo.

22 So worthy a part of Divine Service we ſhould greatly wrong, if we did not eſteeme Preaching as the bleſſed Ordinance of God, Sermons as Keyes to the Kingdome of Heaven, as Wings to the Soule, as Spurres to the good Affections of Man, unto the ſound and healthy as Food, as Phyſicke unto diſeaſed minds. Wherefore how highly ſoever it may pleaſe them with words of truth to extoll Sermons, they ſhall not herein offend us. We ſeek not to derogate from any thing which they can iuſtly eſteem, but our deſire is to uphold the iuſt eſtimation of that, from which it ſeemeth unto us they derogate more than becommeth them. That which offendeth us, is, firſt the great diſgrace which they offer unto *our Cuſtome* of bare reading the Word of God, and to his gracious Spirit, the *principall* vertue whereof thereby manifeſting it ſelfe, for the endleſſe good of mens Soules, even the vertue which it hath to *convert*, to *edifie*, to *ſave* Soules; this they mightily ſtrive to obſcure: and ſecondly, the ſhifts wherewith they maintaine their opinion of Sermons, whereunto while they labour to appropriate the *ſaving* power of the Holy Ghoſt, they ſeparate from all *apparent* hope of life and ſalvation, thouſands whom the goodneſſe of Almighty God doth not exclude. Touching therfore the uſe of Scripture even in that it is openly read, and the ineſtimable good which the Church of God by that very mean hath reaped; there was, we may very well think, ſome cauſe, which moved the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* to [a] require, that thoſe things which any one Churches affaires gave particular occaſion to write, might for the inſtruction of all be publiſhed, and that by *reading*. 1. When the very having of the Books of God was a matter of no ſmal charge & difficulty, in as much as they could not be had otherwiſe than only in written copies, it was the neceſſity not of preaching things agreable with the word, but of reading the Word it ſelfe at large to the people, which cauſed Churches throughout the world to have publike care, that the ſacred Oracles of God being procured by common charge, might with great ſedulity be kept both intire and ſincere. If then we admire the providence of God in the ſame continuance of Scripture, notwithſtanding the violent endevours of Infidels to aboliſh, and the fraudulent of Hereticks alwaies to deprave the ſame, ſhall we ſet light by that cuſtome of reading, from whence ſo precious a benefit hath grown? 2. The voice and teſtimony of the Church acknowledging Scripture to bee the Law of the living God, is for the truth and certainty therof no mean evidence. For if with reaſon we may preſume upon things which a few mens depoſitions do teſtifie, ſuppoſe we that the minds of men are not both at their firſt acceſſe to the Schoole of Chriſt exceedingly moved, yea & for ever afterwards alſo confirmed much when they conſider the maine conſent of all the Churches in the whole World witneſſing the ſacred authoritie of Scriptures, ever ſithence the firſt publication thereof, even till this preſent day and houre? And that they all have alwaies ſo teſtified, I ſee not how we ſhould poſſibly wiſh a prooſe more palpable, than this manifeſt received and every-where

[a] 1 Th. 5. 27. Coloſſ. 4. 16.

con-

continued custom of reading them publikly as the Scriptures. The reading therfore of the Word of God, as the use hath ever been, in open audience, is the plainest evidence we have of the Churches *assent* and *acknowledgement* that it is his word. 3. A further commodity this custome hath, which is, to furnish the very *simplest* and *rudest* sort with such infallible *Axiomes* and *precepts* of sacred Truth, delivered even in the *very letter* of the Law of God, as may serve them for [a] *Rules* whereby to judge the better *all other doctrines* and instructions which they heare. For which end and purpose, I see not how the Scripture could be possibly made familiar unto all, unlesse far more should be read in the peoples hearing, than by a Sermon can be opened. For whereas in a manner the whole Book of God is by reading every yeare published, a small part thereof, in comparison of the whole, may hold very well the ablest interpreter of Scripture occupied many yeares. 4. Besides, wherfore should any man think, but that reading it selfe is one of the *ordinary* meanes, whereby it pleaseth God of his gracious goodnesse to instill that celestiall Veritie, which being *but so* received is nevertheless effectuall to *save* soules? Thus much therefore we ascribe to the reading of the Word of God, as the manner is in our Churches. And because it were odious, if they on their part should altogether despise the same, they yeeld that reading may *set forward*, but not begin the work of salvation; that [b] Faith may be *nourished* therwith, but not bred; that [c] herein mens attention to the Scriptures, and their speculation of the creatures of God have like efficacie, both being of power to *augment*, but neither to effect beliefe without Sermons; that if [d] any *believe* by reading alone, we are to account it a miracle, an *extraordinary* work of God. Wherin that which they grant, we gladly accept at their hands, and wish that patiently they would examine how little cause they have to deny that which as yet they grant not. The [e] Scripture witnesseth, that when the Book of the Law of God had been sometime missing, and was after found, the King, which heard it but only read, rent his clothes, and with teares confessed, *Great is the wrath of the Lord upon us, because our Fathers have not kept his Word, to do after all things which are written in this Book.* This doth argue, that by bare reading (for of Sermons at that time there is no mention) true repentance may be wrought in the hearts of such as feare God, and yet incurre his displeasure, the deserved effect whereof is eternall death. So that their repentance (although it be not their first entrance) is notwithstanding the first step of their re-entrance into life, and may be in them wrought by the Word only read unto them. Besides, it seemeth that God would have no man stand in doubt, but that the reading of Scripture is effectuall, as well *to lay even the first foundation*, as to adde degrees of farther prefection in the feare of God. And therefore the Law saith, Thou shalt *read* this Law before all Israel, that men, women and *children* may heare, yea, even that their children, which as yet *have not known* it, may heare it, and by hearing it so read, may *learne to feare* the Lord. Our [g] Lord and Saviour was himselfe of opinion, that they which would not be drawn to amendment of life by the testimonie which *Moses* & the Prophets have given, concerning the miseries that follow sinners after death, were not likely to be perswaded by other meanes, although God from the very dead should have raised them up Preachers. Many heare

[a] *Iohn* 5.39. *Isa.* 8.20.
[b] *T. C. lib.* 2. *p.* 376.377. 395.
[c] *Pag.* 78.
[d] *Pag.* 383.
[e] 2 *Chr.* 34.18.
2 *Chro.* 34.3.
[f] *Deut* 31.13.
[g] *Luke* 16.9.

hear the Book of God, and beleeve them not. Howbeit, their unbeliefe in that caſe we may not impute unto any weakneſſe or inſufficiencie in the meane which is uſed towards them, but to the wilfull bent of their obſtinate hearts againſt it. With minds obdurate nothing prevaileth. As well they that preach, as they that read unto ſuch, ſhall ſtill have cauſe to complaine with the Prophets which were of old, *Who will give credit unto our Teaching?* But with whom ordinarie meanes will prevaile, ſurely the power of the Word of God, even without the help of Interpreters in *Gods Church* worketh mightily, not unto their confirmation alone which are converted, but alſo to their converſion which are not. It ſhall not boot them who derogat from reading, to excuſe it, when they ſee no other remedy, as if their intent were only to deny, that *aliens* and ſtrangers from the Family of God are won, or that beliefe doth uſe to be wrought at the firſt in *them*, without Sermons. For they know it is our cuſtome of ſimple reading, *not for converſion of Infidels* eſtranged from the houſe of God, but for *inſtruction of men baptized*, bred and brought up *in the* boſom of the Church, which they deſpiſe as a thing uneffectuall to ſave *ſuch* Soules. In *ſuch* they imagine that God hath no ordinary meane to work Faith without Sermons. The reaſon, why no man can attain beleefe by the bare contemplation of Heaven and Earth, is, for that they neither are ſufficient to give us as much as the leaſt ſparke of Light concerning the very principall Myſteries of our Faith; and whatſoever we may learne by them, the ſame we can only attaine to know, according to the manner of naturall Sciences, which meere diſcourſe of Wit and Reaſon findeth out, whereas the things which we properly beleeve, be only ſuch, as are received upon the credit of Divine Teſtimonie. Seeing therefore, that he which conſidereth the creatures of God, findeth therein both theſe defects, and neither the one nor the other in Scriptures, becauſe he that readeth unto us the Scriptures, delivereth all the Myſteries of Faith, and not any thing amongſt them all more than the mouth of the Lord doth warrant: it followeth in thoſe two reſpects, that our conſideration of Creatures and attention unto Scriptures are not in themſelves, and without Sermons, things of like diſability to *breed* or *beget* Faith. Small cauſe alſo there is, why any man ſhould greatly wonder as at an extraordinary work, if without Sermons, Reading be found to effect thus much. For I would know by ſome ſpeciall inſtance, what one Article of Chriſtian Faith, or what duty required neceſſarily unto all mens ſalvation there is, which the very reading of the Word of God is not *apt* to notifie. Effects are miraculous and ſtrange, when they grow by unlikely meanes. But did we ever heare it accounted for a wonder, that he which doth read, ſhould beleeve & live according to the will of Almighty God? [a] Reading doth convey to the mind that Truth, without addition or diminution, which Scripture hath derived from the holy Ghoſt. And the end of all Scripture is the ſame which [b] St. *Iohn* propoſeth in the writing of that moſt Divine Goſpell, namely, *Faith*, and through Faith *Salvation*. Yea, all Scripture is to this effect [c] *in it ſelfe* available, as they which wrote it were perſwaded; unleſſe we ſuppoſe, that the Evangeliſt, or others, in ſpeaking of their owne intent to inſtruct and to ſave by writing, had a ſecret conceit which they never opened to any, a conceit that no man in

a *Exod.* 24. 7.

b *Iohn* 20. 31.

c *Prov.* 1. 2, 3, 4. *Rom.* 1. 16. 2 *Tim.* 3. 15.

in the World should ever be that way the better for any Sentence by them written, till such time as the same might chance to be preached upon, or alleaged at the least in a Sermon. Otherwise, if he which writeth, doe that which is forceable in it selfe, how should he which readeth, be thought to do that which in it self is of no force to work beliefe, and to save beleevers? Now, although we have very just cause to stand in some jealousie and feare, lest by thus over-valuing their Sermons, they make the price and estimation of Scripture, otherwise notified, to fall: nevertheless, so impatient they are, that being but requested to let us know what causes they leave for mens incouragement to attend to the reading of the Scripture, if Sermons only be the power of God to save every one which beleeveth; that which we move for our better learning and instructions sake, turneth unto anger and choler in them, they grow altogether out of quietnesse with it, they answer

a T. C. li. 2. p. 375 fumingly, that they are *ashamed to defile their Pens with making answer to such idle questions*: yet in this their mood they cast forth somwhat, wherewith under paine of greater displeasure we must rest contented. They tell us, the profit of reading is singular, in that it serveth for a preparative unto Sermons; it helpeth pretily towards the nourishment of faith, which Sermons have once ingendred; it is some stay to his mind which readeth the Scripture, when he findeth the same things there which are taught in Sermons, and thereby perceiveth how God doth concurre in opinion with the Preacher; besides, it keepeth Sermons in memory, and doth in that respect, although not feed the soule of man, yet help the retentive force of that stomack of the mind, which receiveth ghostly food at the Preachers hand. But the principall cause of *writing* the Gospell was, *that it might be preached* upon or interpreted by publike Ministers, apt and authorised thereunto. Is it credible, that a superstitious conceit (for it is no better) concerning Sermons, should in such sort both darken their eyes, and yet sharpen their wits withall, that the only true and weighty cause why Scripture was written, the cause which in Scripture is so often mentioned, the cause which all men have ever till this present day acknowledged, this they should cleane exclude, as being no cause at all, and load us with so great store of strange concealed causes, which did never see light till now? In which number the rest must needs be of moment, when the very chiefest cause of committing the sacred Word of God unto Books, is surmized to have been, lest the Preacher should want a Text whereupon to schoolie. Men of Learning hold it for a slip in judgement, when offer is made to demonstrate that is proper to one thing, which reason findeth common unto moe. Whereas therefore they take from all kinds of teaching that which they attribute to Sermons, it had been their part to yeeld directly some strong reason, why between *Sermons alone* and *Faith* there should be *ordinarily* that coherence which causes have with their usuall effects, why a Christian mans beliefe should so naturally grow from Sermons, and not possibly from any other kind of teaching. In beliefe there being but these two operations, *Apprehension* and *Assent*, doe only Sermons cause beliefe, in that no other way is able to explaine the mysteries of God, that the mind may rightly apprehend or conceive them as behoveth? We all know, that many things are beleeved, although they be intricate, obscure, and dark, although they exceed

ceed the reach and capacity of our wits, yea although in this World they be no way poſſible to be underſtood. Many things beleeved are likewiſe ſo plaine, that everie common perſon may therein be unto himſelfe a ſufficient Expounder. Finally, to explaine even thoſe things which need and admit explication, many other uſuall waies there are beſides Sermons. Therefore Sermons are not the only ordinary meanes whereby wee *firſt* come to *apprehend* the myſteries of God. Is it in regard then of Sermons only, that apprehending the Goſpell of Chriſt wee yeeld thereunto our unfained aſſent as to a thing infallibly true? They which rightly conſider after what ſort the heart of man hereunto is framed, muſt of neceſſity acknowledge, that who ſo aſſenteth to the words of eternall life, doth it in regard of his *authority* whoſe words they are. This is in mans converſion unto God τὸ ὄθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως the firſt ſtep whereat his race towards Heaven beginneth. Vnles therefore, clean contrary to our own experience, wee ſhall think it a miracle if any man acknowledge the divine authority of the Scripture, till ſome Sermon have perſwaded him therunto, and that otherwiſe neither converſation in the boſom of the Church, nor religious education, nor the reading of learned mens Books, nor information received by conference, nor what ſoever paine and diligence in hearing, ſtudying, meditating day and night on the Law, is ſo farre bleſt of God as to work this effect in any man, how would they have us to grant, that faith doth not come but only by *hearing Sermons*? [a] Fain they would have us to beleeve the Apoſtle St. *Paul* himſelfe to be the Author of this their paradox, only becauſe he ſaid, that it pleaſeth God by the [b] *fooliſhnes of preaching*, to ſave them which beleeve; and again, [c] *How ſhall they call on him in whom they have not beleeved? How ſhall they beleeve in him of whom they have not heard? How ſhall they heare without a Preacher? How ſhall men preach except they be ſent?* To anſwer therfore both allegations at once, the very ſubſtance of that they contain is in few but this. Life and ſalvation God will have *offered unto all*; his will is that *Gentiles* ſhould be ſaved as well as *Iews*. Salvation belongeth unto none but ſuch *as call upon the Name of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt*. Which *Nations as yet unconverted* neither do *nor poſſibly can do till they beleeve*. What they are to beleeve, impoſſible it is they ſhould know till they *heare it*. Their hearing requireth *our preaching* unto them. [d] *Tertullian*, to draw even *Paynimes* themſelves unto Chriſtian belief, willeth *the Books* of the old Teſtament to be *ſearched*, which were at that time in *Ptolomeis* Librairy. And if men did not liſt to travell ſo far, though it were for their endleſſe good, he addeth, that in *Rome* and other places the *Iews* had Synagogues, wherunto every one which would migt reſort, that this kind of liberty they purchaſed by payment of a ſtanding tribute, that there they did openly [e] *read* the Scriptures; and whoſoever *will heare*, (ſaith *Tertullian*) *he ſhall find God; whoſoever will ſtudy to know, ſhall be alſo faine to beleeve*. But ſith there is no likelihood that ever voluntarily they will ſeek inſtruction at our hands, it remaineth that unleſſe we will ſuffer them to periſh, ſalvation it ſelfe muſt ſeek them, it behoveth God to *ſend* them Preachers as hee did *his elect Apoſtles* throughout the World. There is *a knowledge* which God hath alwayes revealed unto them in the *works of Nature*. This they honour and eſteeme highly as profound *wiſdome*; howbeit this wiſdome faveth

a *T. C. lib. 3. pag. 375.*
b *1 Cor. 1. 21.*
c *Rom. 10. 14.*
d *Apologet. cap. 18. in fine.*
e This they did in a toung which to all learned men amongſt the Heathens, and to a great part of the ſimpleſt was familiarly known: as appeareth by a ſupplication offered unto the Emperour *Iuſtinian*, wherin the Iews make requeſt that it might be lawfull for them to read the Greek Tranſlation of the 70. Interpreters in their Synagogues, as their cuſtom before had been.
f *Authent. 146. Cell. 1. in principio. Aequum ſane.*

veth them not. That which must save beleevers, is *the knowledge of the Crosse of Christ*, the *only subject* of *all our preaching*. And in their eyes what doth this seeme as yet but *folly*? It pleaseth God by the *foolishnesse of preaching* to save. These words declare how admirabe force those Mysteries have, which the World doth deride as follies, they shew that the *foolishnes of the Crosse of Christ* is the *wisdom of true beleevers*; they concern the *object* of our faith, *the* [a] *matter preached of* and beleeved in bv Christian men. This we know that the Grecians or Gentiles did aceount fooliſhaneſſe; but that they ever did think it *a fond* or unlikely *way* to seeke mens conversion by *Sermons*, we have not heard. Manifest therefore it is, that the Apostle applying the name of *foolishnesse* in such sort as they did, must needs, by the *foolishnesie of preaching*, mean the Doctrin of Christ, which we learn that we may be saved, but that Sermons are the only manner of teaching, whereby it pleaseth our Lord to save, he could not mean. In like sort, where the same Apostle proveth, that as well the *sending of the Apostles*, as their preaching *to the Gentiles*, was necessarie, dare we affirme it was ever his meaning, that unto their Salvation, who even from their tender infancie never knew any other Faith or Religion than only Christian, *no kind of teaching* can be available, *saving that* which was so needfull for the first universall conversion of Gentiles hating Christianitie; neither the *sending* of any sort allowable in the one case, except only of such as had been in the other also most fit and worthy Instruments? *Beliefe in all sorts* doth come by hearkning and *attending to the Word of Life*. Which word somtime proposeth and preacheth it selfe to the hearer; somtime they deliver it, whom privatly Zeale and Pietie moveth to be Instructors of others by conference; somtime of them it is taught, whom the Church hath called to the publike, either reading thereof, or interpreting. All these tend unto one effect, neither doth that which Saint *Paul* or other Apostles teach, concerning the necessitie of *such teaching* as theirs was, or of *sending such* as they were, for *that purpose unto the Gentiles*, prejudice the efficacie of *any other way* of publike instruction, or inforce the utter disability of any other mens Vocation thought requisite in this Church for the saving of soules, where meanes more effectuall are wanting. Their only proper & direct proofe of the thing in question had been to shew, in what sort, and how far mans Salvation doth necessarily depend upon the knowledge of the Word of God; what conditions, properties, & qualities there are, whereby Sermons are distinguished from other kinds of administring the Word unto that prupose; and what speciall property or quality that is, which being no where found but in Sermons, maketh them effectual to save soules, and leaveth all other Doctrinall meanes besides destitute of vitall efficacie. These pertinent Instructions, whereby they might satisfie us, and obtaine the cause it selfe for which they contend, these things which only would serve they leave, (and which needeth not) somtime they trouble themselves with freeting at the ignorance of such as withstand them in their Opinion; sometime they [b] fall upon their poore Brethren which can but read, and against *them* they are bitterly eloquent. If wee alleage what the Scriptures themselves doe usually speake for the saving force of the Word of God, not with restraint to any one certain kind of deliverie, but howsoever the same shall chance to bee made knowne, yet

[a] The Apostle useth the word κήρυγμα and not κήρυξις.

[b] T. C. *lib.* 2. *pag.* 373. This tayle of Readers. The Bishops more than beggerly Presents. Those Rascall Ministers.

yet by one trick or other they alwayes [a] reſtraine it unto Sermons. Our Lord and Saviour hath ſaid, [b] *Search the Scriptures, in them ye think to have eternall life.* But they tell us, he ſpake to the Iewes, which Iewes before *had heard his Sermons* and that peradventure it was his mind they ſhould ſearch, not by reading, nor by hearing them read, but by attending, whenſoever the Scriptures ſhould happen to be alleadged in Sermons. Furthermore, having received Apoſtolique doctrine, [c] the Apoſtle S. *Paul* hath taught us to eſteeme the ſame as the ſupreme Rule, whereby all other doctrines muſt for ever be examined. Yea, but in as much as the Apoſtle doth there ſpeak of *that he had preached*, he *flatly maketh* (as they ſtrangely affirm) *his preachings* or Sermons *the Rule*, whereby to examine all. And then, I beſeech you, what Rule have we thereby to iudge or examine any? For, if Sermons muſt be our Rule, becauſe the Apoſtles Sermons were ſo to their hearers; then, ſith wee are not as they were, hearers of the Apoſtles Sermons, it reſteth that either the Sermons which we heare ſhould be our Rule, or (that being abſurd) there will (which yet hath greater abſurdity) no Rule at all bee remaining for triall, what doctrines now are corrupt, what conſonant with heavenly truth. Againe, let [d] the ſame Apoſtle acknowledge all Scripture profitable to teach, to improve, to correct, to inſtruct in righteouſneſſe. Still notwithſtanding we erre, if hereby we preſume to gather, that Scripture read, will availe unto any one of all theſe uſes; they teach us the meaning of the words to be, that ſo much the Scripture can doe, if the Miniſter that way apply it in his Sermons, otherwiſe not. Finally, they never heare ſentence which mentioneth the Word or Scripture, but forth-with their Gloſſes upon it are, the Word preached, the Scripture explained or delivered unto us in Sermons. Sermons they evermore underſtand to bee that Word of God, which alone hath vitall operation, the dangerous ſequell of which conſtruction I wiſh they did more attentively waigh. For ſith ſpeech is the very Image, whereby the mind and ſoule of the ſpeaker conveyeth it ſelf into the boſom of him which heareth, we cannot chooſe but ſee great reaſon, wherefore the Word that proceedeth from God, who is himſelfe very truth and life, ſhould be (as the Apoſtle to the [e] *Hebrewes* noteth) lively and mighty in operation, ſharper than any two-edged ſword. Now, if in this and the like places we did conceive, that our own Sermons are that ſtrong and forcible Word, ſhould we not hereby impart even the moſt peculiar glory of the Word of God, unto that which is not his word? For, touching our Sermons, that which giveth them their very being, is the wit of man, and therefore they oftentimes accordingly taſte too much of that over-corrupt fountain from which they come. In our ſpeech of moſt holy things, our moſt fraile affections many times are bewraid. Wherefore, when we read or recite the Scripture, wee then deliver to the people properly the Word of God. As for our Sermons, be they never ſo found & perfect, his word they are not, as the Sermons of the Prophets were; no, they are but ambiguouſly termed his Word, becauſe his Word is commonly the ſubject whereof they treat, and muſt be the rule whereby they are framed. Notwithſtanding, by theſe and the like ſhifts they derive unto Sermons alone, whatſoever is generally ſpoken concerning the Word. Again, what ſeemeth to have beene uttered concerning Sermons, and their efficacy or

[a] *T. C. l. 2. p. 37.*
[b] *Ioh. 5. 39.*
[c] *Gal. 1. 9.*
[d] *1 Tim. 3. 16.*
[e] *Heb. 4. 12.*

neceſſity, *in regard of divine matter*, and muſt conſequently bee verified in ſundry other kinds of teaching, if *the matter* be in the ſame in all, their uſe is to faſten every ſuch ſpeech unto that one only maner of teaching, which is by Sermons, that ſtill Sermons may be all in all. [a] Thus, becauſe *Salomon* declareth that the people decay or *periſh* for want of knowledg, where [b] no *prophecying* at all is, they gather that the hope of life and ſalvation is cut off, where Preachers are not which *prophecy by Sermons*, how many ſoever they be in number that read daily the Word of God, and deliver, though in other ſort, the ſelfe-ſame matter which Sermons doe. The people which have no way to come to the knowledg of God, no *prophecying*, no teaching, periſh. But that they ſhould of neceſſity periſh, where any one way of knowledge lacketh, is more than the words of *Salomon* import. [c] Another uſuall point of their art in this preſent queſtion, is to make very large and plentifull diſcourſes, how Chriſt is by Sermons [d] lifted up *higher*, & made more [e] apparent to the eye of Faith; how the [f] ſavour of the Word is more ſweet being brayed, and more able to nouriſh being divided by preaching, than by only reading propoſed; how Sermons are the keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven, and do open the Scriptures, which being but read, remain *in compariſon* ſtill clapſed; how God giveth richer increaſe of grace to the ground that is planted and watered by preaching, than by bare and ſimple reading. Out of which premiſes declaring how attainment unto life is eaſier where Sermons are, they conclude an [h] *impoſſibility* therof where Sermons are not. *Alcidimus* the Sophiſter hath many arguments, to prove that voluntary and extemporall farre excelleth premeditated ſpeech. The like whereunto and in part the ſame are brought by them, who commend Sermons, as having (which all men, I think, will acknowledge) ſundry peculiar and proper vertues, ſuch as no other way of teaching beſides hath. Aptneſſe to follow particular occaſions preſently growing, to put life into words by countenance, voice and geſture, to prevaile mightily in the ſuddain affections of men, this Sermons may challenge. Wherin notwithſtanding ſo eminent properties whereof Leſſons are happily deſtitute, yet leſſons being free from ſome inconveniences, whereunto Sermons are more ſubiect, they may in this reſpect no leſſe take, than in other they muſt give the hand which betokeneth preeminence. For there is nothing which is not ſome way exceld, even by that which it doth excell. Sermons therfore and leſſons may each excell other in ſome reſpects, without any prejudice unto either, as touching that vitall force which they both have in the work of our ſalvation. To which effect when we have endevoured as much as in us doth lie, to find out the ſtrongeſt cauſes, wherfore they ſhould imagine that reading is it ſelfe ſo unavailable, the moſt we can learne at their hands, is, that Sermons are [k] *the ordinance of God*; the Scriptures *darke*, and the labour of reading *eaſie*. Firſt, therfore as we know that God doth aid with his grace, and by his ſpeciall providence evermore bleſſe with happy ſucceſſe thoſe things which himſelfe appointeth, ſo his Church, we perſwade our ſelves, he hath not in ſuch ſort given over to a reprobate ſence, that whatſoever it deviſeth for the good of the ſoules of men, the ſame he doth ſtill accurſe & make fruſtrate. Or if he alwaies did defeat the ordinances of his Church, [l] is not reading the ordinance of God? Wherfore then ſhould we thinke

a T.C.lib.2. pag.381.
b Prov.29.18.
c T.C.lib.2. pag.379.
d 2 Cor.2.16.
e 2 Tim.2.15.
f Mat.16.19.
g 1 Cor.3.6.
h T.C.lib.2. pag.380. No ſalvation to be looked for, where no Preaching is.
i T.C.lib.2. pag.395.
k T.C.lib.2. pag.396.
l Deut 31.13.

think that the force of his ſecret grace is accuſtomed to bleſſe the labour of dividing his Word, according unto each mans private diſcretion in publike Sermons, and to withdraw it ſelfe from concurring with the publike delivery thereof by ſuch ſelected portions of Scripture, as the whole Church hath ſolemnly appointed to be read for the peoples good, either by ordinary courſe, or otherwiſe, according to the exigence of ſpeciall occaſions? Reading (ſaith [a] *Iſidore*) is to the hearers no ſmall edifying. To them whoſe delight and meditation is in the Law, ſeeing that happineſſe and bliſſe belongeth, it is not in us to deny them the benefit of heavenly grace. And I hope we may preſume, that a rare thing it is not in the Church of God, even for that very Word which is read to be both preſently their [c] ioy, and afterwards their ſtudy that heare it. [d] Saint *Auguſtine* ſpeaking of devout men, noteth, how they daily frequented the Church, how attentive eare they gave unto the Leſſons and Chapters read, how carefull they were to remember the ſame, and to muſe thereupon by themſelves. [e] St. *Cyprian* obſerveth, that reading was not without effect in the hearts of men. Their ioy and alacrity was to him an argument, that there is in this Ordinance a bleſſing, ſuch as ordinarily doth accompany the adminiſtration of the Word of Life. It were much if there ſhould be ſuch a difference betweene the hearing of Sermons preached and of Leſſons read in the Church, that he which preſenteth himſelfe at the one, and maketh his Prayer with the Prophet [f] *David, Teach me, O Lord, the way of thy Statutes; direct me in the path of thy Commandements*, might have the ground of uſuall experience wherupon to build his hope of prevailing with God, and obtayning the grace hee ſeeketh; they contrariwiſe not ſo, who crave the like aſſiſtance of his Spirit, when they give eare to the reading of the other. In this therfore, preaching and reading are equall, that both are approved as his Ordinances, both aſſiſted with his grace. And if his grace do aſſiſt them both to the nouriſhment of Faith already bred, wee cannot, without ſome very manifeſt cauſe yeelded, imagine that in breeding or begetting Faith, his grace doth cleave to the one, and utterly forſake the other. Touching [g] *hardneſſe*, which is the ſecond pretended impediment, as againſt Homilies, being plain and popular inſtructions, it is no bar, ſo neither doth it infringe the efficacie, no not of Scriptures, although but read. The force of reading, how ſmal ſoever they would have it, muſt of neceſſity bee granted ſufficient to notifie that which is plain or eaſie to be underſtood. And of things neceſſary to al mens ſalvation, we have been hitherto accuſtomed to hold (eſpecially ſithence the publiſhing of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, whereby the ſimpleſt having now a Key unto knowledg, which the [h] *Eunuch* in the *Acts* did want, our children may of themſelves by reading underſtand that, which he without an Interpreter could not) they are in Scripture plain and eaſie to be underſtood. As for thoſe things which at the firſt are obſcure and hard, when memory hath laid them up for a time, iudgement afterwards growing explaineth them. Scripture therfore is not *ſo hard*, but that the *only reading* therof may give life unto willing hearers. The eaſie performance of which holy labour, is in like ſort a very cold obiection, to preiudice the vertue therof. For what though an *Infidell* yea, though *a child* may be able to read; there is no doubt, but the meaneſt and worſt amongſt the people under the

a *De Eccleſ. offic. lib. 1. c. 16.*
b *Pſal. 1. 2.*
c *Pſal. 119. 16.*
d *Aug. in Pſ. 68*
e *Cyprian. lib. 2. Epiſt. 5. Lectori perſonat. verba ſublimia, Evangelium Chriſti legit à fratribus conſpicitur, cum gaudio fraternitatis auditur.*
f *Pſ. 119. 33. 35.*
g *T. C. l. 2. p. 383. 384. 392.*
h *Act. 8. 31.*

Law, had been as able as the Prieſts themſelves were to offer Sacrifice. Did this make Sacrifice of no effect unto that purpoſe for which it was inſtituted? In Religion ſome duties are not commended ſo much by the hardneſs of their execution, as by the worthineſſe and dignity of that acceptation wherein they are held with God. We admire the goodneſſe of God in nature, when we conſider how he hath provided that things moſt needfull to preſerve this life, ſhould be moſt prompt and eaſie for all living creatures to come by. Is it not as evident a ſigne of his wonderfull providence over us, when that food of eternall life, upon the *utter want* whereof our endleſſe death and deſtruction neceſſarily enſueth, is prepared and alwaies ſet in ſuch a readineſſe, that thoſe very meanes than which nothing is more eaſie may ſuffice to procure the ſame? Surely, if wee periſh, it is not the lack of Scribes and learned Expounders that can be our juſt excuſe. The Word which ſaveth our ſoules is neere us, wee need for knowledge but [a] to read and live. The man which readeth the Word of God, the Word it ſelfe doth pronounce bleſſed, if he alſo obſerve the ſame. Now all theſe things being well conſidered, it ſhall be no intricate matter for any man to iudge with indifferency on which part the good of the Church is moſt conveniently ſought; whether on ours, whoſe opinion is ſuch as hath been ſhewed, or elſe on [b] theirs, who leaving no ordinarie way of ſalvation for them unto whom the Word of God is but only read, do ſeldome name them but with great diſdaine and contempt who execute that ſervice in the Church of Chriſt. By meanes whereof it hath come to paſſe, that Churches, which cannot enioy the benefit of uſuall Preaching, are iudged, as it were even forſaken of God, forlorne, and without either hope or comfort: Contrariwiſe, thoſe places which every day for the moſt part are at Sermons as the flowing Sea, do both by their emptineſſe at times of reading, and by other apparent tokens ſhew to the voice of the living God, this way ſounding in the eares of men a great deale leſſe reverence than were meet. But if no other evill were known to grow threreby, who can chooſe but thinke them cruell which do heare them ſo boldly teach, that [c] if God (as to him there is nothing impoſſible) doe happily ſave any ſuch as continue where they have all other meanes of inſtruction, but are not taught by continuall preaching, yet this is miraculous, and more than the fitneſſe of ſo poore inſtruments can give any man cauſe to hope for; that [d] Sacraments are not effectuall to ſalvation, except men be inſtruct by *preaching before* they be made partakers of them; yea, that both [e] Sacraments and Prayers alſo, where Sermons are not, *Do not only not feed, but are ordinarily to further condemnation?* What mans heart doth not riſe at the mention of theſe things? It is true that the weakneſſe of our wits and the dulnes of our affections do make us for the moſt part, even as our Lords owne Diſciples were for a certain time, hard & ſlow to beleeve what is written. For help whereof, expoſitions & exhortations are needfull, and that in the moſt effectuall manner. The principall Churches throughout the Land, and no ſmall part of the reſt being in this reſpect by the goodneſſe of God ſo abundantly provided for, they which want the like furtherance unto knowledge, wherewith it were greatly to be deſired that they alſo did abound, are yet, we hope, not left in ſo extreme deſtitution, that iuſtly any man ſhould think the ordinary meanes

of

a *Apoc.* 1. 3.

b *T. C. lib.* 2. *pag.* 163. *pag.* 373.

c *Pag.* 364, 375. 380. 383. 384.

d *Pag.* 392.

e *Pag.* 364.

of eternall life taken from them, becauſe their teaching is in publik for the moſt part but by reading. For which cauſe amongſt whom there are not thoſe helps that others have to ſet them forward in the way of life, ſuch to diſhearten with fearfull ſentences, as though their ſalvation could hardly be hoped for, is not in our underſtanding ſo conſonant with Chriſtian Charity. We hold it ſafer a great deale and better to give them [a] incouragement; to put them in mind that it is not the deepneſſe of their knowledge, but the [b] ſingleneſſe of their beliefe which God accepteth; that they which [c] hunger and thirſt after righteouſneſſe, ſhall be ſatisfied; that no [d] imbecility of means can prejudice the truth of the promiſe of God herein; that the weaker their helpes are, the more their need is to ſharpen the edge of their own [e] induſtry; and that [f] painfulneſſe by feeble meanes ſhall be able to gaine that, which in the plenty of more forcible inſtruments is through ſloth and negligence loſt. As for the men, with whom we have thus farre taken paines to conferre, about the force of the Word of God, either read by it ſelfe, or opened in Sermons; their ſpeeches concerning both the one and the other are in truth ſuch, as might give us very juſt cauſe to thinke, that the reckoning is not great which they make of either. For howſoever they have been driven to deviſe ſome odde kinds of blind uſes, whereunto they may anſwer that reading doth ſerve, yet the reading of the Word of God in publique more than their Preachers bare text, who will not judge that they deeme needleſſe, when if we chance at any time to terme it neceſſary, as being a thing which God himſelfe did inſtitute amongſt the Iewes for purpoſes that touch as well us as them; a thing which the Apoſtles commend under the old, and ordaine under the New Teſtament; a thing whereof the Church of God hath ever ſithence the firſt beginning reaped ſingular commodity; a thing which without exceeding great detriment no Church can omit? they only are the men that ever were heard of, by whom this hath been croſt and gaine-ſaid, they only the men which have given their peremptory ſentence to the contrary. [g] *It is untrue that ſimple reading is neceſſary in the Church.* And why untrue? *Becauſe although it be very convenient which is uſed in ſome Churches, where before preaching time, the Church aſſembled hath the Scriptures read in ſuch order, that the whole Canon thereof is oftentimes in one yeare runne thorough: yet a number of Churches which have no ſuch order of ſimple reading, cannot be in this point charged with breach of Gods commandment, which they might be if ſimple reading were neceſſary.* A poore, a cold and an hungry cavill. Shall we therefore to pleaſe them change the word *Neceſſary*, and ſay that it hath been a commendable order, a cuſtome very expedient, or an ordinance moſt profitable (whereby they know right well that wee meane exceedingly behoofull) to read the Word of God at large in the Church, whether it be as our manner is, or as theirs is whom they preferre before us? It is not this that will content or ſatisfie their minds. They have againſt it a marvellous deep and profound axiome, [h] that *Two things to one and the ſame end cannot but very improperly be ſaid moſt profitable.* And therefore if preaching be moſt *profitable* to mans ſalvation, then is not reading; if reading be, then preaching is not. Are they reſolved then at the leaſt wiſe, if preaching be the only ordinary mean wherby it pleaſeth

a *Eccl.* 51.26,27 *Mat.* 11.20.
b 1 *Tim.* 1.5. *Rom.* 14.1. 1 *Theſ.* 3.10,
c *Mat.* 5.6.
d *Phil.* 1.6. 1 *Pet.* 5.10. *Matth.* 3.9.
e 1 *Theſ.* 4.18. *Heb.* 10.24. *Iude ver.* 20. 1 *Pet.* 4.10.
f *Luk.* 11.31.

g *T. C. lib.* 2. *pag.* 381.

h *T. C. lib.* 2. *pag.* 372.

God to save our soules, what kind of preaching it is which doth save? Vnderstand they how or in what respect there is that force and vertue in preaching? We have reason wherefore to make these demands, for that although their pens run all upon *Preaching* and *Sermons*, yet when themselves doe practise that whereof they write, they change their Dialect, and those words they shun, as if there were in them some secret sting. It is not their phrase to say they *preach*, or to give to their owne instructions and exhortations the name of Sermons; the pain they take themselves in this kind is either *opening* or Lecturing, or Reading, or Exercising, but in no case *Preaching*. [a] And in this present question thy also warily protest that what they ascribe to the vertue of preaching, they still meane it of good preaching: Now one of them saith that a good Sermon [b] must expound and apply a large portion of the Text of Scripture at one time. Another giveth us to understand, that sound preaching [c] *is not to doe as one did at London, who spent most of his time in invectives against good men, and told his audience how the Magistrate should have an eye to such as troubled the peace of the Church.* The [d] best of them hold it for no good preaching, *when a man endeavoureth to make a glorious shew of eloquence and learning, rather than to apply himself to the capacity of the simple.* But let them shape us out a good Preacher by what patterne soever it pleaseth them best, let them exclude and inclose whom they will with their definitions, wee are not desirous to enter into any contention with them about this, or to abate the conceit they have of their owne wayes, so that when once we are agreed what Sermons shall currantly passe for good, we may at the length understand from them what that is in a good Sermon which doth make it the Word of life unto such as heare. If substance of matter, evidence of things, strength and validity of arguments and proofes, or if any other vertue else which words and sentences may containe, of all this what is there in the best Sermons being uttered, which they lose by being read? But they utterly deny that the reading either of Scriptures, or Homilies and Sermons can ever by the ordinary grace of God save any Soule. So that although we had all the Sermons word for word which *Iames*, *Paul*, *Peter*, and the rest of the Apostles made, some one of which Sermons was of power to convert thousands of the hearers unto Christian faith; yea although we had all the instructions, exhortations, consolations which came from the gracious lips of our Lord Iesus Christ himselfe, and should read them ten thousand times over, to faith and salvation, no man could hereby hope to attaine. Whereupon it must of necessity follow, that the vigor and vitall efficacy of Sermons doth grow from certain accidents which are not in them but in their Maker; his vertue, his gesture, his countenance, his zeale, the motion of his body, & the inflection of his voyce who first uttereth them as his owne, is that which giveth them the form, the nature, the very essence of instruments available to eternall life. If they like neither that nor this, what remaineth but their finall conclusion be, *Sermons we know are the only ordinary meanes to salvation, but why or how we cannot tell?* Wherfore to end this tedious controversie, wherein the too great importunity of our over eager Adversaries hath constrained us much longer to dwell, than the barrennesse of so poore a cause could have seemed

a T.C. *lib.* 2. *pag.* 385.

b Complaint of the Comminalty.

c Doct. Sowts Painter. *pag.* 21.

d T.C. *lib.* 2. *pag.* 385.

ſeemed at the firſt likely either to require or to admit, if they which without partialities and paſſions are accuſtomed to weigh all things, and accordingly to give their ſentence, ſhall here ſit downe to receive our Audit, and to caſt up the whole reckoning on both ſides, the ſumme which truth amounteth unto will appear to be but this; That as medecines provided of nature, and applied by art for the benefit of bodily health, take effect ſometime under, and ſometime above the naturall proportion of their vertue, according as the mind and fancy of the patient doth more or leſſe concurre with them: So whether we barely read unto men the Scriptures of God, or by Homilies concerning matter of beliefe and converſation ſeeke to lay before them the duties which they owe unto God and man; whether we deliver them Bookes to read and conſider of in private at their own beſt leiſure, or call them to the hearing of Sermons publiquely in the houſe of God; albeit every of theſe and the like unto theſe meanes doe truely and daily effect that in the hearts of men for which they are each and all meant, yet the operation which they have in common being moſt ſenſible and moſt generally noted in one kind above the reſt, that one hath in ſome mens opinions drowned altogether the the reſt, and injuriouſly brought to paſſe that they have beene thought not leſſe effectuall than the other, but without the other uneffectuall to ſave ſoules. Whereas the cauſe why Sermons only are obſerved to prevaile ſo much while all meanes elſe ſeeme to ſleep and doe nothing; is in truth nothing but that ſingular affection and attention which the people ſheweth every where towards the one, and their cold diſpoſition to the other, the reaſon hereof being partly the art which our Adverſaries uſe for the credit of their Sermons, to bring men out of conceit with all other teaching beſides; partly a cuſtome which men have to let thoſe things carelеſſly paſſe by their eares which they have oftentimes heard before, or know they may heare againe whenſoever it pleaſeth themſelves; partly, the ſpeciall advantages which Sermons naturally have to procure attention, both in that they come alwayes new, and becauſe by the hearer it is ſtill preſumed that if they be let ſlip for the preſent, what good ſoever they containe is loſt, and that without all hope of recovery. This is the true cauſe of oddes betweene Sermons and other kinds of wholſom inſtruction. As for the difference which hath beene hitherto ſo much defended on the contrary ſide, making Sermons the onely ordinary meanes unto faith and eternall life, ſith this hath neither evidence of Truth, nor proofe ſufficient to give it warrant, a cauſe of ſuch quality may with farre better grace and convenience aske that pardon which common humanity doth eaſily grant, than claime in challenging manner that aſſent, which is as unwilling when reaſon guideth it to be yeelded where it is not, as withheld where it is apparantly due. All which nothwithſtanding, as we could greatly wiſh that the rigour of this their opinion were alayed and mitigated, ſo becauſe we hold it the part of religious ingenuity to honour vertue in whomſoever; therefore it is our moſt hearty deſire, and ſhall be alwayes our prayer unto Almighty God, that in the ſelfe-ſame fervent zeale wherwith they ſeeme to effect the good of the Soules of men, and to thirſt after nothing more than that all men might by all meanes be directed in the way

of life, both they and we may constantly persist to the Worlds end. For in this we are not their Adversaries, though they in the other hitherto have been ours.

Of Prayer.

23 Between the Throne of God in Heaven, and his Church upon earth here Militant, if it be so that Angels have their continuall intercourse, where should we find the same more verified than in those two ghostly exercises, the one *Doctrine*, the other *Prayer*? For what is the assembling of the Church to learne, but the receiving of Angels descended from above? What to pray, but the sending of Angels upward? His heavenly inspirations and our holy desires are as so many Angels of entercourse and commerce between God and us. As teaching bringeth us to know that God is our supreme truth; so prayer testifieth that we acknowledge him our soveraigne good. Besides, sith on God as the most high all inferiour causes in the World are dependant, and the higher any cause is, the more it coveteth to impart vertue unto things beneath it, how should any kind of service we doe or can do, find greater acceptance than Prayer, which sheweth our concurrence with him, in desiring that wherewith his very nature doth most delight? Is not the name of Prayer usuall to signifie even all the service that ever we doe unto God? And that for no other cause, as I suppose, but to shew that there is in Religion no acceptable duty which devout invocation of the name of God doth not either presuppose or inferre. Prayers are those [a] calves of mens lips; those most gracious and sweet [b] odours; those rich presents and gifts, which being [c] carried up into heaven, doe best testifie our dutifull affection, and are, for the purchasing of all favour at the hands of God, the most undoubted meanes we can use. On others what more easily, and yet what more fruitfully bestowed than our Prayers? If we give counsell, they are the simpler only that need it; if almes the poore only are relieved; but by Prayer we doe good to all. And whereas every other duty besides is but to shew it selfe as time and opportunity require, for this [d] all times are convenient: when we are not able to do any other thing for mens behoof, when through maliciousnesse or unkindnesse they vouchsafe not to accept any other good at our hands, Prayer is that which we alwayes have in our power to bestow, and they never in their irs to refuse. Wherefore God forbid, saith [e] *Samuel*, speaking unto a most unthankfull people, a people weary of the benefit of his most vertuous government over them, God forbid that I should sin against the Lord, and cease to pray for you. It is the first thing wherewith a righteous life beginneth, and the last wherewith it doth end. The knowledg is small which we have on earth concerning things that are done in heaven. Notwithstanding thus much we know even of Saints in Heaven, that they pray. And therefore Prayer being a work common to the Church as well Triumphant as Militant, a work common unto men with Angels, what should we think, but that so much of our lives is celestiall and divine as we spend in the exercise of Prayer? For which cause we see that the most comfortable [f] visitations, which God hath sent men from above, have taken especially the times of Prayer as their most naturall opportunities.

a *Ose* 14.3.
b *Revel.* 5.8.
c *Acts* 10.4.
d *Rom.* 1.9. 1 *Thes.* 5.17. *Luke* 18.1.
e 1 *Sam.* 12.23.
f *Dan.* 9.20. *Acts* 10.30.

Of publique Prayer.

24 This holy and religious duty of service towards God concerneth us

one

one way in that we are men, and another way in that we are joyned as parts to that viſible myſticall body which is his Church. As men, we are at our owne [a] choice, both for time, and place, and forme, according to the exigence of our owne occaſions in private: But the ſervice, which we doe as members of a publike body, is publike, and for that cauſe muſt needs be accompted by ſo much worthier than the other as a whole ſocietie of ſuch condition exceedeth the worth of any one. In which conſideration unto Chriſtian aſſemblies, there are [b] moſt ſpeciall promiſes made. [c] S. *Paul*, though likely to prevaile with God as much as one, did notwithſtanding think it much more, both for Gods glory and his own good, if Prayers might be made and thanks yeelded in his behalfe by a number of men. The [d] Prince and people of Niniveh aſſembling themſelves as a main armie of Supplicants, it was not in the power of God to withſtand them. I ſpeake no otherwiſe concerning the force of publik Prayer in the Church of God, then before me [e] *Tertullian* hath done, *We come by troupes to the place of Aſſembly, that being banded as it were together, we may be ſupplicants enough to beſiege God with our Prayers. Theſe forces are unto him acceptable.* When we publikly make our Prayers it cannot be but that we doe it with much more comfort than in private, for that the things we aske publikly are approved as needfull and good in the judgement of all, we heare them ſought for and deſired with common conſent. Againe, thus much help and furtherance is more yeelded in that if ſo be our zeale and devotion to God-ward be ſlack, [f] the alacrity and fervour of others ſerveth as a preſent ſpurre. [g] *For even Prayer it ſelf* (ſaith S. *Baſil*) *when it hath not the conſort of many voyces to ſtrengthen it is not it ſelfe.* Finally, the good which we doe by publike Prayer is more than in private can be done, for that beſides the benefit which here is no leſſe procured to our ſelves, the whole Church is much bettered by our good example, and conſequently whereas ſecret neglect of our duty in this kind is but only our own hurt, one mans contempt of the Common Prayer of the Church of God may be and oftentimes is moſt hurtfull unto many. In which conſiderations the [h] Prophet *David* ſo often voweth unto God the ſacrifice of praiſe and thankſgiving in the Congregation; ſo earneſtly exhorteth others to ſing praiſes unto the Lord in his Courts, in his Sanctuary, before the memoriall of his holineſſe, and ſo much complaineth of his owne uncomfortable exile, wherein althongh he ſuſtained many moſt grievous indignities, and indured the want of ſundry both pleaſures and honours before injoyed, yet as if [i] this one were his only griefe and the reſt not felt, his ſpeeches are all of the heavenly benefit of publike aſſemblies, and the happineſſe of ſuch as had free acceſſe thereunto.

a *Pſal.*55.18. *Dan* 9.3. *Acts* 10.9.

b *Mat.*18.20.

c 2 *Cor.*1.11.

d *Ionah* 4.11.

e *Apolog.*1.39. Ambroſ. lib. de Pœn. *Multi minimi dum congregantur unanimes ſunt magni, & multorum preces impoſſibile eſt contemni.*

f *Pſal.*122.1.

g Καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ προσευχὴ μὴ ἔχουσα τοὺς συμφωνοῦντας ἀναθήματα πολλῶ ἑαυτῇ.

h *Pſal.*26.12. 34.18. *Pſal.*30.4.96.8.

i *Pſal.*27.4.42. 4.84.1.

25 A great part of the cauſe, wherfore religious minds are ſo inflamed with the love of publike devotion, is that vertue, force and efficacy, which by experience they find that the very forme and reverend ſolemnity of Common Prayer duly ordered hath, to help that imbecility and weakneſſe in us, by means whereof we are otherwiſe of our ſelves the leſſe apt to performe unto God ſo heavenly a ſervice, with ſuch affection of heart, and diſpoſition in the powers of our ſouls as is requiſite. To this end therfore all things hereunto appertaining, have been ever thought convenienr to be done with the moſt

Of the forme of Common Prayer.

most ſolemnity and maieſty that the wiſeſt could deviſe. It is not with publike as with private Praier. In this [a] rather ſecreſie is commanded than outward ſhew, whereas that being the publique act of a whole ſociety, requireth accordingly more care to be had of externall appearance. The very aſſembling of men therefore unto this ſervice hath been ever ſolemne. And concerning the place of aſſembly, although it ſerve for other uſes as well as this, yet ſeeing that our Lord himſelfe hath to this as to the chiefeſt of all other plainly ſanctified his own Temple, by intituling it [b] *the houſe of Prayer*, what preeminence of dignity ſoever hath been either by the Ordinance, or through the ſpeciall favour and providence of God annexed unto his Sanctuary, the principall cauſe thereof muſt needs be in regard of *Common Prayer*. For the honour and furtherance whereof, if it be as the graveſt of the [c] ancient Fathers ſeriouſly were perſwaded, and doe oftentimes plainly teach, affirming that the houſe of Prayer is a Court, beautified with the preſence of celeſtiall powers, that there we ſtand, we pray, we ſound forth Hymnes unto God, having his Angels intermingled as our Aſſociates; and that with reference hereunto [d] the Apoſtle doth require ſo great care to be had of decency for the Angels ſake; how can we come to the houſe of Prayer, and not be moved with the [e] very glory of the place it ſelfe, ſo to frame our affections praying, as doth beſt beſeem them, whoſe ſutes the Almighty doth there ſit to heare, & his Angels attend to further? When this was ingrafted in the minds of men, there needed no penall Statutes to draw them unto publike Prayer. The warning ſound was no ſooner heard, but the [f] Churches were preſently filled, the pavements covered with bodies proſtrate, and waſht with the ir teares of dovout ioy. And as the place of publique Prayer is a circumſtance in the outward forme thereof, which hath moment to helpe devotion; ſo the perſon much more with whom the people of God doe ioyne themſelves in this action, as with him that ſtandeth and ſpeaketh in the preſence of God for them. The authority of his place, the fervour of his zeale, the piety and gravity of his whole behaviour, muſt needs exceedingly both grace and ſet forward the ſervice he doth. The authority of his calling is a furtherance, becauſe if God have ſo far received him into favour, as to impoſe upon him by the hands of men that office of bleſſing the people in his Name, and making interceſſion to him in their s, which Office he hath ſanctified with his owne moſt gracious [g] promiſe, and ratified that promiſe by manifeſt actuall performance thereof, when [h] others before in like place have done the ſame, is not his very ordination a ſeale, as it were to us, that the ſelfe ſame divine love which hath choſen the inſtrument to worke with, will by that inſtrument effect the thing whereto he ordained it, in bleſſing his people, and accepting the Prayers which his ſervant offereth up unto God for them? It was in this reſpect a comfortable title which the ancients uſed to give unto Gods Miniſters, terming them uſually [i] *Gods moſt beloved*, which were ordained to procure by their Prayers his love and favour towards all. Againe, if there bee not zeale and fervency in him which propoſeth for the reſt thoſe ſutes & ſupplications, which they by their ioyfull acclamations muſt ratifie; if he prayſe not God with all his might; if he powre not out his ſoule in Prayer; if he take not their cauſes to heart, or ſpeake not as *Moſes*,

a *Mat.6 5,6.*

b *Mat.21.13.*

c *Chryſ. Hom. 15 ad Hebræ. & 14 in Act.*

d *1 Cor. 11.10.*

e *Pſal. 96 6.* Power and beauty are in his Sanctuary.

f *Ad domos ſtatim Dominicas cucurrimus, corporalibus ſletibus, miſtis cum fletu gaudiis, ſupplicamus.* Salvia de Prov. l. 7.

g *Num 6.23.*

h *2 Chro. 30.27*

i *Cod. l. b. 1. tit. 3. de Epiſc & Cler. 43. & 44 ſæpe.*

Moſes, *Daniel*, and *Ezra*, did for their people; how ſhould there be but in them frozen coldneſſe, when his affections ſeeme benummed from whom theirs ſhould take fire? Vertue and godlineſſe of life are required at the hands of their Miniſter of God, not only in that he is to teach and inſtruct the people, who for the moſt part are rather led away by the ill example, than directed aright by the wholſome inſtruction of them, whoſe life ſwarveth from the rule of their owne doctrine; but alſo much more in regard of this other part of his function; whether wee reſpect the weakneſſe of the people, apt to lothe and abhorre the *Sanctuary*, when they which performe the ſervice thereof are ſuch as the ſonnes of *Heli* were; or elſe conſider the [a] inclination of God himſelfe, who requireth the lifting up of pure hands in prayers, and hath given the World plainly to underſtand, that the wicked, although they crie, ſhall not bee heard. They are no fit Supplicants to ſeek his mercy in the behalfe of others, whoſe owne un-repented ſinnes provoke his juſt indignation. [b] Let thy Prieſts therefore, O Lord, be evermore clothed with righteouſneſſe, that thy Saints may thereby with more devotion rejoyce and ſing. But of all helps for due performance of this ſervice, the greateſt is that very ſet and ſtanding order it ſelfe, which framed, with common adviſe, hath both for matter and forme perſcribed whatſoever is herein publikely done. No doubt, from God it hath proceeded, and by us it muſt be acknowledged a worke of his ſingular care and providence, that the Church hath evermore held a preſcript forme of Common Prayer, although not in all things every where the ſame, yet for the moſt part retaining ſtill the ſame analogie. So that if the Liturgies of all ancient Churches throughout the World be compared amongſt themſelves, it may be eaſily perceived they had all one originall mould, & that the publike Prayers of the people of God in Churches throughly ſetled, did never uſe to bee voluntarie Dictates, proceeding from any mans extemporall wit. To him which conſidereth the grievous and ſcandalous inconveniences, wherunto they make themſelves daily ſubject, with whom any blind and ſecret corner is iudged a fit houſe of Common Prayer; the manifold confuſions which they fall into, where every mans private ſpirit and gift (as they terme it) is the only Biſhop that ordaineth him to this Miniſtery; the irkeſome deformities wherby through endleſſe and ſenſleſſe effuſions of indigeſted Prayers, they oftentimes diſgrace in moſt unſufferable maner, the worthieſt part of Chriſtian duty towards God, who herein are ſubject to no certain order, but pray both what and how they liſt; to him, I ſay, which waigheth duly all theſe things, the reaſons cannot be obſcure, why God doth in publike Prayer ſo much reſpect the [c] ſolemnity of places, [d] where the authority and calling of perſons by whom, and the [e] preciſe appointment even with what words or ſentences his name ſhould be called on amongſt his people.

[a] 1 *Tim.* 2. 8. *Iohn* 9. 31. *Ier.* 11. 11. *Ezec.* 8. 18.

[b] *Pſal.* 132.

[c] 2 *Chron.* 6. 20.
[d] *Ioel* 2. 17.
[e] 2 *Chro.* 29. 30

Of them which like not to have any ſet forme of Common Prayer.

26 No man hath hitherto bin ſo impious, as plainly and directly to condemne prayer. The beſt ſtratagem that Satan hath, who knoweth his kingdome to be no one way more ſhaken, than by the publike devout prayers of Gods Church, is by traducing the forme & manner of them, to bring them into contempt, and ſo to ſhake the force of all mens devotion towards them. From this, & from no other forge, hath proceeded a ſtrange conceit, that

that to serve God with any set forme of Common Prayer, is superstitious. As though [a] God himselfe did not frame to his Priests the very speech, wherwith they were charged to blesse the people; or as if our Lord, even of purpose to prevent this fancie of extemporall and voluntarie Prayers, had not left us of his owne framing one, which might both remaine as a part of the Church Liturgie, and serve as a pattern whereby to frame all other Prayers with efficacie, yet without superfluity of words. If Prayers were no otherwise accepted of God, than being conceived alwayes new, according to the exigence of present occasions; if it be right to iudge him by our owne bellies, and to imagine that he doth lothe to have the selfesame supplications often iterated, even as we do to be every day fed without alteration or change of diet; if Prayers bee actions which ought to waste away themselves in the making; if being made to remaine that they may be resumed and used againe as Prayers, they be but instruments of Superstition; surely, we cannot excuse *Moses*, who gave such occasion of scandall to the World, by not being contented to praise the name of Almighty God, according to the usuall naked simplicity of Gods Spirit, for that admirable victory given them against *Pharao*, unlesse so dangerous a president were left for the casting of prayers into certaine Poeticall moulds, and for the framing of Prayers which might be repeated often, although they never had again the same occasions which brought them forth at the first. For that very hymne of *Moses* grew afterwards to be a part of the ordinary Iewish Liturgie; nor only that, but sundry other sithence invented. Their books of common Prayer contained partly Hymnes taken out of the holy Scripture, partly Benedictions, Thanksgivings, Supplications, penned by such as have beene, from time to time, the Governours of that Synagogue. These they sorted into their severall times and places, some to begin the service of God with, and some to end, some to go before, & some to follow, and some to bee interlaced betweene the divine Readings of the Law and Prophets. Vnto their custome of finishing the Passeover with certain Psalmes, there is not any thing more probable, than that the holy Evangelist doth evedently allude, saying, That after the cup delivered by our Saviour unto his Apostles, [b] *they sung*, and went forth to the Mount of Olives. As the Iewes had their songs of *Moses*, and *David* and the rest, so the Church of Christ from the very beginning hath both used the same, and besides them other also of like nature, the song of the Virgin *Mary*, the song of *Zachary*, the song of *Simeon*, such Hymnes as the Apostle doth often speak of, saying, [c] *I will pray and sing with the Spirit*. Again, [d] *In Psalmes, Hymnes, and Songs, making melody unto the Lord, and that heartily*. Hymnes and Psalmes are such kinds of prayer as are not wont to be conceived upon a sudden; but are framed by Meditation before-hand, or else by propheticall illumination are inspired, as at that time it appeareth they were, when God by extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, inabled men to all parts of service necessary for the edifying his of Church.

a *Num.* 6. 23.

b *Mat.* 26. 30. ὑμνήσαντες, having sung the Psalmes which were usuall at that Feast, those Psalmes which the Iewes call the great *Hallelujah*, beginning at the 113. and continuing to the end of the 118. See *Paul. Burgens. in Psal.* 112 *Edit.* 1. and *Scalig de emendat. tempo.*

c 1 *Cor.* 14. 15.

d *Eph.* 5. 19.

Of them who allowing a set form of Prayer, yet allow not ours.

27 Now, albeit the admonitioners did seem at first to allow no prescript form of prayer at all, but thought it the best that their Minister should alwayes be left at liberty to pray, as his own discretion did serve, yet because this opinion upon better advice they afterwards retracted, their defendor & his

his Aſſociates have ſithence propoſed to the World a forme, ſuch as themſelves like, and to ſhew their diſlike of ours, have taken againſt it thoſe exceptions, which, whoſoever doth meaſure by number, muſt needs bee greatly out of love with a thing that hath ſo many faults; whoſoever by waight, cannot chuſe but eſteeme very highly of that, wherein the wit of ſo ſcrupulous Adverſaries hath not hitherto obſerved any defect which themſelves can ſeriouſly think to be of moment. Groſſe Errours and manifeſt Impietie they grant we have taken away. Yet [a] many things in it they ſay are amiſſe, many inſtances they give of things in our Common Prayer, not agreeable as they pretend with the word of God. It hath in their eye too great affinitie with the forme of the Church of Rome; it differeth too much from that which Churches elſewhere reformed allow and obſerve; our Attire diſgraceth it; it is not orderly read nor geſtured as beſeemeth; it requireth nothing to be done, which a Child may not lawfully do; it hath a number of ſhort cuts or ſhreddings, which may be better called wiſhes than Prayers; it intermingleth Prayings and Readings in ſuch manner, as if Supplicants ſhould uſe in propoſing their Sutes unto mortall Princes, all the World would iudge them mad; it is too long, and by that meane abridgeth preaching; it appointeth the people to ſay after the Miniſter; it ſpendeth time in ſinging and in reading the *Pſalmes* by courſe, from ſide to ſide; it uſeth the Lords Prayer too oft, the Songs of *Magnificat, Benedictus*, and *Nunc Dimittis* it might very well ſpare; it hath the *Letanie*, the Creed of *Athanatius*, and *Gloria Patri*; which are ſuperfluous; it craveth earthly things too much; for deliverance from thoſe evils againſt which we pray, it giveth no thanks: ſome things it asketh unſeaſonably when they need not to be prayed for, as deliverance from Thunder and Tempeſt when no danger is nigh; ſome in too abiect and diffident manner, as that God would give us that which we for our unworthineſſe dare not aske; ſome which ought not to bee deſired, as the deliverance from ſuddaine death, riddance from all adverſitie, and the extent of ſaving mercie towards all men. Theſe and ſuch like are the imperfections, whereby our forme of Common Prayer is thought to ſwerve from the Word of God. A great favourer of that part, but yet (his errour that way excepted) a learned, a painfull, a right vertuous and a good man did not feare ſometime to undertake, againſt Popiſh Detractors, the generall maintenance and defence of our whole Church Service, as having in it nothing repugnant to the Word of God. And even they which would file away moſt from the largeneſſe of that offer, do notwithſtanding in more ſparing termes acknowledge little leſſe. For when thoſe oppoſite iudgements which never are wont to conſter things doubtfull to the better, thoſe very tongues which are alwayes prone to aggravate whatſoever hath but the leaſt ſhew, wherby it may be ſuſpected to ſavour of, or to ſound towards any evill, do by their own volluntarie ſentence cleerely free us from *groſſe Errours*, and from *manifeſt Impiety* herein; who would not iudge us to bee diſcharged of all blame, which are confeſt to have no great fault, even by their very word and teſtimonie, in whoſe eyes no fault of ours hath ever hitherto beene accuſtomed to ſeeme ſmall. Nevertheleſſe, what they ſeeme to offer us with the one hand, the ſame with the

[a] *T. C. l. 1. p. 131 afterwards p. 135.* VVhereas M. Doctor affirmeth that there can be nothing ſhewed in the whole Book which is not agreeable unto the VVord of God: I am very loth, &c. Notwithſtanding, my duty of defending the truth and love which I have firſt towards God, & then towards my Countrey, conſtrayneth me being thus provoked, to ſpeak a few words more particularly of the forme of Prayer, that when the blemiſhes thereof do appeare, it may pleaſe the Queenes Maieſty, and her Honourable Councell, with thoſe of the Parlament, &c

other they pull back again. They grant weerre not in palpable manner, we are not openly and notoriously impious, yet Errors wee have, which the sharp insight of their wisest men do espie, there is hidden impietie, which the profounder sort are able enough to disclose. Their skilfull eares perceive certaine harsh and unpleasant discords in the sound of our Common Prayer, such as the Rules of Divine Harmony, such as the Lawes of God cannot beare.

The forme of our Liturgie too neere the Papists, too farre different from that of other reformed Churches as they pretend.

28 Touching our Conformitie with the Church of Rome, as also of the difference betweene some Reformed Churches and ours, that which generally hath beene already answered, may serve for answer to that exception, which in these two respects they take particularly against the forme of our Common Prayer. To say, that in nothing they may bee followed, which are of the Church of Rome, were violent and extreme. Some things they do, in that they are men, in that they are wisemen, and Christian men somethings, somethings in that they are men misse-led and blinded with Error. As far as they follow Reason and Truth, wee feare not to tread the selfe-same steps wherein they have gone, and to be their followers. Where Rome keepeth that which is ancienter and better; others whom we much more affect leaving it for newer, and changing it for worse, we had rather follow the perfections of them whom wee like not, than in defects resemble them whom wee love. For although they professe they agree with us touching [a] *a prescript forme of Prayer to be used in the Church*, yet in that very form which they say, is [b] *agreeable to Gods Word, and the use of Reformed Churches*, they have by speciall protestation declared, that their meaning is not it shal be prescribed as a thing wherunto they will tie their Minister. *It shall not* (they say) *be necessary for the Minister daily to repeat all these things before mentioned, but beginning with* some like *confession, to proceed to the Sermon, which ended, he* either *useth the Prayer for all states before mentioned*, or else prayeth as the Spirit of God shall move his heart. Herein therefore we hold it much better with the Church of Rome to appoint a Prescript forme which every man shall bee bound to observe, than with them to set downe a kind of direction, a forme for men to use if they list, or otherwise to change as pleaseth themselves. Furthermore, the Church of Rome hath rightly also considered, that publike Prayer is a duty intire in it selfe, a dutie requisite to bee performed, much oftner than Sermons can possibly be made. For which cause, as they, so we have likewise a publike forme how to serve God both Morning and Evening, whether Sermons may be had or no. On the contrary side, their forme of Reformed Prayer sheweth only what shall bee done [c] *upon the dayes appointed for the preaching of the Word*; with what words the Minister shall begin, [d] *when the houre appointed for the Sermon is come*; what shall be said or sung before Sermon, and what after. So that according to this form of theirs, it must stand for a Rule, *No Sermon, no Service*. Which oversight, occasioned the French spitefully to terme Religion in that sort exercised, a meere Preach. Sundry other more particular defects there are, which I willingly forbeare to rehearse, in consideration whereof, we cannot be induced to preferre their Reformed forme of Prayer before our owne, what Church soever wee resemble therein.

a *T.C.l.1.p.* 135.
b A Book of the forme of Common Prayer rendered to the Parliament, *pag* 46.
c *Pag.* 22.
d 24.

29 The

29 The Attyre which the Miniſter of God is by order to uſe at times of Divine Service, being but a matter of meere formality, yet ſuch as for comelineſſe ſake hath hitherto beene iudged by the wiſer ſort of men not unneceſſary to concur with other ſenſible notes, betokening the different kind or qualitie of perſons and actions whereto it is tyed, as we think not our ſelves the holier, becauſe we uſe it, ſo neither ſhould they with whom no ſuch thing is in uſe, think us therefore unholy, becauſe we ſubmit our ſelves unto that, which in a matter ſo indifferent the wiſdome of authority and Law have thought comely. To ſolemn actions of Royaltie and Iuſtice, their ſutable Ornaments are a beautie. Are they only in Religion a ſtain? a *Divine Religion*, ſaith Saint *Ierome* (he ſpeaketh of the Prieſtly attire of the Law) *hath one kind of habit wherein to miniſter before the Lord, another for ordinarie uſes belonging unto common life.* *Pelagius* having carped at the curious neatneſſe of mens apparrell in thoſe dayes, and through the ſowreneſſe of his diſpoſition ſpoken ſomewhat too hardly therof affirming that b *the glory of Clothes and Ornaments was a thing contrary to God and godlineſſe*; S. *Ierome* whoſe cuſtome is not to pardon over-eaſily his Adverſaries, if any where they chance to trip, preſſeth him as thereby making all ſorts of men in the world *Gods enemies*. *Is it enmity with God* (ſaith he) *if I weare my Coat ſomewhat handſome?* If a Biſhop, a Prieſt, a Deacon, and the reſt of the Eccleſiaſticall Order *come to adminiſter the uſuall Sacrifice in a white Garment*, are they hereby Gods Adverſaries? *Clarks, Monks, Widowes, Virgins, take heed, it is dangerous for you to bee otherwiſe ſeene than in ſoule and ragged clothes. Not to ſpeak any thing of Secular men, which are proclaimed to have war with God as oft as ever they put on precious & ſhining clothes.* By which words of *Ierom* we may take it at the leaſt for a probable collection, that his meaning was to draw *Pelagius* into hatred, as condemning by ſo generall a ſpeech even the neatneſſe of that very Garment it ſelfe, wherein the Clergie did then uſe to adminiſter publikely the holy Sacrament of Chriſts moſt bleſſed Bodie and Blood. For that they did then uſe ſome ſuch Ornament, the words of d *Chryſoſtome* give plaine teſtimonie, who ſpeaking to the Clergie of *Antioch*, telleth them that if they did ſuffer notorious Malefacturs to come to the Table of our Lord and not put them by, it would be as heavily revenged upon them, as if themſelves had ſhed his blood, that for this purpoſe God had called them to the roomes which they held in the Church of Chriſt, that this they ſhould reckon was *their dignity, this their ſafety, this their whole Crown and glory*; and therefore this they ſhould carefully intend, and not when the Sacrament is adminiſtred, imagin themſelves called only *to walk up & down in a white and ſhining Garment.* Now, whereas theſe ſpeeches of *Ierom* and *Chryſoſtome* do ſeem plainly to allude unto ſuch Miniſteriall Garments as were then in uſe, to this they anſwer, that by *Ierom* nothing can be gathered, but only that the Miniſter came to Church in handſome holiday apparel, & that himſelf did not think them bound by the Law of God go like Slovens; but the Weed which we mean he defendeth not; that e *Chryſoſtome* meaneth indeed the ſame which wee defend, but ſeemeth rather to reprehend than to allow it as we do. Which anſwer wringeth out of *Ierome* and *Chryſoſtome* that which their words will not gladly yeeld. They both ſpeak of the ſame perſons, namely, the Clergie; and of their Weed at the ſame time when they adminiſter the

Attire belonging to the Service of God.

T. C. l. 1. p. 71. We think the Surplice eſpecially unmeet for a Miniſter of the Goſpell to weare, *pa. 75* It is eaſily ſeen by *Salomon Eccleſ. 8. 9.* that to weare a white Garment was greatly eſteemed in the Eaſt parts, and was ordinary to thoſe that were in any eſtimation, as black with us, and therefore was no ſeverall Apparell for the Miniſters to execute their Miniſtery in.

a *Hierom. 44. Egech.*

b *Hiero. Adver. Pelag. lib. 1. c. 9*

c *T. C. l. 1. p. 77.* By a white garment, is meant a comely Apparell, and not ſlovenly.

d *Chryſoſt. ad popul. Antio h. To. 5. Serm. 60.*

e *T. C. l. 1. p. 75.* It is true, *Chryſoſtom* maketh mention of a white garment but not in commendation of it, but rather to the contrary: for hee ſheweth that the dignity of their Miniſtery was in taking heed that none unmeet were admitted to the Lords Supper, not in going about the Church with a white Garment.

bleſſed Sacrament; and of the ſelfe-ſame kind of Weed, a white Garment, ſo farre as wee have wit to conceive; and for any thing wee are able to ſee, their manner of ſpeech is not ſuch as doth argue either the thing it ſelfe to be different whereof they ſpeak, or their iudgements concerning it different; although the one do only maintaine it againſt *Pelagius*, as a thing not therefore unlawfull, becauſe it was faire or handſome, and the other make it a matter of ſmall commendation in it ſelfe, if they which weare it, do nothing elſe but aire the Robes which their place requireth. The honeſty, dignity, and eſtimation of white apparell in the Eaſtern part of the World, is a token of greater fitneſſe for this Sacred uſe, wherin it were not convenient that any thing baſely thought of ſhould be ſuffered. Notwithſtanding, I am not bent to ſtand ſtiffely upon theſe probabilities, that in *Ieroms* & *Chryſoſtoms* time any ſuch attire was made ſeverall to this purpoſe. Yet ſurely the words of *Salomon* are very impertinent to prove it an Ornament, therfore not ſeverall for the Miniſters to execute their Miniſterie in, becauſe men of credit and eſtimation wore their ordinarie apparell white. For we know that when *Salomon* wrote thoſe words, the ſeverall apparel for the Miniſters of the Law, to execute their miniſterie in was ſuch. The
a *Eccleſ.* 45. 7. [a]Wiſeman which feared God from his heart, & honoured the Service that was done unto him, could not mention ſo much as the Garments of holineſſe, but with effectuall ſignification of moſt ſingular reverence and love. Were it not better that the love which men beare to God, ſhould make the leaſt things that are imployed in his Service amiable, than that their overſcrupulous diſlike of ſo meane a thing as a Veſtment, ſhould from the very ſervice of God withdraw their hearts & affections? I term it rather a mean thing, a thing not much to be reſpected, becauſe even they ſo account now of it, whoſe firſt Diſputations againſt it were ſuch, as if Religion had ſcarce-
b *T.C.l.1.p.79.* lyany thing of greater waight. Their [b]allegations were then, that *if a man were aſſured to gain a thouſand by doing that which may offend any one Brother, or be unto him a cauſe of falling, he ought not to do it; that this Popiſh apparell the*
71. *Surplice eſpecially hath beene by Papiſts abominably abuſed*; that it hath beene a
75. *mark and a very Sacrament of abomination; that remaining it ſerveth as a*
72. *Monument of Idolatry*, and not only edifieth not, but as a dangerous and ſcandalous Ceremonie, doth exceeding much harme *to them of whoſe good wee*
T.C.l.2.p.403. *are commanded to have regard: that it cauſeth men to periſh, and make ſhip-wrack*
lib.1.p 73. *of conſcience*, for ſo themſelves profeſſe they meane, when they ſay the
Page 73. weak are offended herewith, that it *hardneth Papiſts, hindreth the weak from*
Page 76. *profiting in the knowledge of the Goſpell, grieveth godly minds, and giveth them*
Lib.2.p.403. *occaſion to think hardly of their Miniſters*; that if the *Magiſtrate may command, or the Church appoynt* Rites *and* Ceremonies, *yet ſeeing our abſtinence from things in their owne nature indifferent, if the weak Brother ſhould bee offended, is a flat Commandement of the Holy Ghoſt, which no Autho-*
Lib.1.96. *ritie either of Church or Common-wealth can make voyd*, therefore nei-
Page 81. ther may the one nor the other lawfully *ordaine this* Ceremonie, *which hath great incommoditie and no profit, great offence and no edifying*; that by the Law it ſhould have beene burnt and conſumed with fire as a thing infected with Leproſie; that the Example of *Ezechias* beating to powder the brazen Serpent, and of *Paul* abrogating thoſe abuſed feaſts of Charitie, *inforceth upon us the duty of aboliſhing altogether* a thing which

which hath been and is ſo offenſive; Finally, that God by his Prophet hath given *an expreſſe Commandement*, which in this caſe toucheth us, no leſſe then of old it did the Jews, [a] *Ye ſhall pollute the covering of the Images of ſilver, and the rich ornament of your Images of gold, and caſt them away as a ſteined ragge, thou ſhalt ſay unto it Get thee hence.* Theſe and ſuch like were their firſt Diſcourſes, touching that Church Attire, which with us for the moſt part is uſuall in publike Prayer; our Eccleſiaſticall Lawes ſo appointing, as well becauſe it hath been of reaſonable continuance, and by ſpeciall choiſe was taken out of the number of thoſe holy Garments, which (over and beſides their myſticall reference) ſerved for [b] comlineſſe [c] under the Law, and is in the number of thoſe Ceremonies, which may with choice and diſcretion be uſed to that purpoſe in the Church of Chriſt; as alſo for that it ſuteth ſo fitly with that lightſome affection of [d] joy, wherein God delighteth when his Saints praiſe him; and ſo lively reſembleth the glory of the Saints in Heaven, together with the beauty wherein Angels have appeared unto men, that they which are to appeare for men in the preſence of God, as Angels, if they were left to their own choice, and would chooſe any, could not eaſily deviſe a Garment of more decency for ſuch a Service. As for thoſe fore-rehearſed vehement allegations againſt it, ſhall we give them credit, when the very Authors from whom they come, confeſſe they beleeve not their own ſayings? For when once they began to perceive how many, both of them in the two Vniverſities, and of others, who abroad having Eccleſiaſticall charge, do favour mightily their cauſe, and by all meanes ſet it forward, might by perſiſting in the extremity of that opinion hazard greatly their own eſtates, and ſo weaken that part which their places do now give them much opportunity to ſtrengthen, they asked counſell as it ſeemeth from ſome abroad, who wiſly conſidered, that the body is of far more worth than the rayment. Whereupon for feare of dangerous inconveniences, it hath been thought good to adde, [e] that ſometimes authority *muſt and may with good conſcience be obeyed, even where Commandement is not given upon good grounds*; that *the duty of preaching is one of the abſolute Commandements of God, and therefore ought not to be forſaken, for the bare inconvenience of a thing which in the owne nature is indifferent*; that *one of the fouleſt ſpots in the Surplice, is the offence which it giveth in occaſioning the weak to fall, and the wicked to bee* confirmed in their wickedneſſe, yet hereby there is no unlawfulneſſe proved, but *only an inconvenience*, that ſuch things ſhould be eſtabliſhed, howbeit no ſuch inconveniency neither, as may not be borne with; that when God doth flatly command us to abſtaine from things in their own Nature indifferent, if they offend our weak brethren, his meaning is not we ſhould obey his Commandement herein, unleſſe we may doe it, *and not leave undone that which the Lord hath abſolutly commanded*. Alwaies provided, that whoſoever will injoy the benefit of this Diſpenſation, to weare a ſcandalous Badge of Idolatry, rather than forſake his Paſtorall charge, do (*as occaſion ſerveth*) *teach* nevertheleſſe ſtill *the incommodity of the thing it ſelfe, admoniſh the weak Brethren, that they bee not, and pray unto God ſo to ſtrengthen them that they may not bee offended thereat*. So that whereas before, they which had authority to inſtitute Rites and Ceremonies, were denied to have power to inſtitute this, it is

Pag. 78.

a *Eſay* 30.22.

b *Exod.* 28.2.
c *Exod.* 39.27.

d *Pſal.* 149.2. *Apoc.* 15.6. *Mar.* 16.5.

e *T.C.l.*1.*p.*74. & *l.*2.*p.*250. *Index l.*3.*c.*8.*li.* 3 *p.*262.*p.*263.

Lib. 3.*p.*263.

Pag. 263.

now confeſt that this they may alſo *lawfully*, but not ſo conveniently appoint; they did well before, and as they ought, who had it in utter deteſtation and hatred as a thing abominable, they now doe well, which think it may be both borne and uſed with a very good conſcience; before, he which by wearing it were ſure to win thouſands unto Chriſt, ought not to do it if there were but one which might be offended; now, though it be with the offence of thouſands, yet it may be done rather than that ſhould be given over, whereby notwithſtanding we are not certain we ſhall gain one; the Examples of *Ezechias* and of *Paul*. the charge which was given to the Iews by *Eſay*, the ſtrict Apoſtolicall prohibition of things indifferent, whenſoever they may be ſcandalous, were before ſo forcible Laws againſt our Eccleſiaſticall Attire, as neither Church nor Commonwealth could poſſibly make void, which now one of farre leſſe authoritie, than either hath found how to fruſtrate by diſpenſing with the breach of inferiour Commandements, to the end that the greater may be kept. But it booteth them not, thus to ſoder up a broken Cauſe, whereof their firſt and laſt Diſcourſes wil fall aſunder doe what they can. Let them ingeniouſly confeſſe that their Invectives were too bitter, their Arguments too weak, the matter not ſo dangerous as they did imagine. If thoſe alledged teſtimonies of Scripture did indeed concerne the matter to ſuch effect as was pretended, that which they ſhould infer were unlawfulneſſe, becauſe they were cited as Prohibitions of that thing which indeed they concerne. If they proove not our Attire unlawfull, becauſe in truth they concerne it not, it followeth that they prove not any thing againſt it, and conſequently, not ſo much as uncomlineſſe or inconveniency. Vnleſſe therefore they be able throughly to reſolve themſelves, that there is no one Sentence in all the Scriptures of God, which doth controule the wearing of it in ſuch manner, and to ſuch purpoſe as the Church of *England* alloweth; unleſſe they can fully reſtand ſettle their minds in this moſt ſound perſwaſion, that they are not to make themſelves the only competent Iudges of decencie in theſe caſes, and to deſpiſe the ſolemn judgement of the whole Church, preferring before it their own conceit, grounded only upon uncertain ſuſpitions and feares, whereof if there were at the firſt ſome probable cauſe, when things were but raw and tender, yet now very tract of time hath it ſelfe worn that out alſo; unleſſe, I ſay, thus reſolved in mind they hold their Paſtorall charge with the comfort of a good Conſcience, no way grudging at that which they do, or doing that which they think themſelves bound of dutie to reprove, how ſhould it poſſibly help or further them in their courſe, to take ſuch occaſions as they ſay are requiſite to be taken, and in penſive manner to tell their Audience; "*Brethren, our hearts deſire us, that we might injoy the full* "*liberty of the Goſpell, as in other Reformed Churches they do elſe-where, upon* "*whom the heavy hand of Authority hath impoſed no grievous burthen. But* "*ſuch is the miſery of theſe our dayes, that ſo great happineſſe we cannot looke* "*to attaine unto. Were it ſo, that the equity of the Law of* Moſes *could pre-*"*vaile; or the zeale of* Ezechias *be found in the hearts of thoſe Guides and Go-*"*vernours under whom wee live; or the voyce of Gods own Prophets be duly* "*heard; or the Example of the Apoſtles of Chriſt be followed; yea or their Precepts* "*be anſwered with full and perfect obedience, theſe abhominable ragges polluted*

"*gar-*

" *garments, markes and Sacraments of Idolatry, which Power as you ſee con-*
" *ſtraineth us to weare, and conſcience to abhorre, had long ere this day been*
" *removed both out of ſight, and out of memory. But as now things ſtand, behold*
" *to what narrow ſtraights we are driven; On the one ſide we feare the words of*
" *our Saviour Chriſt*, Woe be to them by whom ſcandall and offence com-
" meth: *on the other ſide, at the Apoſtles ſpeech, we cannot but quake and trem-*
" *ble*, If I preach not the Goſpell, woe be unto me. *Being thus hardly beſet, we*
" *ſee not any other remedy but to hazzard your Soules the one way, that we may*
" *the other way endevour to ſave them. Touching the offence of the weak there-*
" *fore, we muſt adventure it. If they periſh, they periſh. Our Paſtorall charge*
" *is Gods abſolute commandement. Rather than that ſhall be taken from us, we*
" *are reſolved to take this filth, and to put it on, although we judge it to be ſo un-*
" *fit and inconvenient, that as oft as ever we pray or preach ſo arrayed before you,*
" *we doe as much as in us lieth, to caſt away your ſoules that are weak minded,*
" *and to bring you unto endleſſe perdition. But wee beſeech you Brethren have*
" *care of your own ſafetie, take heed to your ſteps, that ye be not taken in thoſe*
" *ſnares which we lay before you. And our Prayer in your behalfe to Almightie*
" *God is, that the poyſon which we offer you, may never have the power to doe*
" *you harme.* Advice and counſell is beſt ſought for at their hands, which either have no part at all in the cauſe whereof they inſtruct, or elſe are ſo farre ingaged, that themſelves are to beare the greateſt adventure in the ſucceſſe of their own counſels. The one of which two conſiderations maketh men the leſſe reſpective, and the other the more circumſpect. Thoſe good and learned men which gave the firſt direction to this courſe, had reaſon to wiſh that their own proceedings at home, might be favoured abroad alſo, and that the good affection of ſuch as inclined towards them might be kept alive. But if themſelves had gone under thoſe ſailes which they require to bee hoiſed up, if they had been themſelves to execute their owne Theorie in this Church, I doubt not but eaſily they would have ſeene being neerer at hand, that the way was not good which they took of adviſing men, firſt, to weare the apparell, that thereby they might be free to continue their preaching, and then, of requiring them ſo to preach as they might be ſure they could not continue, except they imagine that Lawes which permit them not to doe as they would, will endure them to ſpeak as they liſt, even againſt that which themſelves doe by conſtraint of Lawes; they would have eaſily ſeen that our people being accuſtomed to think evermore that thing evill which is publikely under any pretence reproved, and the men themſelves worſe which reprove it and uſe it too, it ſhould be too little purpoſe for them to ſalve the wound, by making proteſtations in diſgrace of their own actions, with plaine acknowledgement that they are ſcandalous, our by uſing faire intreatie with the weak Brethren; they would eaſily have ſeen how with us it cannot bee indured, to heare a man openly profeſſe that he putteth fire to his Neighbourshouſe, but yet ſo halloweth the ſame with Prayer that he hopeth it ſhall not burne. It had been therefore perhaps ſafer and better for ours to have obſerved a St. *Baſils* advice, both in this and in all things of like nature. *Let him which approveth not his Governours Ordinances, either plainly (but privatly alwayes) ſhew his diſlike if he have* λογον ἰσχυρον *ſtrong and invincible reaſon againſt them, according*

a *Baſil. Aſcet. reſponſ. ad interr. 47.*

according to the true will and meaning of Scripture, or else let him quietly with silence do that which is enjoyned. Obedience with profest unwillingnesse to obey, is no better than manifest disobedience.

Of gesture in praying, and of different places chosen to that purpose. *T.C. lib. 1. pag. 134.*

30 Having thus disputed, whether the Surplice be a fit garment to be used in the service of God, the next question whereinto we are drawn, is, whether it be a thing allowable or no, that the Minister should say service in the Chancell, or turne his face at any time from the people, or before service ended remove from the place where it was begun? By them which trouble us with these doubts, we would more willingly bee resolved of a greater doubt, whether it be not a kind of taking Gods Name in vain, to debase Religion with such frivolous disputes, a sin to bestow time and labour about them? Things of so meane regard and qualitie, although necessary to be ordered, are notwithstanding very unsavoury when they come to be disputed of; because disputation presupposeth some difficultie in the matter which is argued, whereas in things of this nature they must bee either very simple or very froward, who need to be taught by disputation what is meet. When we make profession of our Faith, we stand; when we acknowledge our sins, or seek unto God for favour, we fal down, because the gesture of constancy becommeth us best in the one, in the other the behaviour of humility. Some parts of our Liturgy consist in the reading of the word of God, and the proclaiming of his Law, that the people may therby learne what their duties are towards him; some consist in words of praise and thanksgiving, whereby we acknowledge unto God what his blessings are towards us; some are such as albeit they serve to singular good purpose, even when there is no Communion administred; nevertheless, being devised at the first for that purpose, are at the Table of the Lord for that cause also commonly read; some are uttered as from the people, some as with them unto God, some as from God unto them, all as before his sight, whom we feare, and whose presence to offend with any the least unseemlinesse, we would be surely as loth as they, who most reprehend or deride that we do.

a *T.C. l. 1. p. 20.* a Now, because the Gospels which are weekly read, doe all historically declare somthing which our Lord Iesus Christ himselfe either spake, did, or suffered in his own person, it hath been the custom of Christian men then especially in token of the greater reverence to stand, to utter certain words of acclamation, and at the name of Iesus to bow. Which harmelesse Ceremonies, as there is *no man constrained to use*, so we know no reason wherefore

b *Mark. 12. 6.* any man should yet imagine it an unsufferable evill. It sheweth a reverend regard to the Son of God above other Messengers, although speaking as from God also. And against Infidels, Iews, Arians, who derogate from the

c *T.C. l. 3. p. 215.* honour of Iesus Christ, such ceremonies are most profitable. c As for any erroneous *estimation*, advancing the Son *above the Father and the holy Ghost*, seeing that the truth of his equality with them, is a mystery so hard for the wits of mortall men to rise unto, of all Heresies, that which may give him superiority above them, is least to be feared. But to let goe this as a matter scarce worth the speaking of, whereas if fault be in these things any where justly found, Law hath referred the whole disposition & redresse therof to the

d *T.C. l. 1. p. 74.* ordinary of the place; d they w[illegible]elsewhere complain, that disgrace and *injury* is offred even to the meanest Parish Minister, when the Magistrate appointeth

pointeth him what to weare, and leaveth not ſo ſmall a matter as that to his owne diſcretion, being preſumed a man diſcreet and truſted with the care of the peoples ſoules, do [a] think the graveſt Prelates in the Land no competent Iudges, to diſcerne and appoint where it is fit for the Miniſter to ſtand, or which way convenient to look praying. From their Ordinary therfore they appeal to themſelves, finding great fault that we neither reforme the thing againſt the which they have ſo long ſithence given ſentence, nor yet make anſwer unto that they bring, which is, that [b] S. *Luke* declaring, how *Peter ſtood up in the midſt of the Diſciples*, did thereby deliver an [c] *unchangeable* rule, that *whatſoever* is done in the Church, *ought to be done* in the midſt of the Church, and therefore not Baptiſme to be adminiſtred in one place, Marriage ſolemnized in another, the Supper of the Lord received in a third, in a fourth Sermons, in a fift Prayers to be made; that the cuſtome which we uſe is Leviticall, abſurd, and ſuch as hindreth the underſtanding of the People that if it bee meet for the Miniſter, at ſome time to look towards the people; if the body of the Church be a fit place for ſome part of Divine Service, it muſt needs follow that whenſoever his face is turned any other way, or any thing done any other-where, it hath abſurditie. *All theſe reaſons*, they ſay, have beene brought, and were hitherto never anſwered; beſides a number of merrimets and ieſts unanſwered likewiſe, wherewith they have pleaſantly moved much laughter at our manner of ſerving God. Such is their evill hap to play upon dull-ſpirited men. Wee are ſtill perſwaded that a bare deniall, is anſwer ſufficient to things which meere fancie obiecteth; and that the beſt Apologie to words of ſcorne and petulancie, is *Iſaacks* Apologie to his brother *Iſmael*, the Apologie which patience and ſilence maketh. Our anſwer therefore to their reaſons, is no; to their ſcoffes, nothing.

a *T.C.l.1.p.*134 *lib.*3.187.

b *Acts* 1. 15.

c *T.C.l.1.p.*134. *lib.*3.*pag.*187.

31 When they obiect that our Book requireth [d] nothing to be done, which a child may not do as *lawfully and as well as that man wherewith the Book contenteth it ſelfe*, is it their meaning that the Service of God ought to bee a matter of great difficultie, a labour which requireth great learning and deep skill, or elſe that the Book containing it, ſhould teach what men are fit to attend upon it, and forbid either men unlearned or children to be admitted thereunto? In ſetting down the forme of Common Prayer, there was no need that the Book ſhould mention either the learning of a fit, or the unfitneſſe of an ignorant Miniſter, more than that he which deſcribeth the manner how to pitch a field, ſhould ſpeak of moderation and ſobrietie in diet. And concerning the dutie it ſelfe, although the hardneſſe thereof bee not ſuch as needeth much Art, yet ſurely they ſeem to be very far carried beſides themſelves, to whom the dignitie of publike Prayer doth not diſcover ſomewhat more fitneſſe in men of gravitie and ripe diſcretion, than in children of *ten yeeres of age*, for the decent diſcharge and performance of that office. It cannot bee that they who ſpeak thus, ſhould thus iudge. At the boord & in private it very well becommeth childrens innocencie to pray, and their Elders to ſay, *Amen*. Which being a part of their vertuous education, ſerveth greatly both to nouriſh in them the feare of God, and to put us in continuall remembrance of that powerfull grace, which openeth the mouths of Infants to ſound his prayſe. But pub-

Eaſineſſe of praying after our forme.

d *T.C.l.1.p.*133 *& lib.*3.*p.* 184. Another fault in the whole Service or Liturgie of *England*, is, for that it maintaineth an unpreaching Miniſterie in requiring nothing to bee done by the Miniſter which a child of ten yeers old cannot do as well, and as lawfully as that man, wherwith the Book contenteth it ſelfe.

publike Prayer, the ſervice of God in the ſolemne aſſembly of Saints, is a work though eaſie, yet withall ſo waightie and of ſuch reſpect, that the great facilitie thereof is but a ſlender argument to prove, it may be as well and as lawfully committed to children as to men of yeeres, howſoever their abilitie of learning be but only to do that in decent order wherewith the Book contenteth it ſelfe. The Book requireth but orderly reading. As in truth, what ſhould any preſcript forme of Prayer framed to the Miniſters hand, require, but only ſo to be read as behoveth? We know that there are in the World certaine voluntarie Overſeers of all Books, whoſe cenſure in this reſpect would fall as ſharp on us as it hath done on many others, if delivering but a forme of Prayer, wee ſhould either expreſſe or include any thing, more than doth properly concerne Prayer. The Miniſters greatneſſe or meanneſſe of knowledge to do other things, his aptneſſe or inſufficiencie otherwiſe than by reading to inſtruct the Flock, ſtandeth in this place as a ſtranger, with whom our forme of Common Prayer hath nothing to do. Wherein their exception againſt eaſineſſe, as if that did nouriſh ignorance, proceedeth altohether of a needleſſe iealouſie. I have often heard it inquired of by many, how it might be brought to paſſe, that the Church ſhould every where have able Preachers to inſtruct the people; what impediments there are to hinder it, & which were the ſpeedieſt way to remove them. In which conſultations the multitude of Pariſhes, the paucitie of Schooles, the manifold diſcouragements which are offered unto mens inclinations that way, the penurie of the Eccleſiaſticall eſtate, the irrecoverable loſſe of ſo many Livings of principall value, cleane taken away from the Church long ſithence by being appropriated, the daily bruzes that Spirituall promotions uſe to take by often falling, the want of ſomewhat in certaine ſtatutes which concerne the ſtate of the Church, the too great facilitie of many Biſhops, the ſtonie hardneſſe of too many Patrons hearts not touched with any feeling in this caſe: ſuch things oftentimes are debated, and much thought upon by them that enter into any diſcourſe concerning defect of knowledge in the Clergie. But whoſoever bee found guiltie, the Communion Book hath ſurely deſerved leaſt to bee called in queſtion for this fault. If all the Clergie were as learned as themſelves are that moſt complaine of ignorance in others, yet our Book of Prayer might remaine the ſame; and remayning the ſame it is, I ſee not how it can bee a let unto any mans skill in preaching. Which thing wee acknowledge to bee Gods good gift, howbeit no ſuch neceſſarie element, that every act of Religion ſhould bee thought imperfect and lame, wherein there is not ſomewhat exacted that none can diſcharge but an able Preacher.

The length of our Service. *T.C. l. 1. p. 133. & l. 3. p. 184.*

32 Two faults there are, which our Lord & Saviour himſelfe eſpecially reproved in Prayer; the one, when oſtentation did cauſe it to be open; the other, when ſuperſtition made it long. As therefore prayers the one way are faulty, not whenſoever they be openly made, but when Hypocriſie is the cauſe of open praying: ſo the length of Prayer is likwiſe a fault, howbeit not ſimply, but where error & ſuperſtition cauſeth more than convenient repetition or continuation of ſpeech to be uſed. It is not as ſome do imagine (ſaith S. *Aug.*) that long praying is that fault of much ſpeaking in prayer which

a *Aug. Ep. 121.*

which our Saviour did reprove; for then would not hee himſelfe in prayer have continued [a] whole nights. Vſe in prayer no vaine ſuperfluitie of words, as the Heathens do, for they imagine that their much ſpeaking will cauſe them to be heard: whereas in truth the thing which God doth regard is, how vertuous their minds are, and not how copious their tongues in prayer; how well they think, and not how long they talke who come to preſent their ſupplications before him. Notwithſtanding foraſmuch as in publike prayer we are not only to conſider what is needfull in reſpect of God, but there is alſo in men that which wee muſt regard; wee ſomewhat the rather incline to length, leſt over-quick diſpatch of a duty ſo important, ſhould give the World occaſion to deeme, that the thing it ſelfe is but little accounted of, wherin but little time is beſtowed. Length thereof is a thing which the gravitie and waight of ſuch actions doth require. Beſide, this benefit alſo it hath, that they whom earneſt lets and impediments do often hinder from being partakers of the whole, have yet through the length of Divine Service, opportunitie left them, at the leaſt, for acceſſe unto ſome reaſonable part thereof. Againe, it ſhould bee conſidered, how it doth come to paſſe that weare ſo long For if that very ſervice of God in the Iewiſh Synagogues, which our Lord did approve and ſanctifie with the preſence of his owne perſon, had ſo large portions of the Law and Prophets, together with ſo many Prayers and Pſalmes read day by day, as equall in a manner the length of ours, and yet in that reſpect was never thought to deſerve blame, is it now an offence that the like meaſure of time is beſtowed in the like manner? Peradventure the Church hath not now the leiſure which it had then, or elſe thoſe things wherupon ſo much time was then well ſpent, have ſithence ~~that~~ loſt their dignitie and worth. If the reading of the Law, the Prophets and Pſalmes be a part of the Service of God, as needfull under Chriſt as before, and the adding of the New Teſtament, as profitable as the ordaining of the Old to be read; if therewith inſtead of Iewiſh Prayers it be alſo for the good of the Church to annex that varietie which [b] the Apoſtle doth commend; ſeeing that the time which we ſpend is no more than the orderly performance of theſe things neceſſarily requireth, why are wee thought to exceed in length? words, bee they never ſo few, are too many when they benefit not the Hearer. But he which ſpeaketh no more than edifieth, is undeſervedly reprehended for much ſpeaking. That as [c] *the Devill under colour of long Prayer drave preaching out of the Church* heretofore, *ſo we in appointing ſo long Prayers and Readings, whereby the leſſe can be ſpent in preaching, maintaine an unpreaching Miniſterie*, is neither adviſedly nor truly ſpoken. They reprove long Prayer, and yet acknowledge it to be in it ſelfa thing commendable. For ſo it muſt needs bee, if the Devill have uſed it as a colour to hide his malicious practiſes. When malice would work that which is evill, and in working avoyd the ſuſpicion of any evill intent, the colour wherewith it overcaſteth it ſelfe, is alwayes a faire and plauſible pretence of ſeeking to further that w^ch is good. So that if we both retain that good which Sathan hath pretended to ſeek, and avoid the evill which his purpoſe was to effect, have we not better prevented his malice, then if as he hath under colour of long prayer, driven preaching out of the Church, ſo we ſhould take the quarel of

a *Luke* 6. 12.

b 1 *Tim.* 2. 1.

c *T.C.l.* 3. *p.* 184.

of Sermons in hand, and revenge their cauſe by requitall, thruſting Prayer in a manner out of doores under colour of long preaching? In caſe our Prayers being made at their full length, did neceſſarily inforce Sermons to be the ſhorter, yet neither were this to uphold and maintaine an *unpreaching* Miniſterie, unleſſe we will ſay that thoſe ancient Fathers, *Chryſoſtome*, *Auguſtine*, *Leo*, and the reſt, whoſe Homilies in that conſideration were ſhorter for the moſt part than our Sermons are, did then not preach when their ſpeeches were not long. The neceſſity of ſhortneſſe cauſeth men to cut off impertinent Diſcourſes, and to comprize much matter in few words. But neither doth it maintaine inabilitie, nor at all prevent opportunitie of preaching; as long as a competent time is granted for that purpoſe. *An houre and a halfe* is, they ſay, in reformed Churches *ordinarily* thought reaſonable, for *their whole Liturgie or Service.* Do we then continue as [a] *Ezra* did in reading the Law from morning till midday? [b] or as the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* did in Prayer and preaching, till men through wearineſſe be taken up dead at our feet? The huge length whereof they make ſuch complaint, is but this, that if our whole forme of Prayer bee read, and beſides an houre allowed for a Sermon, wee ſpend ordinarily in both more time than they do by halfe an houre. Which halfe houre being ſuch a matter, as the *age of ſome, and infirmity of other ſome are not able to beare*; if we have any ſenſe of the *common imbecility* if any care to preſerve mens wits from being broken with the very *bent of ſo long attention*, if any love or deſire to provide that things moſt holy bee not with hazzard of mens ſoules abhord and lothed, this halfe houres tedioufneſſe muſt be remedied, and that only by cutting off the greateſt part of our Common Prayer. For no other remedy will ſerve to help ſo dangerous an inconvenience.

a *Nehem.* 8. 3.
b *Act.* 20. 9.

In ſtead of ſuch Prayers as the Primitive Churches have uſed, and thoſe that bee reformed now uſe, wee have (they ſay) divers ſhort cuts or ſhreddings, rather wiſhes than Prayers. *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 138. *& lib.* 3. *pag.* 210. 211.

33 The Brethren in Egypt (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, *Epiſt.* 121) are reported to have many Prayers, but every of them very ſhort, as if they were Darts throwne out with a kind of ſudden quickneſſe, leſt that vigilant and erect attention of mind, which in Prayer is very neceſſary, ſhould bee waſted or dulled through continuance, if their Prayers were few and long. But that which Saint *Auguſtine* doth allow, they condemne. Thoſe Prayers whereunto devout minds have added a piercing kind of brevity, as well in that reſpect which we have already mentioned, as alſo thereby the better to expreſſe that quick and ſpeedy expedition, wherewith ardent affections, the very wings of Prayer, are delighted to preſent our ſutes in Heaven, even ſooner than our tongues can deviſe to utter them, they in their mood of contradiction ſpare not openly to deride, and that with ſo baſe termes as do very ill beſeeme men of their gravitie. Such ſpeeches are ſcandalous, they ſavour not of God in him that uſeth them, and unto vertuouſly diſpoſed minds they are grievous corroſives. Our caſe were miſerable, if that wherewith we moſt endeavour to pleaſe God, wherein his ſight ſo vile and deſpicable, as mens diſdainfull ſpeech would make it.

Leſſons intermingled with our Prayers.

34 Again, for as much as effectuall Prayer is ioyned with a vehement intention of the inferior powers of the ſoule, which cannot therin long continue without paine, it hath been therfore thought good ſo by turns to interpoſe ſtill ſomewhat for the higher part of the mind, the underſtanding to work

work upon that both being kept in continuall exercise with varietie, neither might feele any great wearineſſe, and yet each bee a ſpurre to other. For Prayer kindleth our deſire to behold God by ſpeculation; and the mind delighted with that contemplative ſight of God, taketh every-where new inflammations to pray, the riches of the Myſteries of heavenly Wiſdome continually ſtirring up in us correſpondent deſires towards them. So that he which prayeth in due ſort, is thereby made the more attentive to heare, and he which heareth, the more earneſt to pray, for the time which we beſtow as well in the one as the other. But for what cauſe ſoever we do it, this intermingling of Leſſons with Prayers is * in their taſte a thing as unſavorie, and as unſeemly in their ſight, as if the like ſhould be done in Sutes and Supplications before ſome mighty Prince of the World. Our ſpeech to worldly Superiors wee frame in ſuch ſort as ſerveth beſt to informe and perſwade the minds of them, who otherwiſe neither could nor would greatly regard our neceſſities: Wheras, becauſe we know that God is indeed a King, but *a great* King, who underſtandeth al things beforehand, which no other King beſides doth, a King which needeth not to be informed what we lack, a King readier to grant than wee to make our requeſts; therefore in Prayer wee doe not ſo much reſpect what Precepts Art delivereth touching the method of perſwaſive utterance in the preſence of great men, as what doth moſt availe to our owne edification in pietie and godly zeale. If they on the contrary ſide doe think that the ſame rules of decency which ſerve for things done unto terrene Powers, ſhould univerſally decide what is fit in the ſervice of God, if it be their meaning to hold it for a maxime, that the Church muſt deliver her publique Supplications unto God in no other forme of ſpeech than ſuch as were decent, if ſute ſhould bee made to the great Turk, or ſome other Monarch, let them apply their own rule unto their own form of Common-Prayer. Suppoſe that the people of a whole Town with ſome choſen man before them did continually twice or thrice in a week reſort to their King, and every time they come, firſt acknowledge themſelves guilty of rebellions and treaſons, then ſing a Song, after that explain ſome Statute of the Land to the Standers by, and there in ſpend at the leaſt an houre, this done, turne themſelves againe to the King and for every ſort of his Subiects crave ſomewhat of him, at the length ſing him another Song, and ſo take their leave: Might not the King well think, that either they knew not what they would have, or elſe that they were diſtracted in mind, or ſome other ſuch like cauſe of the diſorder of their ſupplication? This forme of ſuing unto Kings were abſurd. This forme of Praying unto God they allow. When God was ſerved with Legall Sacrifices, ſuch was the miſerable and wretched diſpoſition of ſome mens minds, that the beſt of every thing they had being culled out for themſelves, if there were in their flocks any poore ſtarved or diſeaſed thing not worth the keeping, they thought it good enough for the altar of God, pretending (as wiſe hypocrites do when they rob God to inrich themſelves) that the fatneſſe

* We have no ſuch formes in the Scripture as that we ſhould pray in two or three lines, and then after having read awhile ſome other thing, come and pray as much more, and ſo the 20. or 30. time, with pauſes between. If a man ſhould come to a Prince and having very many things to demand, after he had demanded one thing, would ſtay a long time, and then demanded another, and ſo the third, the Prince might well think that either hee came to aske before hee knew what he had need of, or that he had forgotten ſome piece of his Sute, or that hee were diſtracted in his underſtanding, or ſome other ſuch like cauſe of the diſorder of his Supplication. *T. Coll. 1. p. 138.* This kind of reaſon the Prophet in the matter of Sacrifices doth uſe. *T. C. l. 3 p. 210.*

of Calves doth benefit him nothing, to us the beſt things are moſt profitable, to him all as one if the mind of the Offerer be good, which is the only thing he reſpecteth. In reproof of which their devout fraud, the Prophet *Malachy* alleageth, that gifts are offered unto God not as [a] ſupplies of his want indeed, but yet as teſtimonies of that affection wherwith we acknowledge and honour his greatneſſe. For which cauſe, ſith the greater they are whom we honour, the more regard we have to the quality and choice of thoſe preſents which wee bring them for honours ſake, it muſt needs follow, that if wee dare not diſgrace our worldly Superiours with offring unto them ſuch refuſe as wee bring unto God himſelfe, we ſhew plainely that our acknowledgement of his Greatneſſe is but fained, in heart we feare him not ſo much as we dread them. [b] *If ye offer the blind for ſacrifice, is it not evill? Offer it now unto thy Prince; Will he be content or accept thy perſon, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts? Curſed be the Deceiver which hath in his Flock a Male, and having made a Vow, ſacrificeth unto the Lord a corrupt thing: For I am a great King ſaith the Lord of Hoſts.* Should wee hereupon frame a Rule, that what forme of ſpeech or behaviour ſoever is fit for Suters in a Princes Court, the ſame and no other beſeemeth us in our Prayers to Almighty God?

a Μέρη τιμῆς τὰ δῶρα, τὰ παρ' ἑκάστων τίμια. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ δῶρον ἐστὶ κτῆμα ὃς δόσις καὶ τιμῆς σημεῖον. Διὸ καὶ οἱ φιλοχρήματοι καὶ οἱ φιλότιμοι ἐφίενται αὐτοῦ. Ἀμφοτέροις γὰρ ἐχεῖνο δέονται. Καὶ γὰρ κτῆμα ἐστὶν οὗ ἐφίενται οἱ φιλοχρήματοι καὶ τιμὴ ἔχει οὗ οἱ φιλότιμοι. *Ariſt. Retb. lib. 1. cap. 5.*

b *Mal. 1. 8. 14.*

The number of our Prayers for earthly things, and our oft rehearſing of the Lords Prayer.

35 But in vaine we labour to perſwade them that any thing can take away the tediouſneſſe of Prayer, except it be brought to the very ſame both meaſure and forme which themſelves aſſigne. Whatſoever therefore our Liturgy hath more than theirs, under one deviſed pretence or other they cut it off. We have of Prayers for earthly things in their opinion too great a number; ſo oft to rehearſe both the Lords Prayer in ſo ſmall a time, is as they thinke a loſſe of time, the peoples praying after the Miniſter, they ſay, waſteth time, and alſo maketh an unpleaſant ſound; the *Pſalmes*, they would not have to bee made (as they are) a part of our Common Prayer, nor to be ſung or ſaid by turns, nor ſuch Muſick to be uſed with them; thoſe Evangelicall *Hymns* they allow not to ſtand in our Liturgy; the *Letany*, the *Creed of Athanaſius*, the *Sentence of Glory*, wherwith we uſe to conclude *Pſalmes*, theſe things they cancell, as having been inſtituted in regard of occaſions peculiar to the times of old, and as being therefore now ſuperfluous. Touching Prayers for things earthly, wee ought not to think that the Church hath ſet down ſo many of them without cauſe. They peradventure, which find this fault, are of the ſame affection with *Salomon*, ſo that if God ſhould offer to grant them whatſoever they aske, they would neither crave riches, nor length of daies, nor yet victory over their Enemies, but only an underſtanding heart, for which cauſe themſelvs having Eagles wings, are offended to ſee others flie ſo neer the ground. But the tender kindneſſe of the Church of God it very well beſeemeth, to help the weaker ſort

I can make no Geometricall and exact meaſure, but verily I beleeve there ſhall be found more than a third part of the Prayers, which are not *Pſalmes* and Texts of Scripture, ſpent in praying for, and praying againſt the commodities and incommodities of this life, which is contrary to all the Arguments or Contents of the Prayers of the Church ſet down in the Scripture, and eſpecially of our Saviours Chriſts Prayer, by the which ours ought to be directed. *T. C. lib. 1. p. 136.* What a reaſon is this, wee muſt repeat the Lords Prayer oftentimes, therfore oftentimes in halfe an houre, and one in the neck of another? Our Saviour Chriſt doth not there give a preſcript forme of Prayer whereunto he bindeth us: but giveth us a Rule and Square to frame all our Prayers by. I know it is neceſſary to Pray and Pray often. I know alſo that in a few words it is impoſſible for any man to frame ſo pithy a prayer, and I confeſſe that the Church doth well in concluding their prayers with the Lords Prayer: But I ſtand upon this, that there is no neceſſity laid upon us to uſe theſe very words and no more. *T. C. l. 1. p. 219.*

ſort which are by ſo great oddes more in number, although ſome few of the perfecter and ſtronger may be therewith for a time diſpleaſed. Ignorant we are not, that of ſuch as reſorted to our Saviour Chriſt being preſent on earth, there came not any unto him with better ſucceſſe for the benefit of their ſoules everlaſting happineſſe, than they whoſe bodily neceſſities gave them the firſt occaſion to ſeek reliefe, where they ſaw willingneſs and ability of doing every way good unto all. The graces of the Spirit are much more precious than worldly benefits; our ghoſtly evils of greater importance than any harm which the body feeleth. Therfore our deſires to heaven ward ſhould both in meaſure and number no leſſe exceed, than their glorious Object doth every way excell in value. Theſe things are true and plaine in the eye of a perfect judgement. But yet it muſt be withall conſidered, that the greateſt part of the world are they which be fartheſt from perfection. Such being better able by ſenſe to diſcern the wants of this preſent life than by ſpirituall capacity to apprehend things above ſenſe, which tend to their happines in the world to come, are in that reſpect the more apt to apply their minds even with hearty affection and zeale at the leaſt unto thoſe branches of publike prayer, wherin their own particular is moved. And by this meane there ſtealeth upon them a double benefit; firſt, becauſe that good affection, which things of ſmaller account have once ſet on work, is by ſo much the more eaſily raiſed higher; and ſecondly, in that the very cuſtome of ſeeking ſo particular aid and reliefe at the hands of God, doth by a ſecret contradiction withdraw them from indevouring to help themſelves by thoſe wicked ſhifts, which they know can never have his allowance, whoſe aſſiſtance their prayer ſeeketh. Theſe multiplied petitions of worldly things in prayer have therefore, beſides their direct uſe, a Service wherby the Church under-hand, through a kind of heavenly fraud, taketh therewith the ſoules of men as with certaine baites. If then their calculation be true (for ſo they reckon) that a full third of our prayers bee allotted unto earthly benefits, for which our Saviour in his platforme hath appointed but one petition amongſt ſeven, the difference is without any great diſagreement; we reſpecting what men are, and doing that which is meet in regard of the common imperfection, our Lord contrariwiſe propoſing the moſt abſolute proportion that can be in mens deſires, the very higheſt marke whereat wee are able to ayme. For which cauſe alſo our cuſtome is both to place it [a] in the front of our prayers as a Guide, and to adde it in the end of ſome principall lims or parts, as a complement which fully perfecteth what ſoever may be defective in the reſt. Twice we rehearſe it ordinarily, and oftner as occaſion requireth more ſolemnity or length in the forme of Divine Service, not miſtruſting, till theſe new curioſities ſprang up, that ever any man would think our labour herein miſ-ſpent, the time waſtfully conſumed and the office it ſelfe made worſe, by ſo repeating that which otherwiſe would more hardly be made familiar to the ſimpler ſort, for the good of whoſe ſoules there is not in Chriſtian religion any thing of like continual uſe & force throughout every houre and moment of their whole lives. I mean not only becauſe prayer, but becauſe this very prayer is of ſuch efficacy & neceſſity: for that our Saviour did but ſet men a bare example how to contrive or deviſe prayers of their owne, and no way binde them

[a] *Præmiſſa legitima & ordinaria oratione quaſi fundamento, accidentium jus eſt deſideriorum, jus eſt ſuperſtruendi extrinſecus petitiones.* Tertul. de Orat.

them to use this, is no doubt an Error, [a] *Iohn* the *Baptists* Disciples, which had been always brought up in the bosom of Gods Church from the time of their first infancy, till they came to the schoole of *Iohn*, were not so brutish, that they could be ignorant how to call upon the Name of God, but of their Master they had received a forme of Prayer amongst themselves, which forme none did use saving his Disciples, so that by it as by a mark of speciall difference they were known from others. And of this the Apostles having taken notice, they request that as *Iohn* had taught his, so Christ would likewise teach them to pray. *Tertullian* and S. *Augustin* do for that cause terme it, *Orationem legitimam*, the Prayer which Christs own Law hath tied his Church to use in the same prescript forme of words wherewith he himselfe did deliver it, and therefore what part of the World soever we fall into, if Christian Religion have been there received, the ordinary use of this very Prayer hath with equall continuance accompanied the same, as one of the principall and most materiall duties of honor done to Iesus Christ. *Seeing* [b] *that we have* (saith S. *Cyprian*) *an Advocate with the Father for our sins, when we that have sinned come to seek for pardon, let us alleage unto God the words which our Advocate hath taught. For sith his promise is our plaine warrant, that in his Name what wee aske wee shall receive, must we not needs much the rather obtaine that for which we sue, if not only his Name do countenance, but also his speech present our requests?* Though men should speak with the tongues of Angels, yet words so pleasing to the eares of God, as those which the Son of God himselfe hath composed, were not possible for men to frame. He therefore which made us to live, hath also taught us to pray, to the end that speaking unto the Father in the Sonnes own prescript forme without scholy or glosse of ours, we may be sure that we utter nothing which God will either disallow or deny. Other Prayers wee use many besides this, and this oftner than any other; although not tyed so to do by any Commandement of Scripture, yet moved with such considerations as have been before set down: the causelesse dislike whereof which others have conceived, is no sufficient reason for us, as much as once to forbeare in any place: a thing which uttered with true devotion and zeale of heart, affordeth to God himselfe that glory, that ayd to the weakest sort of men, to the most perfect, that sollid comfort which is unspeakable.

[a] *Luke* 11.1.

[b] *Cypr. in Orat. Dom.*

The peoples saying after the Minister. Another fault is, that all the people are appointed in divers places to say after the Minister, whereby not only the time is unprofitably wasted, & a confused noyse of the people one speaking after another caused, but an Opinion bred in their heads that those only bee their Prayers which they pronounce with their own mouths after the Minister, otherwise than the order which is left to the Church doth beare, 1 *Cor.* 14. 16 and otherwise than *Iustin Martyr* sheweth the custome of the Churches to have beene in his time. *T. C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 139. and *Lib.* 3. *pag.* 211. 212. 213.

36 With our Lords Prayer they would find no fault, so that they might perswade us to use it before or after Sermons only (because so their manner is) and not (as all Christian people have been of old accustomed) insert it so often into the Liturgy. But the peoples custome to repeat any thing after the Minister, they utterly mislike. Twice wee appoint that the words which the Minister first pronounceth, the whole congregation shall repeat after him. As first in the publike Confession of sinnes, and againe in rehearseall of our Lords Prayer, presently after the blessed Sacrament of his Body and Bloud received. A thing no way offensive, no way unfit or unseemely to be done although

though it had been ſo appointed oftner than with us it is. But ſurely with ſo good reaſon it ſtandeth in thoſe two places, that otherwiſe to order it were not in all reſpects ſo well. Could there bee any thing deviſed better, than that we all at our firſt acceſſe unto God by Prayer, ſhould acknowledge meekly our ſinnes, and that not only in heart but with tongue, all which are preſent being made eare-witneſſes, even of every mans diſtinct and deliberate aſſent unto each particular branch of a common Indictment drawn againſt our ſelves? How were it poſſible, that the Church ſhould any way elſe with ſuch eaſe and certainty provide, that none of her Children may as *Adam* diſſemble that wretchedneſſe, the penitent confeſſion whereof is ſo neceſſary a Preamble, eſpecially to Common Prayer? In like manner, if the Church did ever deviſe a thing fit and convenient, what more than this, that when together wee have all received thoſe Heavenly Myſteries wherein Chriſt imparteth himſelfe unto us, and giveth viſible teſtification of our bleſſed Communion with him, we ſhould in hatred of all Hereſies, Factions and Schiſmes, the Paſtor as a Leader, the people as willing followers of him ſtep by ſtep, declare openly our ſelves united as Brethren in one, [a] by offering up withall our hearts and tongus that moſt effectuall Supplication, wherin he unto whom we offer it, hath himſelfe not only comprehended all our neceſſities, but in ſuch ſort alſo framed every Petition, as might moſt naturally ſerve for many, and doth though not alwayes require, yet alwayes import a multitude of ſpeakers together? For which cauſe Communicants have ever uſed it, and we at that time the forme of our very utterance doe ſhew wee uſe it, yea, every word and ſyllable of it as Communicants. In the reſt we obſerve that cuſtome wherunto [b] S. *Paul* alludeth, and whereof the Fathers of the Church in their Writings make often mention, to ſhew indefinitly what was done, but not univerſally to binde for ever all Prayers unto one only faſhion of utterance. The reaſons which wee have alleaged, induce us to think it ſtill *a good work*, which they in their penſive care for the well beſtowing of time account *waſte*. As for unpleaſantneſſe of ſound if it happen, the good of mens Soules doth either deceive our eares that we note it not, or arme them with patience to indure it. We are not ſo nice as to caſt away a ſharp Knife, becauſe the edge of it may ſomtimes grate. And ſuch ſubtle opinions as few but Vtopians are likely to fall into, we in this Climate do not greatly feare.

[a] Τίς γὰρ ἐπὶ ἐχθρὸν ἥξει σθαι δύναται μεθ' οὗ μιᾶν ἀφῖκε πρὸς θεὸν τὴν φωνὴν; *Baſil. Præf. in Pſal.*

[b] 1 *Cor.* 14. 16.

37 The complaint which they make about Pſalms and Hymns, might as well be over-paſt without any anſwer, as it is without any cauſe brought forth. But our deſire is to content them if it may be, and to yeeld them a juſt reaſon even of the leaſt things wherin undeſervedly they have but as much as dreamed or ſuſpected that we do amiſſe. They ſeeme ſometimes ſo to ſpeake, as if it greatly offended them, that ſuch Hymns and Pſalms as are Scripture, ſhould in Common Prayer be otherwiſe uſed than the reſt of the Scripture is wont; ſomtime diſpleaſed they are at the artificiall Muſicke which we adde unto Pſalmes of this kind or of any other nature elſe; ſomtime the plaineſt and the moſt intelligible rehearſall of them yet they favour not, becauſe it is done by Interlocution, and with a mutuall returne of Sentences from ſide to ſide. They are not ignorant what difference

Our manner of reading the Pſalms otherwiſe than the Scripture. They have alwayes the ſame profit to be ſtudied in, to be read and preached upon which other Scriptures have, and this above the reſt, that they are to be ſung.

other parts of Scripture and Pſalms. The choice and flower of * all things profitable in other Books, the Pſalmes do both more briefly containe, and more movingly alſo expreſſe, by reaſon of that Poeticall forme wherewith they are written. The ancient, when they ſpeak of the Book of Pſalms, uſe to fall into large Diſcourſes, ſhewing how this part above the reſt doth of purpoſe ſet forth and celebrate all the conſiderations and operations which belong to God, it magnifieth the holy meditations and actions of divine men, it is of things heavenly an univerſall declaration, working in them, whoſe hearts God inſpireth with the due conſideration thereof, an habit or diſpoſition of mind whereby they are made fit Veſſels both for receit and for delivery of whatſoever ſpirituall perfection. What is there neceſſary for man to know which the Pſalms are not able to teach? They are to beginners an eaſie and familiar Introduction, a mighty augmentation of all vertue and knowledge in ſuch as are entred before, a ſtrong confirmation to the moſt perfect amongſt others. Heroicall Magnanimity, exquiſite Juſtice, grave Moderation, exact Wiſdome, Repentance unfained, unwearied Patience, the Myſteries of God, the Sufferings of Chriſt, the Terrors of Wrath, the Comforts of Grace, the Works of Providence over this World, and the promiſed Joyes of that World which is to come, all good neceſſarily to be either known or done or had, this one Celeſtiall Fountaine yeeldeth. Let there be any griefe or diſeaſe incident into the ſoule of man, any wound or ſickneſſe named, for which there is not in this Treaſure-houſe a preſent comfortable remedy at all times ready to bee found. Hereof it is that we covet to make the Pſalms eſpecially familiar unto all. This is the very cauſe why we iterate the Pſalmes oftner than any other part of Scripture beſides, the cauſe wherfore we inure the people together with their Miniſter, and not the Miniſter alone to read them as other parts of Scripture he doth.

But to make daily Prayers of them hand-over-head, or otherwiſe than the preſent eſtate wherein wee bee, doth agree with the matter contained in them, is an abuſing of them.

T. C. l. 3. p. 206.

* ἡ περιεκτικὴ τῶν πανάρετων ὑμνολογία. Dionyſ. Hierar. Eccleſ. c. 3.

Of Muſick with Pſalmes.

38 Touching Muſicall Harmony, whether by Inſtrument or Voyce, it being but of high and low in ſounds a due proportionable diſpoſition, ſuch notwithſtanding is the force thereof, and ſo pleaſing effects it hath in that very part of man which is moſt divine, that ſome have been thereby induced to think that the ſoule it ſelfe by nature is, or hath in it harmony. A thing which delighteth all Ages and beſeemeth all States; a thing as ſeaſonable in griefe as in joy; as decent being added unto actions of greateſt waight and ſolemnity, as being uſed when men moſt ſequeſter themſelves from action. The reaſon hereof is an admirable facility which Muſick hath to expreſſe and repreſent to the mind, more inwardly than any other ſenſible meane, the very ſtanding, riſing, and falling, the very ſteps and inflections every way, the turnes and varieties of all paſſions whereunto the mind is ſubject: yea, ſo to imitate them, that whether it reſemble unto us the ſame ſtate wherein our minds already are, or a cleane contrary, we are not more contentedly by the one confirmed, than changed and led away by the other. In Harmony the very Image and Character even of Vertue and Vice is perceived, the mind delighted with their Reſemblances, and brought, by having them often iterated, into a love of the things themſelves. For which cauſe there is nothing more contagious and peſtilent than ſome kinds of Harmony; than ſome nothing more ſtrong and potent unto

good

good. And that there is ſuch a difference of one kind from another, wee need no proofe but our own experience, in as much as we are at the heating of ſome more inclined unto ſorrow and heavineſſe: of ſome, more mollified and ſoftned in mind; one kind apter to ſtay and ſettle us, another to moove and ſtirre our affections; there is that draweth to a marvellous grave and ſober mediocrity, there is alſo that carrieth as it were into extaſies filling the mind with an heavenly joy, and for the time in a manner, ſevering it from the body. So that although we lay altogether aſide the conſideration of Ditty or Matter, the very harmony of ſounds being framed in due ſort, and carried from the eare to the ſpirituall faculties of our ſoules, is by a native puiſſance and efficacy greatly availeable to bring to a perfect temper what ſoever is there troubled, apt as well to quicken the ſpirits, as to allay that which is too eager, ſoveraigne againſt melancholy and deſpaire, forcible to draw forth teares of devotion, if the mind be ſuch as can yeeld them, able both to moove and to moderate all affections. The Prophet *David* having therefore ſingular knowledge not in Poetry alone but in Muſick alſo, judged them both to bee things moſt neceſſary for the Houſe of God, left behind him to that purpoſe a number of divinely indited Poems, and was farther the Author of adding unto Poetry melody in publike prayer, melody both vocall and inſtrumentall for the raiſing up of mens hearts, and the ſweetning of their affections towards God. In which conſiderations the Church of Chriſt doth likewiſe at this preſent day retain it as an ornament to Gods ſervice, and an help to our own devotion. They which under pretence of the Law Ceremoniall abrogated require the abrogation of inſtrumentall Muſick, approving nevertheleſſe the uſe of vocall melody to remain, muſt ſhew ſome reaſon wherfore the one ſhould be thought a Legall Ceremony and not the other. In Church-Muſick curioſity and oſtentation of Art, wanton, or light; or unſutable harmony, ſuch as only pleaſeth the eare, and doth not naturally ſerve to the very kind and degree of thoſe impreſſions which the matter that goeth with it leaveth, or is apt to leave in mens minds, doth rather blemiſh and diſgrace that we do, than adde either beauty or furtherance unto it. On the other ſide theſe faults prevented, the force and efficacy of the thing it ſelf, when it drowneth not utterly, but fitly ſuteth with matter altogether ſounding to the praiſe of God, is in truth moſt admirable, and doth much edifie if not the underſtanding, becauſe it teacheth not, yet ſurely the Affection, becauſe therin it worketh much. They muſt have hearts very dry and tough from whom the melody of Pſalmes doth not ſomtime draw that wherein a mind religiouſly affected delighteth. Be it as *Rabanus Maurus* obſerveth, that at the firſt the Church in this exerciſe was more ſimple and plaine than we are, that their ſinging was little more than only a melodious kind of pronunciation, that the cuſtome which we now uſe was not inſtituted ſo much for their cauſe which are ſpirituall, as to the end that into groſſer and heavier minds whom bare words do not eaſily moove, the ſweetneſſe of melody might make ſome entrance for good things. Saint *Baſil* himſelfe acknowledging as much, did not think that from ſuch inventions the leaſt jot of eſtimation and credit thereby ſhould bee derogated:

For

a Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶδε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον δυσάγωγον πρὸς ἀρετὴν τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐπιῤῥέπειν ἐσόμενον, τί ποιεῖ; τὸ ἐκ τῆς μελῳδίας τέρπνον τοῖς ὄγμασιν ἐγκατέμιξεν ἵνα τῷ ὡφελίμῳ καὶ λείῳ τῆς ἀκοῆς τὸ ἐκ τῶν λόγων ὠφέλιμον λανθάνοντα ὑποδεξώμεθα. Διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἐναρμόνια ταῦτα μέλη ψαλμῳδῶν ἡμῖν ἐπινένευται, ἵνα ὁ παῖς δὲς τὸ ἡλικίᾳ ὢν καὶ ὅλως οὐ μαθὼν τὸ ᾄδειν τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν μελῳδῶμεν τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκπαιδεούσῃ ὡς τῆς σοφῆς ἐπιστίας τὸ δυνατὸν ἐκ παντὸς ἡμᾶς τε ἀφελεῖν καὶ τὰ λυσιτελῆ μανθάνειν μηχανωμένης. Basil in Psal.

a For (saith he) where as the Holy Spirit saw that mankind is unto vertue hardly drawn, and that righteousnesse is the lesse accounted of, by reason of the proneness of our affections to that which delighteth, it pleased the wisdome of the same Spirit to borrow from melody that pleasure, which mingled with Heavenly mysteries, causeth the smoothnesse and softnesse of that which toucheth the eare, to convey as it were by stealth the treasure of good things into mans mind. To this purpose were those harmonious tunes of Psalmes devised for us, that they which are either in yeares but young, or touching perfection of vertue as yet not growne to ripenesse, might, when they think they sing, learne. O the wise conceit of that Heavenly Teacher, which hath by his skill found out a way, that doing those things wherein we delight, we may also learne that whereby we profit!

Of singing or saying Psalmes and other parts of Common Prayer, wherein the people and Minister answer one another by course.

39 And if the Prophet *David* did think that the very meeting of men together, and their accompanying one another to the House of God, should make the bond of their love insoluble, and tie them in a league of inviolable amity, *Psalm.* 54. 14. how much more may wee judge it reasonable to hope, that the like effects may grow in each of the people towards other, in them all towards their Pastor and in their Pastor towards every of them, between whom there daily and interchangeably passe in the hearing of God himselfe and in the presence of his Holy Angels, so many Heavenly Acclamations, Exultations, Provocations, Petitions, Songs of comfort, Psalmes of praise and thanksgiving, in all which particulars, as when the Pastor maketh their parts, and they with one voyce testifie a generall assent thereunto; or when he joyfully beginneth, and they with like alacrity follow, dividing between them the sentences wherewith they strive which shall much shew his own, and stir up others zeale to the glory of that God whose name they magnifie; or when hee proposeth unto God their necessities, and they their own requests for relieve in every of them; or when he lifteth up his voyce like a trumpet, to proclaime unto them the Laws of God, they adjoyning, though not as *Israel* did, by way of generality a cheerefull promise, b *All that the Lord hath commanded wee will doe*, yet that which God doth no lesse approve that which savoreth more of meeknesse, that which testifieth rather a feeling knowledge of our common imbecility, unto the severall branches thereof, severall, lowly, and humble requests for grace at the mercifull hands of God, to perform the thing which is commanded; or when they wish reciprocally each others ghostly happinesse; or when he by exhortation raiseth them up, and they by protestation of their readinesse declare, he speaketh not in vaine unto them; these interlocutory formes of speech what are they else but most effectuall, partly testifications, and partly inflammations of all piety? when & how this custom of singing by course came up in the Church, it is not certainly known. c *Socrates* maketh *Ignatius* the

b *Exod.* 19. 8. 24. 3. *Deut.* 5. 27. 26. 17. *Josh.* 24. 16.

c *Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l.* 6. *c.* 1.

Bishop

It was a meere fable, so is it confuted by Historiographers, whereof some ascribe the beginning of this to *Damasus*, some other unto *Flavianus* and *Diodorus*. *T. C. lib.* 1. *p* 103.

Biſhop of Antioch in Syria the firſt beginner thereof, even under the Apoſtles themſelves. But againſt *Socrates* they ſet the authority of [a] *Theodoret*, who draweth the originall of it from Antioch as *Socrates* doth; howbeit aſcribing the invention to others, *Flavian* and *Diodore*, men which conſtantly ſtood in defence of the Apoſtolike Faith, againſt the Biſhop of that Church, *Leontius*, a favourer of the Arrians. Againſt both *Socrates* and *Theodoret*, [b] *Platina* is brought as a witneſſe, to teſtifie that *Damaſus* Biſhop of Rome began it in his time. Of the Latine Church it may be true which *Platina* ſaith. And therefore the eldeſt of that Church which maketh any mention thereof, is [c] Saint *Ambroſe*, Biſhop of Millan at the ſame time when *Damaſus* was of Rome. Amongſt the Grecians [d] Saint *Baſil* having brought it into his Church before they of Neoceſarea uſed it, *Sabellius* the Heretike and *Marcellus* took occaſion thereat to incenſe the Churches againſt him, as being an author of new devices in the ſervice of God. Wherupon, to avoid the opinion of novelty and ſingularity, he alledgeth for that which he himſelfe did, the example of the Churches of Egypt, Libya, Thebes, Paleſtina, Tharabians, Phenicians, Syrians, Meſopotamians, and in a manner all that reverenced the cuſtome of ſinging of Pſalmes together. If the Syrians had it then before *Baſil*, Antioch the Mother-Church of thoſe parts muſt needs have uſed it before *Baſil*, and conſequently before *Damaſus*. The queſtion is then how long before, and whether ſo long that *Ignatius*, or as ancient as *Ignatius*, may be probably thought the firſt Inventors. *Ignatius* in *Trajan's* daies ſuffered Martyrdom. And [e] of the Churches in Pontus and Bithynia to *Trajanæ* the Emperour his own Vicegerent there affirmeth, that the only crime he knew of them, was, they uſed to meet together at a certain day, and to praiſe Chriſt with Hymnes as a God, *ſecum invicem*, one to another amongſt themſelves. Which for any thing wee know to the contrary, might bee the ſelfe-ſame forme which *Philo Iudæus* expreſſeth, declaring how the Eſſens were accuſtomed with Hymnes and Pſalmes to honour God, ſomtime all exhalting their voyces together in one, and ſometime one part anſwering another, wherein as hee thought, they ſwarved not much from the patterne of *Moſes* and [f] *Miriam*. Whether *Ignatius* did at any time heare the Angels praiſing God after that ſort, or no, what matter is it? If *Ignatius* did not, yet one which muſt bee with us of greater authority did [g] *I ſaw the Lord* (ſaith the Prophet *Eſay*) *on an high Throne, The Seraphims ſtood upon it*, one cryed to another, *ſaying, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hoſts, the whole world is full of his glory*. But whoſoever were the Author, Whatſoever the Time, whenſoever the Example of beginning this cuſtome in the Church of Chriſt, ſith we are wont to ſuſpect things only before tryall, and afterwards either to approve them as good, or if wee find them evill, accordingly to judge of them, their counſell muſt needs ſeeme very unſeaſonable, who adviſe men now to ſuſpect that wherewith the World hath had by their own account twelve hundreth yeares acquaintance and upwards enough, to take away ſuſpicion and jealouſie. Men know by this time if ever they will know, whether it bee good or evill which hath been ſo long retained. As for the devill, which way it ſhould greatly benefit him to have this manner of ſinging Pſalms accounted an invention of *Ignatius*, or an imitation

a *Theod. lib. 2. cap. 24.*

b *Plat. in vita Damaſi.*

c *Bene mariplerunque comparatur Eccleſia, quæ primo ingredientis populi agmine totis veſtibulis undas vomit; deinde in oratione totius plebis tanquam undis reſluentibus ſtridet, tum reſponſoriis Pſalmorum, cantu virorum, mulierum, virginum, parvulorum conſonus undarum fragor reſultat.* Hexam. *l. 2 c. 5.*

d *Baſil. Epiſt. 63.*

e *Plin. ſecund. Epiſt.*

f *Exod. 15. 1. 21.*

g *Eſay 6. 3.*

imitation of the Angels of Heaven we do not well understand. But we very well see in them who thus plead, a wonderfull celerity of discourse. For perceiving at the first but only some cause of suspicion, and feare lest it should be evill, they are presently in one and the self-same breath resolved, that a *what beginning soever it had, there is no possibility it should be good.* The potent arguments which did thus suddainly break in upon them and overcome them are first, that it is not unlawfull for the people all joyntly to praise God in singing of Psalmes: secondly, that they are not any where forbidden by the Law of God to sing every Verse of the whole Psalme, both with heart and voice quite and cleane throughout: thirdly, that it cannot bee understood what is sung after our manner. Of which three, for as much as lawfulnesse to sing one way, proveth not another way inconvenient, the former two are true allegations, but they lack strength to accomplish their desire; the third so strong that it might perswade, if the truth thereof were not doubtfull. And shall this inforce us to banish a thing which all Christian Churches in the World have received, a thing which so many ages have held; a thing which the most approved Councels and Laws have so oftentimes ratified; a thing which was never found to have any inconvenience in it; a thing which alwayes heretofore the best men and wisest Governours of Gods people did think they could never commend enough; a thing which as *Basil* was perswaded, did both strengthen the Meditation of those holy words which were uttered in that sort, and serve also to make attentive, and to rise up the hearts of men; a thing whereunto Gods people of old did resort with hope and thirst, that thereby especially their soules might be edified; a thing which filleth the mind with comfort and heavenly delight, stirreth up flagrant desires and affections correspondent unto that which the words contain, allayeth all kind of base and earthly cogitations, banisheth and driveth away those evill secret suggestions which our invisible Enemy is alwayes apt to minister, watreth the heart to the end it may fructifie, maketh the vertuous in trouble full of magnanimity and courage, serveth as a most approved remedy against all dolefull and heavy accidents which befall men in this present life: to conclude, so fitly accordeth with the Apostles own exhortation, [b] *Speake to your selves in Psalmes and Hymnes, and spirituall Songs, making melody, and singing to the Lord in your hearts*, that surely there is more cause to feare lest the want thereof be a mayme, than the use a blemish to the service of God. It is not our meaning, that what we attribute unto the Psalms should be thought to depend altogether on that only form of singing or reading them by course, as with us the manner is, but the end of our speech is to shew, that because the Fathers of the Church, with whom the self-same custom was so many ages ago in use, have uttered all these things concerning the fruit which the Church of God did then reap, observing that an other forme, it may bee justly avouched that wee our selves retayning it, and besides it also the other more newly and not unfruitfully devised,

[a] From whence soever it came, it cannot be good, [c] considering that when it is granted that all the People may praise God (as it is in singing of Psalmes) then this ought not to be restrained unto a few; and where it is lawfull both with heart and voice to sing the whole Psalme, there it is not meet that they should sing but the one halfe with their heart and voice and the other with their heart only. For where they may both with heart and voice sing, there the heart is not enough. Therfore besides the imcommodity which commeth this way, in that being tossed after this sort, men cannot understand what is sung, those other two inconveniences come of this forme of singing, and therefore it is banished in all reformed Churches. *T.C. l.1. p.203.*

[b] *Eph.* 5 19.

deviſed, doe neither want that good which the later intention can afford, nor loſe any thing of that for which the Ancient ſo oft and ſo highly commend the former. Let noveltie therefore in this give over endleſſe contradictions, and let antient cuſtome prevaile.

40. We have already given cauſe ſufficient for the great conveniency & uſe of reading the Pſalmes oftner than other Scriptures. Of reading or ſinging likewiſe *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc dimittis*, oftner than the reſt of the Pſalms, the cauſes are no whit leſs reaſonable, ſo that if the one may very well monethly, the other may as well even daily be iterated. They are Songs which concern us ſo much more than the Songs of *David*, as the Goſpel toucheth us more than the Law, the New Teſtament than the Old. And if the Pſalmes for the excellency of their uſe, deſerve to be oftner repeated than they are, but that the multitude of them permitteth not any oftner repetition, what diſorder is it if theſe few Evangelicall Hymnes which are in no reſpect leſs worthy, and may be by reaſon of their paucity imprinted with much more eaſe in all mens memories, be for that cauſe every day rehearſed? In our own behalf it is convenient and orderly enough, that both they and we make day by day prayers and ſupplications the very ſame; why not as fit and convenient to magnifie the Name of God day by day with certain the very ſelfe-ſame Pſalmes of praiſe and thankſgiving? Either let them not allow the one, or elſe ceaſe to reproove the other. For the ancient received uſe of intermingling Hymnes and Pſalmes with divine readings, enough hath been written. And if any may fitly ſerve unto that purpoſe, how ſhould it better have been deviſed, than that a competent number of the Old being firſt read, theſe of the New ſhould ſucceed in the place where now they are ſet? In which place notwithſtanding there is joyned with *Benedictus* the hundreth Pſalme; with *Magnificat*, the ninety eight, the ſixty ſeventh with *Nunc dimittis*; and in every of them the choice left free for the Miniſter to uſe indifferently the one or the other. Seeing therefore they pretend no quarrell at other Pſalmes, which are in like manner appointed alſo to be daily read, why do theſe ſo much offend & diſpleaſe their taſte? They are the firſt gratulations wherewith our Lord and Saviour was joyfully received at his entrance into the World, by ſuch as in their hearts, armes, and very bowels imbraced him; being propheticall diſcoveries of Chriſt already preſent, whoſe future comming the other Pſalmes did but fore-ſignifie; they are againſt the obſtinate incredulity of the Jewes, the moſt luculent teſtimonies that Chriſtian Religion hath; yea the only ſacred Hymnes they are that Chriſtianity hath peculiar unto it ſelfe, the other being Songs too of praiſe and thankſgiving, but Songs wherewith as we ſerve God, ſo the Jew likewiſe. And whereas they tell us theſe Sonsg were fit for that purpoſe, when *Simeon* and *Zacharie*, and the bleſſed *Virgin* uttered them, but cannot ſo be to us which have not received like benefit; ſhould they not remember how expreſſely *Ezechias* amongſt many other good things is commended for this alſo, * that the praiſes of God were through his appointment daily ſet forth, by uſing in publique divine Service the Songs of *David* and *Aſaph* unto that very end? Either there wanted wiſe men to give *Ezechias* advice, and to informe him of that which in his caſe was as true as it is in

Of *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc dimittis*.

These thankſgivings were made by occaſion of certain particular benefits, and are no more to be uſed for ordinary Prayers, than the *Ave-Maria*. So that both for this cauſe and the other before alleaged of the Pſalmes, it is not convenient to make ord nary prayers of them. *T. C. l. 3. p. 108*

* 1. Chro. 29. 3.

in ours, namely that without ſome inconvenience and diſorder he could not appoint thoſe Pſalmes to bee uſed as ordinary Prayers, ſeeing that although they were Songs of thankſgiving, ſuch as *David* and *Aſaph* had ſpeciall occaſion to uſe, yet not ſo the whole Church and people afterwards whom like occaſions did not befall: or elſe *Ezekias* was perſwaded as wee are, that the praiſes of God in the mouths of his Saints, are not ſo reſtrained to their own particular, but that others may both conveniently and fruitfully uſe them; firſt, becauſe the myſticall communion of all faithfull men is ſuch as maketh every one to bee intereſſed in thoſe precious bleſſings, which any one of them receiveth at Gods hands: ſecondly, becauſe when any thing is ſpoken to extoll the goodneſſe of God whoſe mercy indureth for ever, albeit the very particular occaſion whereupon it riſeth do come no more, yet the Fountaine continuing the ſame, and yeelding other new effects which are but only in ſome ſort proportionable, a ſmall reſemblance between the benefits which wee and others have received, may ſerve to make the ſame words of praiſe and thankſgiving fit, though not equally in all circumſtances fit for both, a cleere demonſtration whereof wee have in all the Ancient Fathers Commentaries and Meditations upon the Pſalmes: laſt of all, becauſe even when there is not as much as the ſhew of any reſemblance, nevertheleſſe by often uſing their words in ſuch manner, our minds are daily more and more inured with their affections.

Of the Letany

41 The publique eſtate of the Church of God amongſt the Iews hath had many rare and extraordinary occurrents, which alſo were occaſions of ſundry [a] open ſolemnities and offices, whereby the people did with generall conſent make ſhew of correſpondent affection towards God. The like duties appeare uſuall in the ancient Church of Chriſt, by that which [b] *Tertullian* ſpeaketh of Chriſtian women matching themſelvs with Infidels. *She cannot content the Lord with performance of his diſciplin, that hath at her ſide a vaſſall whom Satan hath made his vice-agent to croſſe whatſoever the faithfull ſhould doe. If her preſence be required at the time of ſtation or ſtanding prayer, he chargeth her at no time but that to be with him in his baths; if a faſting day come, he hath on that day a banquet to make; if there be cauſe for the Church to go forth in ſolemn Proceſſion, his whole family have ſuch buſineſſe come upon them that no one can be ſpared.* Theſe *Proceſſions*, as it ſeemeth, were firſt begun for the interring of holy Martyrs, and the viſiting of thoſe places where they were intombed. Which thing the name it ſelfe applyed by [c] Heathens unto the office of exequies, and partly the ſpeeches of ſome of the ancient

Wee pray for the avoyding of thoſe dangers which are nothing neere us, as from Lightning and Thundring in the midſt of Winter, from Storm and Tempeſt when the weather is moſt faire and the Seas moſt calme. It is true that upon ſome urgent calamity a prayer may and ought to be framed, which may beg either the commoditie for want whereof the Church is in diſtreſſe, or the turning away of that miſchiefe which either approcheth or is already upon it: but to make thoſe prayers which are for the preſent time and danger, ordinary and daily prayers, I cannot hitherto ſee any, either Scripture or example of the Primitive Church. And here for the ſimples ſake I will ſet down after what ſort this abuſe crept into the Church. There was one *Mamercus* Biſhop of Vienna, which in the time of great earth-quakes, which were in France, inſtituted certaine ſupplications, which the Grecians, and we of them, call the Letany, which concerned that matter: there is no doubt, but as other diſcommodities roſe in other Countreys, they likewiſe had prayers accordingly. Now Pope *Gregory* either made himſelfe, or gathered the Supplications that were made againſt the calamities of every Country, and made of them a great Letany or Supplication, as *Platina* calleth it, and gave it to be uſed in all Churches: which thing albeit all Churches might do for the time, in reſpect of the caſe of the calamity which the Churches ſuffered, yet there is no cauſe why it ſhould be perpetuall that was ordained but for a time, and why all Lands ſhould pray to be delivered from the incommodities that ſome Land hath been troubled with. *T. C. lib. 1. pag. 137.* a *Exod. 15. 20. 2 Sam. 6. 2. 1 Chron. 13. 5. 2 Chron. 20. 3. Ioel 2. 15.* b *Tertull. lib. 2. ad Vxor.* c *Terent. And.*

ancient delivered concerning [a] Chriſtian Proceſſions, partly alſo the very droſſe which ſuperſtition thereunto added. I meane, the cuſtome of invocating Saints in proceſſions heretofore uſuall, do ſtrongly inſinuate. And as things invented to one purpoſe are by uſe eaſily converted to b more, it grew that ſupplications with this ſolemnitie for the appeaſing of Gods wrath, and the averting of publike evills, were of the Greek Church termed [c] *Litanies Rogations* of the Latine. To the people of *Vienna* (*Mamercus* being their Biſhop above 450 yeeres after Chriſt) there befell many things, the ſuddenneſſe and ſtrangeneſſe whereof ſo amaezd the hearts of all men, that the Citie they began to forſake as a place which Heaven did threaten with imminent ruine. It beſeemed not the perſon of ſo grave a Prelate to be either utterly without counſell as the reſt were, or in a cómon perplexity to ſhew himſelf alone ſecure. Wherefore as many as remayned, he earneſtly exhorteth to preuent portended calamities, uſing thoſe vertuous and holy meanes wherewith others in like caſe have prevailed with God. To which purpoſe hee perfecteth the *Rogations* or *Litanies* before in uſe, and addeth unto them that which the preſent neceſſitie required. Their good ſucceſſe mooved [d] *Sidonius* Biſhop of *Averna* to uſe the ſame ſo corrected *Rogations* at ſuch time as hee and his people were after afflicted with Famine, and beſeiged with potent Adverſaries. For till the emptie name of the Empire came to be ſetled in *Charles* the great, the fall of the Romans huge Dominion concurring with other univerſall evils, cauſed thoſe times to be daies of much affliction and trouble throughout the world. So that *Rogations* or *Litanies* were then the very ſtrength, ſtay, and comfort of Gods Church. Wherupon in the yeer five hundred and ſix it was by the [e] Councell of *Aurelia* decreed, that the whole Church ſhould beſtow yeerely at the Feaſt of Pentecoſt three dayes in that kind of proceſſionarie ſervice. About halfe an hundred yeeres after, to the end that the Latine Churches which all obſerved this cuſtome, might not varie in the order and forme of thoſe great *Litanies* which were ſo ſolemnly every where exerciſed, it was thought convenient by *Gregorie* the firſt & the beſt of that name, to draw the flower of them all into one. But this iron began at the length to gather ruſt. Which thing the [f] *Synod* of *Colen* ſaw, and in part redreſt within that Province, neither denying the neceſſarie uſe for which ſuch *Litanies* ſerve, wherein Gods clemencie and mercie is deſired by publike ſuit, to the end that plagues, deſtructions, calamities, famines, warres, and all other the like adverſities which for our manifold ſinnes wee have alwayes cauſe to feare, may be turned away from us and prevented through his grace; nor yet diſſembling the great abuſe whereunto as ſundrie other things, ſo this had grown by mens improbitie and malice, to whom that which was deviſed for the appeaſing of Gods diſpleaſure, gave opportunitie of committing things which iuſtly kindled his wrath. For remedie whereof it was then thought better, that theſe and all other ſupplications or proceſſions ſhould be no where uſed but only within the wals of the houſe of God, the place ſanctified unto prayer. And by us not only ſuch inconveniences being remedied, but alſo whatſoever was otherwiſe amiſſe in form or matter, it now remaineth a work, the abſolute perfection whereof upbraideth with errour or ſomewhat worſe, them whom in all parts it doth not ſatisfie.

a *Hieron. Epiſt. 22. ad Euſt. Martyres tibi quærantur in cubiculo tuo. Nunquam cauſa deerit procedendi ſi ſemp. quando nec eſſe eſt progreſſura ſis.*

b *Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 8. Sozom. lib 8. cap. 8. Theod. lib. 16. lib. 30. Lib. 2. cap. 10, Novel. 6. 51.*

c *Baſil. Epiſt. 63. Niceph. lib. 14. cap. 3. Cedren. in Theodoſ.*

d *Sidon. lib. 7. Epiſt. 1.*

e *Concil. tom. 2. pag. 513.*

f *Concil. tom. 5. Anno. 1536.*

As therfore Letanies have been of longer continuance than that we ſhould make either *Gregory* or *Mamercus* the author of them, ſo they are of more permanēt uſe than that now the Church ſhould think it needeth them not. What dangers at any time are imminent, what evils hang over our heads, God doth know and not we. We find by daily experience, that thoſe calamities may bee neareſt at hand, readieſt to break in ſuddenly upon us, which we in regard of times or circumſtances may imagine to bee fartheſt off. Or if they do not in deed approach, yet ſuch miſeries as being preſent all men are apt to bewaile with teares, the wiſe by their prayers ſhould rather prevent. Finally, if we for our ſelves had a priviledge of immunitie, doth not true Chriſtian Charitie require that whatſoever any part of the World, yea anyone of al our brethren elſewhere doth either ſuffer or feare, the ſame wee account as our owne burthen? What one petition is there found in the whole *Letanie* whereof we ſhall ever be able at any time to ſay, that no man living needeth the grace or benefit therein craved at Gods hands? I am not able to expreſſe how much it doth grieve me, that things of principall excellencie ſhould bee thus bitten at, by men whom God hath indued with graces both of wit and learning for better purpoſes.

Of *Athanaſius* Creed, and *Gloria Patri*.

a *Irenæ. l.* 1. *c.* 3.

b *Tertul. de preſcr. adverſ. hæret. & adverſ. Prax.*

c The like may be ſaid of the *Gloria patri* and the *Athanaſius* Creed. It was firſt brought into the Church, to the end that men thereby ſhould make an open profeſſion in the Church of the Divinitie of the Sonne of God againſt the deteſtable opinion of *Arrius* & his Diſciples, wherewith at that time marvellouſly ſwarmed almoſt the whole Chriſtendom. Now that it hath pl aſed the Lord to quēch that fire, there is no ſuch cauſe why theſe things ſhould bee uſed in the Church, at the leaſt why that *Gloria Patri* ſhould bee ſo often repeated.

4.2. We have from the Apoſtles of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, received that briefe Confeſſion of faith, which hath been alwayes a badge of the Church a mark whereby to diſcerne Chriſtian men from infidels and Iewes. [a] *That faith received from the Apoſtles and their Diſciples* (ſaith *Irenæus*) *the Church though diſperſed throughout the World, doth notwithſtanding keep as ſafe as if it dwelt within the wals of ſome one houſe, and as uniformely hold, as if it had but one only heart and ſoule; this as conſonantly it preacheth, teacheth, and delivereth, as if but one tongue did ſpeak for all. As one Sunne ſhineth to the whole world, ſo there is no faith but this one publiſhed, the brightneſſe whereof muſt enlighten all that come to the knowledge of the truth.* [b] *This rule* (ſaith *Tertullian*) *Chriſt did inſtitute, the ſtreame and current of this rule hath gone as far, it hath continued as long as the very promulgation of the Goſpell.* [c] Under *Conſtantin* the Emperour, about three hundred yeeres and upward after Chriſt, *Arrius* a Prieſt in the Church of *Alexandria*, a ſuttle-witted and a marvellous faire-ſpoken man, but diſcontented that one ſhould be placed before him in honour, whoſe ſuperiour he thought himſelfe in deſert, became through envie and ſtomack prone unto contradiction, and bold to broach at the length that hereſie wherin the Deitie of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt contained, but not opened in the former Creed, the coequalitie & coeternitie of the Son with the Father was denied. Being for this impietie deprived of his place by the Biſhop of the ſame Church, the puniſhment which ſhould have reformed him, did but increaſe his obſtinacie, and give him occaſion of labouring with greater earneſtneſs elſewhere, to intangle unwarie minds with the ſnares of his damnable opinion. *Arrius* in ſhort time had won to himſelfe a number both of followers and of great Defenders, whereupon much diſquietneſſe on al ſides enſued. The Emperor, to reduce the Church of Chriſt unto the unitie of ſound beliefe, when other means, wherof triall was firſt made, took no effect, gathered that famous aſſembly of 318 Biſhops

T. C. l. 1. *p.* 37.

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in the Councell of *Nice*, where beſides order taken for many things which ſeemed to need redreſſe, there was with common conſent for the ſetling of all mens minds, that other Confeſſion of faith ſet down which we call the Nicene Creed, whereunto the Arians themſelves which were preſent ſubſcribed alſo: not that they meant ſincerly, & indeed to forſake their errour, but only to eſcape deprivation and exile which they ſaw they could not avoid, openly perſiſting in their former opinions when the greater part had concluded againſt them, and that with the Emperours royall aſſent. Reſerving therefore themſelves unto future opportunities, and knowing that it would not boote them to ſtir again in a matter ſo compoſed, unleſſe they could draw the Emperour firſt, and by his meanes the chiefeſt Biſhops unto their part, till *Conſtantines* death, and ſomewhat after they alwaies profeſſed love and zeale to the Nicene Faith, yet ceaſed not in the mean while to ſtrengthen that part which in heart they favoured, and to infeſt by all meanes under colour of other quarels their greateſt Adverſaries in this cauſe; amongſt them *Athanaſius* eſpecially, whom by the ſpace of 46. yeares, from the time of his Conſecration to ſucceed *Alexander* Archbiſhop in the Church of *Alexandria*, till the laſt houre of his life in this World, they never ſuffered to enjoy the comfort of a peaceable day. The heart of *Conſtantine* ſtolne from him *Conſtantius* (*Conſtantines* ſucceſſor, his ſcourge and torment by all the waies that malice armed with ſoveraigne authority could deviſe and uſe. Vnder *Iulian* no reſt given him. And in the daies of *Valentinian* as little. Crimes there were laid to his charge many, the leaſt whereof being iuſt had bereaved him of eſtimation & credit with men while the world ſtandeth. His Judges evermore the ſelfe-ſame men by whom his accuſers were ſuborned. Yet the iſſue alwaies on their part ſhame; on his, triumph. Thoſe Biſhops & Prelats, who ſhould have accompted his cauſe theirs, and could not many of them but with bleeding hearts and with watred cheeks behold a perſon of ſo great place and worth conſtrained to indure ſo foule indignities, were ſure by bewraying their affection towards him, to bring upon themſelves thoſe moleſtations, whereby if they would not bee drawne to ſeeme his Adverſaries, yet others ſhould be taught how unſafe it was to continue his friends. Whereupon it came to paſſe in the end, that (very few excepted) all became ſubiect to the ſway of time; other oddes there was none amongſt them, ſaving only that ſome fell ſooner away, ſome later from the ſoundneſſe of beliefe; ſome were Leaders in the Hoſt of Impietie, and the reſt as common ſouldiers, either yeelding through feare, or brought under with penurie, or by flatterie inſnared, or elſe beguiled through ſimplicitie, which is the faireſt excuſe that well may be made for them. Yea (that which all men did wonder at) *Oſius* the ancienteſt Biſhop that Chriſtendome then had, the moſt forward in defence of the Catholike cauſe, and of the contrarie part moſt feared, that very *Oſius* with whoſe hand the Nicene Creed it ſelfe was ſet downe and framed for the whole Chriſtian World to ſubſcribe unto, ſo farre yeelded in the end, as even with the ſame hand to ratifie the Arians confeſſion, a thing which they neither hoped to ſee, nor the other part ever feared, till with amazement they ſaw it done. Both were perſwaded, that although there had been for *Oſius* no way but either

presently subscribe or die, his answer and choice would have beene the same that [a] *Eleazar* was, *It doth not become our age to dissemble, whereby many young persons might think, that* [b] Osius *an hundred yeares old and upward, were now gone to another Religion, and so through mine hypocrisie* [*for a little time of transitorie life*] *they might bee deceived by mee, and I procure malediction and reproach to my old age. For though I were now delivered from the torments of men, yet could I not escape the hand of Almightie, neither alive nor dead.* But such was the streame of those times, that all men gave place unto it, which we cannot but impute partly to their own over-sight. For at the first the Emperour was theirs, the determination of the Councell of Nice was for them, they had the *Arrians* hands to that Councell. So great advantages are never changed so farre to the contrarie, but by great errour. It plainely appeareth that the first thing which weakened them, was their securitie. Such as they knew were in heart still affected towards *Arrianisme*, they suffered by continuall neerenesse to possesse the minds of the greatest about the Emperour, which themselves might have done with verie good acceptation, and neglected it. In *Constantines* life time to have setled *Constantius*, the same way had been a duty of good service towards God, a meane of peace and great quietnesse to the Church of Christ, a labour easie, and how likely wee may conjecture, when after that so much paine was taken to instruct and strengthen him in the contrarie course, after that so much was done by himselfe to the furtherance of Heresie, yet being touched in the end voluntarily with remorse, nothing more grieved him than the memorie of former proceedings in the cause of Religion, and that which hee now foresaw in *Julian*, the next Physician into whose hands the body that was thus distempered must fall. Howbeit this wee may somewhat excuse, in as much as everie mans particular care to his owne Charge was such, as gave them no leasure to heed what others practised in Princes Courts. But of the two Synods of *Arimine* and *Seleucia* what should wee think? *Constantius* by the *Arrians* suggestion had devised to assemble all the Bishops of the whole World about this controversie, but in two severall places, the Bishops of the West at *Arimine* in *Italie*, the Easterne at *Seleucia* the same time. Amongst them of the East there was no stop, they agreed without any great adoe, gave their sentence against Heresie, excommunicated some chiefe maintainers thereof, and sent the Emperour word what was done. They had at *Arimin* above foure hundred which held the truth, scarce of the adverse part foure-score, but these obstinate, and the other wearie of contending with them: whereupon by both it was resolved to send to the Emperour such as might informe him of the cause, and declare what hindered their peaceable agreement. There are chosen [c] for the Catholique side, such men as had in them nothing to bee noted but boldnesse, neither gravitie, nor learning, nor wisedome. The *Arrians* for the credit of their faction take the eldest, the best experienced, the most warie and the longest practised *Veterans* they had amongst them. The Emperour conjecturing of the rest on either part by the qualitie of them whom he saw, sent them speedily away, and with them a certain Confession of faith,

a 2 Mac. 6. 24.
b Major centenario Sulpit. Sever. h. ß. l. 2.
c *Ex parte vestra leguntur homines adolescentes, parum docti & parum cauti. Ab Arrianis autem missi sunt callidi & ingenio valentes veterano perfidiæ imbuti, qui apud Regem facile superiores extiterunt.* Sulpit. lib. 2.

faith [a] ambiguouſly and ſubtilly drawn by the *Arrians*, whereunto unleſſe they all ſubſcribed, they ſhould in no caſe bee ſuffered to depart from the place where they were. At the length it was perceived, that there had not been in the Catholikes either at *Arimine*, or at *Seleucia* ſo much foreſight, as to provide that true intelligence might paſſe between them what was done. Vpon the advantage of which errour, their Adverſaries abuſing each with perſwaſion that other had yeelded, ſurprized both. The Emperour the more deſirous and glad of ſuch events, for that beſides all other things wherein they hindred themſelves, the gall and bitterneſſe of certain mens writings, who ſpared him little for honours ſake, made him for their ſakes the leſſe inclinable to that truth, which he himſelfe ſhould have honoured and loved. Only in *Athanaſius* there was nothing obſerved throughout the courſe of that long Tragedy, other than ſuch as very wel became a wiſeman to doe, and a righteous to ſuffer. So that this was the plain condition of thoſe times, the whole World againſt *Athanaſius*, and *Athanaſius* againſt it; halfe an hundred of yeares ſpent in doubtfull triall which of the two in the end would prevaile, the ſide which had all, or elſe the part which had no friend but God and death, the one a Defender of his innocency, the other a finiſher of all his troubles. Now although theſe contentions were cauſe of much evill, yet ſome good the Church hath reaped by them, in that they occaſioned the learned and ſound in faith to explaine ſuch things as Hereſie went about to deprave. And in this reſpect the Creed of *Athanaſius* firſt exhibited unto *Iulius* Biſhop of *Rome*, and afterwards (as we may probably gather) ſent to the Emperour *Iovinian*, for his more full information concerning that truth which *Arrianiſme* ſo mightily did impugne, was both in the Eaſt and the Weſt Churches accepted as a treaſure of inеſtimable price, [b] by as many as had not given up even the very ghoſt of belief. Then was the Creed of *Athanaſius* written, howbeit not then ſo expedient to be publikely uſed as now in the Church of God, becauſe while the heat of diviſion laſteth, truth it ſelfe enduring oppoſition, doth not ſo quietly and currantly paſſe throughout all mens hands, neither can bee of that account which afterwards it hath, when the World once perceiveth the vertue therof not only in it ſelfe, but alſo by the conqueſt which God hath given it over hereſie. That which hereſie did by ſiniſter interpretations goe about to pervert in the firſt and moſt ancient Apoſtolike Creed, the ſame being by ſingular dexterity and plainneſſe cleered from thoſe hereticall corruptions, partly by this Creed of *Athanaſius*, written about the yeer three hundred and forty, and partly by [c] that other ſet down in the Synod of *Conſtantinople* forty yeares after, comprehending together with the *Nicene* Creed an addition of other articles which the *Nicene* Creed omitted, becauſe the controverſie then in hand needed no mention to be made of them; theſe Catholike declarations of our beliefe delivered by them which were ſo much neerer than we are unto the firſt publication therof, and continuing needfull for all men at all times to know, theſe Confeſſions as teſtimonies of our continuance in the ſame faith to this preſent day, we rather uſe than any other gloſſe or paraphraſe deviſed by our ſelves, which though it were to the ſame effect, notwithſtanding could not be of the like authority and credit. For that of [d] *Hilary* unto S. *Auguſtin* hath been ever, and is like-

[a] *Eiſdemque conſcripta ab improbis fidem tradit verbu fallentibus involutam quæ Catholicam diſciplinam perfidia latente loqueretur. Ibid.*

[b] Ταῦτα μοὶ δοκοῦσι διὸ μετὰ τῶν ὁμολογίαν ἔτι τῆς ἰσοτιμίας καὶ τῆς ἰδιας ὄσον βεβαιότερον. *Greg. de Athan.*

[c] That Creed which in the Book of Common Prayer followeth immediatly after the reading of the Goſpell.

[d] *Hilar. Areli. Epiſt ad Aug.*

ly to bee alwayes true, *Your most religious wisdome knoweth how great their number is in the Church of God, whom the verie authoritie of mens names doth keep in that opinion which they hold alreadie, or draw unto that which they have not before held.* Touching the Hymne of *Glorie*, our usuall conclusion to Psalmes, the [a] glorie of all things is that wherein their highest perfection doth consist: and the glorie of God that divine excellencie whereby hee is eminent above all things, his omnipotent, infinite, and eternall being, [b] which Angels and glorified Saints doe intuitively behold, we on earth apprehend principally by Faith, in part also by that kind of knowledge which groweth from experience of those effects, the greatnesse whereof exceedeth the powers and abilities of all creatures both in Heaven and Earth. God is [c] glorified when such his excellencie above all things is with due admiration acknowledged. Which dutifull acknowledgement of Gods excellencie by occasion of speciall effects, being the verie proper subiect and almost the only matter purposely treated of in all Psalmes, if that ioyfull Hymne of Glory have any use in the Church of God, whose Name wee therewith extoll and magnifie, can wee place it more fitly then where now it serveth as a close or conclusion to Psalmes? Neither is the forme thereof newly or unnecessarily invented. *Wee must* (saith [d] Saint *Basil*) *as wee have received even so baptize, and as wee baptize, even so beleeve, and as wee beleeve even so give glorie.* Baptizing wee use the Name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost; Confessing the Christian Faith wee declare our beliefe in the Father, and in the Sonne, and in the Holy Ghost; ascribing glorie unto God, we give it to the Father, and to the Sonne, and to the Holy Ghost. It is σύνδρομα τῆς ὀρθῆς διανοίας, *the token of a sound understanding* for matter of doctrine about the Trinitie, when in ministring Baptisme, and making Confession, and giving glorie, there is a coniunction of all three, and no one of the three severed from the other two. Against the *Arrians* affirming the Father to bee greater then the Sonne in honour, excellencie, dignitie, maiestie, this forme and manner of glorifying God was not at that time first begun, but received long before, and alleaged at that time as an argument for the truth. [e] *If* (saith *Vigilius*) *there be that inequalitie which they affirme, then doe wee everie day blaspheme God, when in Thanksgivings and Offerings of Sacrifice we acknowledge those things common to the Father and the Sonne.* The *Arrians* therefore, for that they perceived how this did preiudice their cause, altered the Hymne of Glory, whereupon ensued in the Church of *Antioch* about the yeare 349. that iarre which [f] *Theodoret* and *Sozomen* mention. *In their Quires while they praised God together as the manner was, at the end of the Psalmes which they sung, it appeared what opinion every man held, for as much as they glorified some the Father,* And *the Son,* And *the Holy Ghost, some the Father* By *the Son* In *the Spirit; the one sort thereby declaring themselves to embrace the Sonnes equalitie with the Father, as the Councell of Nice had defined, the other sort against the Councell of Nice his inequalitie.* Leontius *their* Bishop, although an enemy to the better part, yet warie and subtle, as in a manner all the heads of the *Arrians* faction were, could at no time bee plainely heard to use either forme, perhaps lest his open contradiction of them whom hee favoured not might make them

[a] 1 Cor. 15. 40. Exod. 33. 18. Heb. 1. 3.
[b] Mat. 18. 10.
[c] Ios. 7. 19. Psal. 22. 23.
[d] Basil. Epist. 78
[e] Vigil. lib. contr. Arrian.
[f] Theod. lib. 2. cap. 24. Sozomen. lib. 4. cap. 19.

them the more eager, and by that meane the leſſe apt to be privatly wonne; or peradventure for that though hee ioyned in opinion with that ſort of Arrians, who denied the Sonne to bee equall with the Father; yet from them he diſſented, which thought the Father and the Sonne not only unequall, but unlike, as *Ætius* did upon a frivolous and falſe ſurmiſe, that becauſe the Apoſtle hath ſaid, [a] *one God of whom, one Lord by whom,* [b] *one Spirit in whom*, his different manner of ſpeech doth argue a different nature and being in them of whom he ſpeaketh: out of which blind collection, it ſeemeth that this their new deviſed forme did firſt ſpring. But in truth even that very forme which the Arrians did then uſe (ſaving that they choſe it to ſerve as their ſpeciall marke of recogniſance, and gave it ſecretly within themſelves a ſiniſter conſtruction) hath not otherwiſe as much as the ſhew of any thing which ſoundeth towards impietie: For albeit if wee reſpect Gods glorie within it ſelfe, it bee the equall right and poſſeſſion of all three, and that without any oddes, any difference, yet touching his manifeſtation thereof unto us by continuall effects, and our perpetuall acknowledgement thereof unto him likewiſe by vertuous offices, doth not everie tongue both wayes confeſſe, that the brightneſſe of his glorie hath ſpred it ſelfe throughout the World *By* the Miniſterie of his only begotten Sonne, and is *In* the manifold graces of the Spirit everie way marvellous; Againe, that whatſoever wee doe to his glorie, it is done *In* the power of the Holy Ghoſt, and made acceptable *By* the merit and mediation of Ieſus Chriſt? So that glorie to the Father *And* the Sonne, or glorie to the Father *By* the Sonne, ſaving only where evill minds doe abuſe and pervert moſt holy things, are not elſe the voices of errour and ſchiſme, but of ſound and ſincere Religion. It hath beene the cuſtome of the Church of Chriſt to end ſometimes Prayers, and Sermons alwaies, with words of glorie, wherein, as long as the bleſſed Trinitie had due honour, and till Arrianiſme had made it a matter of great ſharpneſſe and ſubtiltie of wit to bee a ſound beleeving Chriſtian, men were not curious what ſyllables or particles of ſpeech they uſed. Vpon which confidence and truſt notwithſtanding, when Saint *Baſil* began to practiſe the like indifferency, and to conclude publique prayers, glorifying ſometime the father with the Son and the Holy Ghoſt, ſometime the Father by the Son in the Spirit, whereas long cuſtom had enured them unto the former kind alone, by meanes whereof the later was new and ſtrange in their eares, this needleſſe experiment brought afterwards upon him a neceſſary labour of excuſing himſelf to his friends, and maintayning his own act againſt them, who becauſe the light of his candle too much drowned their irs, were glad to lay hold on ſo colourable matter, & exceeding forward to traduce him as an author of ſuſpitious innovation. How hath the world forſaken that courſe which it ſometime held? How are the iudgements, hearts, and affections of men altered? May we not wonder that a man of St. *Baſils* authority and quality an Arch-prelate in the houſe of God, ſhould have his Name far and wide called in queſtion, & be driven to his painfull apologies, to write in his own defence whole Volumns, & yet hardly to obtain with al his endevour a pardon, the crime laid againſt him being but only a change of ſome one or two ſyllables in their uſual Church-liturgie? It was

[a] 1 *Cor.* 8. 6.
[b] 1 *Cor.* 12. 3. 4. 6.

thought

thought in him an unpardonable offence to alter any thing; in us as intolerable, that we ſuffer any thing to remaine unaltered. The very Creed of *Athanaſius* & that ſacred Hymn of Glory, than which nothing doth ſound more heavenly in the eares of faithfull men, are now reckoned as ſuperfluities, which we muſt in any caſe pare away, leſt we cloy God with too much ſervice. Is there in that Confeſſion of Faith any thing which doth not at all times edifie and inſtruct the attentive hearer? Or is our Faith in the bleſſed Trinitie a matter needleſſe to bee ſo oftentimes mentioned and opened in the principall part of that duty which we owe to God, our publique Prayer? Hath the Church of Chriſt from the firſt beginning, by a ſecret univerſall inſtinct of Gods good Spirit, alwaies tied it ſelfe to end neither Sermon nor almoſt any ſpeech of moment which hath concerned matters of God, without ſome ſpeciall words of honour and glorie to that Trinity which wee all adore; and is the like concluſion of Pſalmes become now at length an eye-ſore or a gauling to their eares that heare it? Thoſe flames of *Arrianiſme* they ſay are quenched, which were the cauſe why the Church diviſed in ſuch ſort to confeſſe and praiſe the glorious Deity of the Sonne of God. Seeing therefore the ſore is whole, why retaine wee as yet the playſter? When the cauſe why any thing was ordained doth once ceaſe, the thing it ſelfe ſhould ceaſe with it, that the Church being eaſed of unprofitable labours, needfull offices may the better bee attended. For the doing of things unneceſſary, is many times the cauſe why the moſt neceſſary are not done. But in this caſe ſo to reaſon will not ſerve their turnes. For firſt the ground whereupon they build, is not certainly their own, but with ſpeciall limitations. Few things are ſo reſtrained to any one end or purpoſe, that the ſame being extinct they ſhould forthwith utterly become fruſtrate. Wiſdome may have framed one and the ſame thing to ſerve commodiouſly for divers ends, and of thoſe ends any one bee ſufficient cauſe for continuance, though the reſt have ceaſed, even as the tongue, which Nature hath given us for an inſtrument of ſpeech is not idle in dumb perſons, becauſe it alſo ſerveth for taſte. Again, if time have worne out, or any other meane altogether taken away what was firſt intended, uſes not thought upon before may afterwards ſpring up, and be reaſonable cauſes of retaining that which other conſiderations did formerly procure to be inſtituted. And it commeth ſometime to paſſe, that a thing unneceſſary in it ſelfe as touching the whole direct purpoſe whereto it was meant or can be applied, doth notwithſtanding appeare convenient to be ſtill held even without uſe, leſt by reaſon of that coherence which it hath with ſomewhat moſt neceſſary, the removall of the one ſhould indamage the other, and therfore men which have cleane loſt the poſſibility of ſight, keep ſtill their eyes nevertheles in the place where Nature ſet them. As for theſe two branches whereof our queſtion groweth, *Arrianiſme* was indeed ſome occaſion of the one, but a cauſe of neither, much leſſe the only intire cauſe of both. For albeit conflict with *Arrians* brought forth the occaſion of writing that Creed, which long after was made a part of the Church-liturgy, as Hymnes and ſentences of glory were a part thereof before; yet cauſe ſufficient there is why both ſhould remain in uſe, the one as a moſt divine explication of the chiefeſt Articles of our Chriſtian

Chriſtian beliefe, the other as an heavenly acclamation of ioyfull applauſe to his praiſes in whom we beleeve; neither the one nor the other unworthy to be heard ſounding as they are in the Church of Chriſt, whether Arrianiſme live or die. Againſt which poyſon likewiſe if wee think that the Church at this day needeth not thoſe ancient preſervatives, which ages before us were ſo glad to uſe, we deceive our ſelves greatly. The weeds of Hereſie being growne unto ſuch ripeneſſe as that was, do even in the very cutting downe ſcatter oftentimes thoſe ſeeds which for a while lie unſeen and buried in the earth, but afterward freſhly ſpring up againe no leſſe pernicious than at the firſt. Which thing they very well know, and I doubt not will eaſily confeſſe, who live to their great, both toile and griefe, where the blaſphemies of *Arrians*, *Samoſatenians*, *Tritheits*, *Eutychians*, and *Macedonians* are renewed by them, who to hatch their Hereſie, have choſen thoſe Churches as fitteſt neſts where *Athanaſius* Creed is not heard; by them I ſay renued, who following the courſe of extreme reformation, were wont in the pride of their owne proceedings to glorie, that whereas *Luther* did but blow away the roofe, and *Zuinglius* batter but the walls of Popiſh Superſtition, the laſt and hardeſt work of all remained, which was, to raze up the very ground and foundation of Poperie, that doctrine concerning the Deitie of Chriſt, which *Satanaſius* (for ſo it pleaſed thoſe impious forſaken Miſcreants to ſpeak) hath in this memorable Creed explained. So manifeſtly true is that which one of the [a] Ancients hath concerning Arrianiſme, *Mortuis authoribus hujus veneni, ſcelerata tamen eorum doctrina non moritur*. the authors of this venom being dead and gone, their wicked doctrine notwithſtanding continueth.

[a] *Fabul. contra Arr.*

43 Amongſt the heaps of theſe exceſſes and ſuperfluities there is eſpied the want of a principall part of dutie, *There are no thanksgivings for the benefits for which there are petitions* in our Book of Prayer. This they have thought a point materiall to be obiected. Neither may we take it in evill part to bee admoniſhed what ſpeciall duties of thankfulneſſe wee owe to that mercifull God, for whoſe unſpeakable graces the only requitall which we are able to make, is a true, hearty, and ſincere acknowledgement, how precious we eſteeme ſuch benefits received, and how infinite in goodneſſe the Author from whom they come. But that to every petition wee make for things needfull there ſhould bee ſome anſwerable ſentence of thanks provided particularly to follow ſuch requeſts obtained, either it is not a matter ſo requiſite as they pretend; or if it be, wherfore have they not then in ſuch order framed their owne Book of Common Prayer? Why hath our Lord and Saviour taught us a forme of Prayer containing ſo many petitions of thoſe things which we want, and not delivered in like ſort as many ſeverall forms of thankſgiving, to ſerve when any thing we pray for is granted? What anſwer ſoever they can reaſonably make unto theſe demands, the ſame ſhal diſcover unto them how cauſeleſſe a cenſure it is, that there are not in our Book thankſgivings for all the benefits for which there are petitions. For concerning the bleſſings of God, whether they tend unto this life or the life to come, there is great

Our want of particular thankſgiving. As ſuch prayers are needfull wherby we begge releaſe from our diſtreſſes, ſo there ought to be as neceſſary prayers of thankſgiving, when we have received thoſe things at the Lords hand which we aſked. *T. C. lib. 1. pag.* 138. I do not ſimply require a ſolemne and expreſſe thankſgiving for ſuch benefits, but only upon a ſuppoſition, which is, that if it be expedient that there ſhould bee expreſſe prayers againſt ſo many of their earthly miſeries, that then alſo it is meet that upon the deliverance there ſhould be an expreſſe thankſgiving. *T. C. l. 3. p.* 209.

great cauſe why we ſhould delight more in giving thanks, than in making requeſts for them, in as much as the one hath penſiveneſſe and feare, the other alwayes ioy annexed: the one belongeth unto them that ſeeke, the other unto them that have found happineſſe; they that pray do but yet ſow, they that give thanks declare they have reaped. Howbeit, becauſe there are ſo many graces whereof we ſtand in continuall need, graces for which we may not ceaſe daily and hourely to ſue, graces which are in beſtowing alwayes, but never come to bee fully had in this preſent life, and therefore when all things here have an end, endleſſe thanks muſt have their beginning in a State which bringeth the full and finall ſatisfaction of all ſuch perpetuall deſires; againe, becauſe our common neceſſities, and the lack which we all have, as well of ghoſtly as of earthly favours is in each kind ſo eaſily knowne, but the gifts of God according to thoſe degrees and times which he in his ſecret wiſdome ſeemeth meet, are ſo diverſly beſtowed, that it ſeldome appeareth what all receive, what all ſtand in need of it ſeldome lieth hid, we are not to marvell though the Church do ofter concurre in ſuits than in thanks unto God for particular benefits. Nevertheleſſe, leſt God ſhould be any way unglorified, the greateſt part of our daily Service they know conſiſteth according to [a] the bleſſed Apoſtles own preciſe rule, in much varietie of Pſalmes and Hymns, for no other purpoſe, but only that out of ſo plentifull a treaſure there might be for every mans heart to chuſe out his owne Sacrifice, and to offer unto God by particular ſecret inſtinct, what fitteth beſt the often occaſions which any ſeverall either partie or Congregation may ſeeme to have. They that would cleane take from us therefore the daily uſe of the very beſt means we have to magnifie and praiſe the Name of Almighty God for his rich bleſſings, they that complaine of our reading and ſinging ſo many Pſalmes for ſo good an end, they I ſay that find fault with our ſtore, ſhould of all men bee leaſt willing to reprove our ſcarcitie of thankſgivings. But becauſe peradventure they ſee it is not either *generally* fit or poſſible that Churches ſhould frame thankſgivings anſwerable to each petition, they ſhorten ſomwhat the reines of their cenſure, there are no formes of thankſgiving they ſay for releaſe of thoſe *common calamities*, from which we have petitions to be delivered. *There are Prayers ſet forth to be ſaid in the common calamities and univerſall ſcourges of the Realme, as Plague, Famine, &c. And indeed ſo it ought to be by the Word of God. But as ſuch Prayers are needfull*, whereby wee beg releaſe from our diſtreſſes, ſo there ought to bee as neceſſary prayers of thankſgiving, when wee have received thoſe things at the Lords hand which we asked in our prayers. As oft therfore as any publike or univerſall ſcourge is removed, as oft as we are delivered from thoſe either eminent or preſent calamities, againſt the ſtorme and tempeſt whereof we all inſtantly craved favour from above, let it be a queſtion what we ſhould render unto God for his bleſſings univerſally, ſenſibly, and extraordinarily beſtowed. A prayer of three or foure lines inſerted into ſome part of our Church Liturgie? No, we are not perſwaded that when God doth in trouble inioyn us the duty of invocation, and promiſe us the benefit of deliverance, and profeſſe that the thing he expecteth after at our hands, is to glorifie him as our mighty and only Saviour, the Church can diſcharge in manner convenient

The default of the Book, for that there are no formes of Thankſgiving for the releaſe from thoſe common calamities from which we have petitions to be delivered. *T. C. l. 1. p. 208.*

[a] *Epheſ. 5. 9. Coloſ. 3. 16.*

T. C. l. 1. p. 138.

a work of ſo great importance by fore-ordaining ſome ſhort Collect wherein briefly to mention thankes. Our cuſtom therefore whenſoever ſo great occaſions are incident, is by publick authority to appoint throughout all Churches ſet and ſolemne formes as well of ſupplication as of thankſgiving, the preparations and intended complements whereof may ſtirre up the minds of men in much more effectual ſort, than if only there ſhould be added to the Book of Prayer that which they require. But we erre in thinking that they require any ſuch matter. For albeit their words to our underſtanding be very plaine, that in our book *there are Prayers ſet forth* to be ſaid when *common calamities* are felt, as *Plague, Famine*, and ſuch like; again, that *indeed ſo it ought to be by the Word of God*; that likwiſe *there ought to be as neceſſary prayers of thankſgiving when we have received thoſe things*; finally, that the want of ſuch formes of thankſgiving for the releaſe from thoſe common calamities from which we have petitions to be delivered, is the *default of the Book of Common Prayer:* yet all this they meane but only by way of *ſuppoſition of expreſſe Prayers* againſt ſo many earthly miſeries were convenient, *that then* indeed as many expreſſe and particular thankſgivings ſhould bee likewiſe neceſſary. Seeing therefore we know that they hold the one ſuperfluous, they would not have it ſo underſtood as though their minds were that any ſuch addition to the book is needfull, whatſoever they ſay for arguments ſake concerning this pretended defect. The truth is they wave in and out, no way ſufficiently grounded, no way reſolved what to thinke, ſpeake or write, more than only that becauſe they have taken it upon them, they muſt (no remedy now) be oppoſite.

44 The laſt ſuppoſed fault concerneth ſome few things, the very matter wherof is thought to be much amiſſe. In a Song of praiſe to our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, we have theſe words, *When thou hadſt overcom the ſharpnes of death, thou didſt open the kingdom of Heaven to all beleevers.* Which maketh ſome ſhew of giving countenance to their errour, who think that the faithfull which departed this life before the comming of Chriſt, were never till then made partakers of joy, but remained all in that place which they terme the *Lake of the Fathers.* In our *Liturgy* requeſt is made that we may be preſerved from ſudden death. This ſeemeth frivolous, becauſe the godly ſhould be alwaies prepared to die. Requeſt is made that God would give thoſe things we for our unworthines dare not aske. This they ſay, *carrieth with it the note of popiſh ſervile feare, and ſavoureth not of that confidence & reverent familiarity that the Children of God have through Chriſt with their heavenly Father.* Requeſt is made that we may evermore be defended from all adverſity. For this *there is no promiſe in Scripture*, and therfore *it is no prayer of Faith, or of the which we can aſſure our ſelves that we ſhall obtaine it.* Finally, requeſt is made that God would have mercy upon all men. This is impoſſible, becauſe ſome are the veſſels of wrath, to whom God will never extend his mercie.

In ſome things the matter of our Prayer, as they affirme, unſound.

45 As Chriſt hath purchaſed that heavenly Kingdom, the laſt perfection wherof is *glory in the life to come*, grace in this life a preparation thereunto; ſo the ſame he hath *opened* to the world in ſuch ſort, that whereas none can poſſibly without him attaine ſalvation, by him *all that beleeve* are ſaved. Now whatſoever he did or ſuffered, the end therof was to open the doores of the Kingdome of Heaven which our iniquities had *ſhut up*. But becauſe by

When thou hadſt overcome the ſharpneſſe of death, thou didſt open the Kingdome of Heaven unto all beleevers.

by *aſcending after that the ſharpneſſe of death* was overcome, he took the very *locall poſſeſſion* of glory, and that *to the uſe of all that are his*, even as himſelfe before had witneſſed, [a] *I go to prepare a place for you*, & again, whom thou haſt given me, O Father, [b] *I will that where I am, they be alſo with me*, that my glory which thou haſt given me they may behold: it appeareth that *when Chriſt did aſcend*, he then moſt *liberally opened* the Kingdome of Heaven, *to the end* that with him and by him all beleevers might raigne. In what eſtate the Fathers reſted which were dead before, it is not herby either one way or other determined. All that we can rightly gather is, that as touching their ſoules what degree of joy or happineſſe ſoever it pleaſed God to beſtow upon them, *his Aſcenſion* which ſucceeded *procured* theirs, and theirs concerning the body muſt needs be *not only of*, but after his. As therfore [c] *Heluidius*, againſt whom S. *Ieſome* writeth, abuſed greatly thoſe words of *Matthew* concerning *Ioſeph* and the mother of our Saviour Chriſt, *Hee knew her not till ſhee had brought forth her firſt borne*, thereby gathering againſt the honour of the bleſſed Virgin, that a thing denied with ſpeciall circumſtance, doth import an oppoſite affirmation when once that circumſtance is expired: after the ſelfe-ſame manner it ſhould be a weak Collection, if whereas wee ſay that *when* Chriſt had overcome the ſharpneſſe of death, he *then opened* the Kingdome of Heaven to all beleevers, a thing in ſuch ſort affirmed with circumſtance were taken as inſinuating an oppoſite deniall before that circumſtance be accompliſhed, and conſequently, that becauſe when the ſharpnes of death was overcome, he then opened Heaven *as well to beleeving Gentiles as Iewes*, Heaven till then was no receptacle to the ſoules of either. Wherfore be the Spirits of the juſt and righteous before Chriſt truly or falſly thought excluded out of heavenly joy, by that which we in the words alleaged before do attribute to Chriſts Aſcenſion, there is to no ſuch opinion, nor to the [d] favourers therof any countenance at all given. We cannot better interpret the meaning of theſe words than Pope *Leo* himſelf expoundeth them, whoſe ſpeech concerning our Lords Aſcenſion may ſerve in ſteed of a marginall Gloſſe, [e] *Chriſts exaltation is our promotion, and whither the glory of the head is already gone before, thither the hope of the body alſo is to follow. For as this day we have not only the poſſeſſion of Paradiſe aſſured unto us, but in Chriſt we have entred the higheſt of the Heavens.* His opening the Kingdom of Heaven and his entrance thereinto was not only to his own uſe, but for the benefit of all beleevers.

a *Iohn* 14.2.

b *Iohn* 17.24.

c *Hierom. contr. Helu. Aug. hær.* 84.

d *Tyr. ſuper. Gen.* 29. *Th. p.* 3. *q* 52.

e *Leo Ser.* 1. *de Aſcenſ.*

Touching Prayer for deliverance from ſodaine death.

46 Our good or evill eſtate after death dependeth moſt upon the quality of our lives. Yet ſomwhat there is why a vertuous mind ſhould rather wiſh to depart this world with a kind of treatable diſſolution, than to be ſodainly cut off in a moment; rather to bee taken then ſnatched away from the face of the earth. Death is that which all men ſuffer, but not al men with one mind, neither all men in one maner. For being of neceſſity a thing cõmon, it is through the manifold perſwaſions, diſpoſitions and occaſions of men, with equall deſert both of praiſe and diſpraiſe ſhunned by ſome, by others deſired. So that abſolutly we cannot diſcommend, we cannot abſolutely approove either willingneſſe to live or forwardnes to die. And concerning the waies of death, albeit the choice therof be only in his hands, who alone hath power over all fleſh, and unto whoſe appointment we ought with patience

tience, meekly to ſubmit our ſelves (for to be agents voluntarily in our own deſtruction, is againſt both God and Nature) yet there is no doubt but in ſo great variety, our deſires will and may lawfully preferre one kind before another. Is there any man of worth and vertue, although not inſtructed in the Schoole of Chriſt, or ever taught what the ſoundneſſe of Religion meaneth, that had not rather end the daies of this tranſitory life as *Cyrus* in *Xenophon*, or in *Plato*, *Socrates* are deſcribed, then to ſink down with them of whom [a] *Elihu* hath ſaid *Momento moriuntur*, there is ſcarce an inſtant be- [a] *Iob* 34. 20. tween their flouriſhing and their not being? But let us which know what it is to die as *Abſalon* or *Ananias* and *Saphyra* died, let us beg of God that when the houre of our reſt is come, the patternes of our diſſolution may be [b] *Iacob*, *Moſes*, *Ioſua*, *David*, who leaſurably ending their lives in peace, [b] *Heb.* 11. 21. *Deut.* 3. *Ioſh.* 24. 1 *Reg.* 2. prayed for the mercies of God to come upon their poſterity; repleniſhed the hearts of the neereſt unto them with words of memorable Conſolation; ſtrengthned men in the feare of God, gave them wholeſome inſtructions of Life, and confirmed them in true Religion, in ſumme, taught the World no leſſe vertuouſly how to die, then they had done before how to live. To ſuch as iudge things according to the ſenſe of naturall men and aſcend no higher, ſuddainneſſe becauſe it ſhortneth their griefe ſhould in reaſon be moſt acceptable. That which cauſeth bitterneſſe in death, is the languiſhing attendance and expectation thereof ere it come. And therefore Tyrants uſe what Art they can to increaſe the ſlowneſſe of death. Quick riddance out of life is often both requeſted and beſtowed as a benefit. Commonly therefore it is for vertuous conſiderations, that Wiſdom ſo farre prevaileth with men as to make them deſirous of ſlow and deliberate death againſt the ſtreame of their ſenſuall inclination, content to indure the longer griefe and bodily paine, that the ſoule may have time to call it ſelfe to a juſt accompt of all things paſt, by meanes whereof Repentance is perfected, there is wherein to exerciſe patience, the joyes of the Kingdome of Heaven have leaſure to preſent themſelves, the pleaſures of ſinne and this Worlds vanities are cenſured with uncorrupt iudgement, Charitie is free to make adviſed choice of the ſoyle wherein her laſt Seed may moſt fruitfully be beſtowed, the mind is at libertie to have due regard of that diſpoſition of worldly things which it can never afterwards alter, and becauſe [c] the neerer wee draw unto God, the more wee [c] *Cypr. de mortal.* are oftentimes inlightened with the ſhining beames of his glorious preſence as being then even almoſt in ſight, a leaſurable departure may in that caſe bring forth for the good of ſuch as are preſent, that which ſhall cauſe them for ever after from the bottome of their hearts to pray, *O let us die the death of the righteous, and let our laſt end bee like theirs.* All which benefits and oportunities are by ſuddaine death prevented. And beſides, for as much as death howſoever is a generall effect of the wrath of God againſt ſin, and the ſuddainneſſe thereof a thing which happeneth but to few. The World in this reſpect feareth it the more as being ſubiect to doubtfull conſtructions, which as no man willingly would incurre, ſo they whoſe happy eſtate after life is of all mens the moſt certain, would eſpecially wiſh that no ſuch accident in their death may give uncharitable minds occaſion of raſh, ſiniſter, and ſuſpicious verdicts,

whereunto they are over pron, ſo that whether evill men or good be reſpected, whether we regard our ſelves or others, to bee preſerved from ſudden death is a bleſſing of God. And our Prayer againſt it importeth a two-fold deſire, firſt, that death when it commeth may give us ſome convenient reſpite, or ſecondly, if that bedenied us of God, yet wee may have wiſdome to provide alwaies before-hand, that thoſe evills overtake us not, which death unexpected doth uſe to bring upon careleſſe men, and that although it bee ſudden in it ſelfe, nevertheleſſe in regard of our prepared minds it may not be ſudden.

47 But is it credible that the very acknowledgement of our owne unworthineſſe to obtaine, and in that reſpect our profeſſed feareſulneſſe to aske any thing otherwiſe than only for his ſake to whom God can deny nothing, that this ſhould bee noted for a Popiſh Error, that this ſhould bee termed baſeneſſe, abiection of mind, or *ſervilitie*, is it credible? That which wee for our unworthineſſe are afraid to crave, our Prayer is, that God for the worthineſſe of his Sonne would not withſtanding vouchſafe to grant. May it pleaſe them to ſhew us which of theſe words it is that carrieth the note of Popiſh and ſervile feare? In reference to other Creatures of this inferiour World, mans worth and excellencie is admired. Compared with God, the trueſt iuſcription wherewith we can circle ſo baſe a coyne is that of *David*, [a] *Vniverſa vanitas eſt omnis homo*, whoſoever hath the name of a mortall man, there is in him whatſoever the name of vanitie doth comprehend. And therfore what we ſay of our owne *unworthineſſe* there is no doubt but Truth will ratifie, Alleaged in Prayer it both becommeth and behoveth Saints. For as humility is in Suters a decent vertue, ſo the teſtification thereof by ſuch effectuall acknowledgements not only [b] argueth a ſound apprehenſion of his ſupereminent Glorie and Maieſtie before whom wee ſtand, but putteth alſo into his hands a kind of pledge or bond for ſecuritie againſt our unthankfulneſſe, the verie naturall Roote whereof is alwaies either ignorance, Diſſimulation, or Pride; Ignorance when wee know not the Author from whom our good commeth; Diſſimulation, when our hands are more open than our eyes upon that we receive; Pride, when we think our ſelves *worthy* of that which meere grace and undeſerved mercy beſtoweth. In Prayer therefore to abate ſo vaine imaginations with the *true conceit of unworthineſſe*, is rather to prevent than commit a fault. It being no Error thus to think, no fault thus to ſpeak of our ſelves when we pray, is it a fault that the conſideration of our unworthineſſe maketh us *feareſull* to open our mouths by way of Suite? While *Iob* had proſperity and lived in honour, men feared him for his authorities ſake, and in token of their feare when they ſaw him they [c] *hid themſelves*. Between *Elihu* and the reſt of *Iobs* Familiars the greateſt diſparity was but in yeares. And he, though riper than they in judgement, doing them reverence in regard of age, ſtood long [d] *doubtfull*, and very loth to adventure upon ſpeech in his Elders hearing. If ſo ſmall inequalitie betweene man and man make their modeſtie a commendable vertue, who reſpecting ſuperiors *as ſuperiors*, can neither ſpeake nor

Prayer that thoſe things which wee for our unworthineſſe dare not aske, God for the worthineſſe of his Sonne would vouchſafe to grant. This requeſt carrieth with it ſtill the note of the Popiſh ſervile feare, and ſavoureth not of that confidence and reverent familiaritie that the Children of God have through Chriſt with their heavenly Father. *T. C. lib. 1. page 136.*

[a] *Pſal. 39. 5.*

[b] Μεμνημένος γὰρ τῆς ἰδίας παρὰ πάντα οὐδενείας μιμνήσκῃ καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ πάντα ὑπερβολῆς. *Philo. de ſacrif. Abel. & Cain.*

[c] *Iob. 29. 8.* Amongſt the parts of honor *Ariſtotle* reckoneth προσχωρήσεις and ἐκστάσεις, *Reth. l. 1. c. 5.*

[d] *Iob. 32. 6.*

nor ſtand before them without feare: that the Publican approcheth not more boldly to God; that when Chriſt in mercie draweth neere to *Peter*, he in humilitie and feare craveth diſtance; that being to ſtand, to ſpeak, to ſue in the preſence of ſo great Maieſtie we are afraid, let no man blame us. In which conſideration notwithſtanding, becauſe to flie altogether from God, to deſpaire that creatures unworthy ſhall be able to obtaine any thing at his hands, and under that pretence to ſurceaſe from Prayers as bootleſſe or fruitleſſe offices, were to him no leſſe iniurious than pernicious to our owne ſoules, even that which we tremble to do we do, we aske thoſe things which we dare not aske. The knowledge of our owne unworthineſſe is not without beliefe in the merits of Chriſt. With that true feare which the one cauſeth there is coupled true boldneſſe, and encouragement drawne from the other. The very ſilence which our unworthineſſe putteth us unto, doth it ſelfe make requeſt for us, and that in confidence of his grace. Looking inward we are ſtricken dumb, looking upward we ſpeak and prevaile. O happie mixture wherein things contrarie do ſo qualifie and correct the one the danger of the others exceſſe, that neither boldneſſe can make us preſume as long as we are kept under with the ſenſe of our owne wretchednesſe; nor, while we truſt in the mercie of God through Chriſt Ieſus, feare bee able to tyrannize over us! As therefore our feare excludeth not that [b] boldneſſe which becommeth Saints; ſo if their *familiarity* with God do not ſavour of this feare, it draweth too neere that irreverend confidence wherewith true Humilitie can never ſtand.

a The Publican did indeed not lift up his eyes: So that if by his Example wee ſhould ſay wee dare aske nothing, we ought alſo to aske nothing, otherwiſe inſtead of teaching true humiliue, wee open a Schoole to hypocriſie, which the Lord deteſteth *T.C.l.3.p.* 203.

b *Rom.*5.2.8.15. *Heb.*10.19.

48 Touching continuall deliverance in the world from all adverſitie, their conceit is, that we ought not to aske it of God by Prayer, foraſmuch as in Scripture there is no promiſe that we ſhal be evermore free from vexations, calamities, and troubles. Minds religiouſly affected are wont in every thing of waight and moment which they do or ſee, to examine according unto rules of Pietie what dependancie it hath on God, what reference to themſelves, what coherence with any of thoſe duties whereunto all things in the World ſhould lead, and accordingly they frame the inward diſpoſition of their minds ſometime to admire God, ſometimes to bleſſe him and give him thanks, ſometime to exult in his love, ſometime to implore his mercie. All which different elevations of ſpirit unto God are contained in the name of Prayer. Every good and holy deſire though it lack the forme, hath notwithſtanding in it ſelfe the ſubſtance, and with him the force of a Prayer, who regardeth the very moanings, groanes, and ſighes of the heart of man. Petitionarie Prayer belongeth only to ſuch as are in themſelves impotent, and ſtand in need of reliefe from others. We thereby declare unto God what our owne deſire is that hee by his power ſhould effect. It preſuppoſeth therefore in us firſt the want of that which we pray for, Secondly, a feeling of that want; Thirdly, an earneſt willingneſſe of mind to be eaſed therein; Fourthly, a declaration of this our deſire in the ſight of God, not as if he ſhould be otherwiſe ignorant of our neceſſities, but becauſe we this way ſhew that we honour him as our God, and are verily perſwaded that no good thing can come to paſſe which hee by his Omnipotent power effecteth not. Now becauſe there is no mans Prayer acceptable, whoſe perſon is odious, neither any mans perſon gracious with-

Prayer to bee evermore delivered from all adverſitie.

For as much as there is no promiſe in the Scripture that we ſhould bee free from all adverſitie, and that evermore it ſeemeth that this Prayer might have beene better conceived being no Prayer of Faith, or of that which we can aſſure our ſelves that wee ſhall obtain it. *T.C.l.1.p.* 136.

out faith, it is of neceſſitie required that they which pray do beleeve. The Prayers which our Lord and Saviour made were for his owne worthineſſe accepted; ours God accepteth not but with this condition, if they be ioyned with [a] beliefe in Chriſt. The Prayers of the Iuſt are accepted alwayes, but not alwayes thoſe things granted for which they pray. For in Prayer if faith and aſſurance to obtaine were both one and the ſame thing, ſeeing that the effect of not obtaining is a plain teſtimonie that they which prayed were not ſure they ſhould obtaine, it would follow that their Prayer being without certaintie of the event, was alſo made unto God without faith, and conſequently that God abhorred it. Which to think of ſo many Prayers of Saints as we find haue failed in particular requeſts how abſurd were it? His faithfull people have this comfort, that whatſoever they rightly aske, the ſame no doubt, but they ſhall receive, ſo far as may ſtand with the glory of God, and their owne everlaſting good, unto either of which two it is no vertuous mans purpoſe to ſeek or deſire to obtaine any thing preiudiciall, and therfore that clauſe which our Lord and Saviour in the Prayer of his Agonie did expreſſe, wee in petitions of like nature do alwayes imply, *Pater, ſi poſſibile eſt*, if it may ſtand with thy will and pleaſure: Or if not, but that there be ſecret impediments and cauſes in regard whereof the thing we pray for is denied us, yet the Prayer it ſelfe which wee make is a pleaſing Sacrifice to God, who both accepteth & rewardeth it ſome other way. So that ſinners in very truth are denied when they [b] ſeeme to prevaile in their Supplications, becauſe it is not for their ſakes or to their good that their Sutes take place; the faithfull contrariwiſe, becauſe it is for their good oftentimes that their Petitions do not take place, prevaile even then when they moſt [c] ſeeme denied. *Our Lord God in anger hath granted ſome impenitent mens requeſts, as on the otherſide the Apoſtles ſute he hath of favour and mercie not granted* ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*. To think we may pray unto God for nothing but what hee hath promiſed in holy Scripture wee ſhall obtaine, is perhaps an errour. For of Prayer there are two uſes. It ſerveth as a mean to procure thoſe things which God hath promiſed to grant when we aske; and it ſerveth as a meane to expreſſe our lawfull deſires alſo towards that, which whether we ſhall have or no wee know not till we ſee the event. Things in themſelves unholy or unſeemely we may not aske; we may whatſoever being not forbidden, either Nature or Grace ſhall reaſonably move us to wiſh as importing the good of men, albeit God himſelfe have no where by promiſe aſſured us of that particular which our Prayer craveth. To pray for that which is in it ſelfe and of its owne nature apparently a thing impoſſible; were not convenient. Wherefore though men do without offence wiſh daily that the affaires which with evill ſucceſſe are paſt, might have fallen out much better, yet to pray that they may have beene any other than they are, this being a manifeſt impoſſibilitie in it ſelfe, the Rules of Religion do not permit. Whereas contrariwiſe when things of their owne nature contingent and mutable are by the ſecret determination of God appointed one way, though wee the other way make our Prayers, and conſequently aske thoſe things of God which are *by this ſuppoſition* impoſſible, wee notwithſtanding do not hereby in Prayer tranſgreſſe our lawfull bounds. That Chriſt, as the only begotten Son of God, having

[a] *Oratio quæ non fit pro Chriſtum, non ſolum non poteſt delere peccatum, ſed etiam ipſa fit peccatum. Aug. evar. 1. in Pſal. 108.*

[b] *Num. 11. 33. 1 Sam. 8. 7. Iob 1. 12. & 2. 6 Luke 8. 52.*

[c] *2 Cor. 12. 7. & 9. Aug Epiſt. 121. ad probam viduam.*

having no Superior, and therefore owing honour unto none, neither ſtanding in any need ſhould either give thankes, or make petition unto God, were moſt abſurd. As man, what could beſeeme him better, whether we reſpect his affection to God-ward, or his owne neceſſity, or his charity and love towards men? Some things he knew ſhould come to paſſe, and notwithſtanding prayed for them, becauſe hee alſo knew that the neceſſary means to effect them, were his prayers. As in the Pſalm it is ſaid, [a] *Aſk of me, and I will give thee the Heathen for thine Inheritance, and the ends of the Earth for thy poſſeſſion.* Wherefore that which here God promiſeth his Son, the ſame in the 17 of *Iohn* he prayeth for, [b] *Father, the houre is now come, glorifie thy Son, that thy Son alſo may glorifie thee, according as thou haſt given him power over all fleſh.* But had Chriſt the like promiſe concerning the effect of every particular for which he prayed? That which was not effected could not be promiſed. And we know in [c] what ſort he prayed for removall of that bitter cup, which cup he taſted notwithſtanding his Prayer. To ſhift off this Example they anſwer firſt, that [d] *as other children of God, ſo Chriſt had a promiſe of deliverance, as farre as the glorie of God in the accompliſhment of his vocation would ſuffer.* And if wee our ſelves have not alſo in that ſort the promiſe of God to be evermore delivered from all adverſity, what meaneth the ſacred Scripture to ſpeake in ſo large termes, *Be obedient, and the Lord thy God will make thee plenteous in* [e] *every worke of thy hand, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy Cattell, and in the fruit of the Land for thy wealth.* Againe, *Keepe his Lawes, and thou ſhalt be bleſt above all people, the Lord ſhall take from thee* [f] *all infirmities.* The man whoſe delight is in the Law of God, [g] *whatſoever he doth it ſhall proſper.* For the ungodly there are *great plagues* remaining; but whoſoever putteth his truſt in the Lord, mercie imbraceth him [h] *on every ſide.* Not onely that mercy which keepeth from being overlaid or oppreſt, but mercy which ſaveth from being *touched* with grievous miſeries, mercy which turneth away the courſe of [i] *the great waterflouds*, and permitteth them not to *come neere.* Nevertheleſſe, becauſe the Prayer of Chriſt did concerne but one calamitie, they are ſtill bold to denie the lawfulneſſe of our Prayer for deliverance out of all, yea, though wee pray with the ſame exception that hee did, *If ſuch deliverance may ſtand with the pleaſure of Almighty God, and not otherwiſe.* For they have ſecondly found out a Rule that Prayer ought onely to bee made for deliverance [k] *from this or that particular adverſity, whereof wee know not but upon the event what the pleaſure of God is.* Which quite overthroweth that other principle, wherein they require unto every Prayer which is of Faith an aſſurance to obtain the thing wee pray for. At the firſt to pray againſt all adverſitie was unlawfull, becauſe we cannot aſſure our ſelves that this will be granted. Now we have licence to pray againſt any particular adverſitie, and the reaſon given, becauſe we know not but upon the event what God will doe. If we know not what God will doe, it followeth that for any aſſurance we have, hee may doe otherwiſe than wee pray, and wee may faithfully pray for that which wee cannot aſſuredly preſume that God will grant. Seeing therfore neither of theſe two Anſwers will ſerve the turne, they have [l] a third, which is, that to pray in ſuch ſort, is but idly miſſe-ſpent labour, becauſe God hath already revealed his Will touching

a *Pſal.* 2. 8.

b *Ioha* 17. 1, 2.

c *Matth* 26 39. *Marke* 14. 36. *Luk.* 22. 42.

d Neither did our Saviour Chriſt pray without promiſe: for as other the Children of God to whoſe condition hee had humbled himſelfe have, ſo had he a promiſe of deliverance ſo farre as the glory of God in that accompliſhment of his vocation would ſuffer. *T. C. l. 3. p.* 200.

e *Deut.* 30. 9.

f *Deut.* 7. 15.

g *Pſal.* 1. 4.

h *Pſal.* 32. 11. 17.

k *T. C. lib.* 3. *pag* 201.

l Wee ought not to deſire to bee free from all adverſitie if it be his will, conſidering that hee hath already declared his will therein. *T. C. l. 3. p.* 201.

this requeſt, and we know that the ſute we make is denied before we make it. Which neither is true, and if it were, was Chriſt ignorant what God had determined touching thoſe things which himſelfe ſhould ſuffer? To ſay *he knew not what waight of ſufferances his heavenly Father had meaſured unto him*, is ſomewhat hard, harder, that although *he knew them*, notwithſtanding for the preſent time they were *forgotten, through the force of thoſe unſpeakable pangs which he then was in.* The one againſt the plaine expreſſe words of the holy Evangeliſt, [b] *Hee knew all things that ſhould come upon him*; the other leſſe credible, if any thing may be of leſſe credit than what the Scripture it ſelfe gaineſayeth. Doth any of them which wrote his ſufferings, make report that memory failed them? Is there in his words and ſpeeches any ſigne of defect that way? Did not himſelfe declare before whatſoever was to happen in the courſe of that whole tragedy? Can we gather by any thing after taken from his owne mouth either in the place of publique judgment, or upon the Altar of the Croſſe, that through the bruſing of his Body, ſome part of the treaſures of his ſoule were ſcattered and ſlipt from him? If that which was perfect both before and after did faile at this only middle inſtant, there muſt appeare ſome manifeſt cauſe how it came to paſſe. True it is that the pangs of his heavineſſe and grief were *unſpeakable*: and as true, that becauſe the minds of the afflicted do never think they have fully conceived the waight or meaſure of their owne woe, they uſe their affection as a whetſtone both to wit and memory, theſe as nurſes do feed grief, ſo that the weaker his conceit had bin touching that which he was to ſuffer, the more it muſt needs in that houre have helped to the mitigation of his anguiſh. But his anguiſh we ſee was then at the veryhigheſt wherunto it could poſſibly riſe; which argueth his deep apprehenſion even to the laſt drop of the gaule which that Cup contained, and of every circumſtance wherin there was any force to augment heavineſſe, but above all things, the reſolute determination of God, and his own unchangeable purpoſe which he at that time could not forget. To what intent then was his Prayer which plainly teſtifieth ſo great willingneſſe to avoid death? Will, whether it be in God or man, belongeth to the eſſence or nature of both. The nature therefore of God being one, there are not in God divers wils, although the God-head be in divers perſons, becauſe the power of willing is a naturall not a perſonall propriety. Contrariwiſe, the perſon of our Saviour Chriſt being but one, there are in him two wils, becauſe two natures, the nature God, and the nature of man, which both do imply this faculty and power. So that in Chriſt there is a divine and there is an humane will, otherwiſe he were not both God and man. Hereupon the Church hath of old condemned Monothelites as Heretikes, for holding that Chriſt had but one will. The workes and operations of our Saviours humane will were all ſubject to the Will of God, and framed according to his Law, [c] *I deſire to doe thy will, O God, and thy Law is within mine heart.* Now as mans will, ſo the Will of Chriſt hath two ſeverall kinds of operation, the one naturall or neceſſary wherby it deſireth ſimply whatſoever is good in it ſelfe, and ſhunneth generally all things which hurt; the other deliberate, when we therfore imbrace things as good, becauſe the eye of underſtanding judgeth them good to that end which we ſimply deſire. Thus in it

a T.C.lib.3. pag.201.

b Iohn 18.4.

c Pſal.40.8.

it ſelf we deſire health, phyſick only for healths ſake. And in this ſort ſpeciall reaſon oftentimes cauſeth the will by choice to preferre one good thing before another, to leave one for anothers ſake, to forgoe meaner for the attainment of higher deſires, which our Saviour likewiſe did. Theſe different inclinations of the will conſidered, the reaſon is eaſie how in Chriſt there might grow deſires ſeeming, but being not indeed oppoſite either the one of them unto the other, or either of them to the will of God. For let the manner of his ſpeech be weighed, [a] *My ſoule is now troubled and what ſhould I ſay? Father, ſave me out of this houre. But yet for this very cauſe I am come into this houre.* His purpoſe here in was moſt effectually to propoſe to the view of the whole world two contrary objects, the likewherunto in force and efficacy were never preſented in that manner to any but only to the Soule of Chriſt. There was preſented before his eyes in that fearefull houre, on the one ſide Gods heavy indignation and wrath towards mankind as yet unappeaſed, death as yet in full ſtrength, Hell as yet never maſtered by any that came within the confines and bounds thereof, ſomewhat alſo peradventure more than is either poſſible or needfull for the wit of man to find out, finally himſelfe fleſh and bloud [b] left alone to enter into conflict with all theſe; on the other ſide, a World to be ſaved by One, a pacification of wrath through the dignity of that ſacrifice w^ch ſhould be offred, a conqueſt over death through the power of that Deity which would not ſuffer the Tabernacle therof to ſee corruption, and an utter diſappointment of all the forces of infernall powers, through the purity of that ſoule which they ſhould have in their hands and not bee able to touch. Let no man marvaile that in this caſe the ſoule of Chriſt was much *troubled*. For what could ſuch apprehenſions breed but (as their nature is) inexplicable paſſions of mind, deſires abhorring what they imbrace, and imbracing what they abhorre? in which agony *how ſhould the tongue goe about to expreſſe* what the ſoule indured? When the griefes of *Iob* were exceeding great, his words accordingly to open them were many; howbeit, ſtill unto his ſeeming they were undiſcovered, [c] *Though my talke* (ſaith *Iob*) *bee this day in bitterneſſe, yet my plague is greater than my groning*. But here to what purpoſe ſhould words ſerve, when nature hath more to declare than grones and ſtrong cries, more than ſtreames of bloudie ſweats, more than his doubled and tripled praiers can expreſſe, who thrice putting forth his hand to receiv that Cup, beſides which there was no other cauſe of his comming into the World, hee thrice pulleth it backe againe, and as often even with teares of bloud craveth, *if it be poſſible, O Father, or if not, even what thine own good pleaſure is*, for whoſe ſake the Paſſion that hath in it a bitter, and bloudy conflict even with Wrath and Death and Hell is moſt welcome. Wheras therfore we find in God a will reſolved that Chriſt ſhall ſuffer; and in the humane will of Chriſt two actuall deſires, the one avoyding, and the other accepting death; is that deſire which firſt declareth it ſelfe by prayer, againſt that wherwith he concludeth prayer, or either of them againſt his mind to whom prayer in this caſe ſeeketh? We may judge of theſe diverſities in the will, by the like in the underſtanding. For as the intellectuall part doth not croſſe it ſelf, by conceiving man to be juſt and unjuſt, when it meaneth not the ſame man, nor by imagining the ſame man learned and unlearned,

a *Iob.* 12. 27.

b *Matth.* 27. 46 *Non potuit divinitas humanitatem & ſecundum aliquid deſtruſſe, & ſecundum aliquid non deſtruſſe? Subtraxit protectionem, ſed non ſeparavit unionem. Sic ergo dereliquit ut non adjuvaret, ſed non dereliquit ut recederet. Sic ergo humanitas à divinitate in paſſione derelicta eſt. Quam tamen mortem quia non pro ſua iniquitate, ſed pro noſtra redemptione paſſinuit, quare ſit derelicta requirit, non quaſi adductus Deum de pœna murmurans; ſed nobis innocentiam ſuam in ſcena demonſtrans. Hug. de Sacra. lib. 2. par. 1. c. 10. Deus meus, ut quid derelinquiſti me? Vox eſt nec ignorantiæ, nec diffidentiæ, nec querelæ, ſed admirationis tantum, quæ aliis invitigandæ de cauſa ardorem & diligentiam acuat.*

c *Iob* 23. 2.

learned, if learned in one skill, and in another kind of learning unskillfull, becauſe the parts of every true oppoſition doe alwayes both concerne the ſame ſubject, and have reference to the ſame thing, ſith otherwiſe they are but in ſhew oppoſite, and not in truth: So the will about one and the ſame thing may in contrary reſpects have contrary inclinations, and that without contrariety. The Miniſter of juſtice may for publique example to others, vertuouſly will the execution of that party, whoſe pardon another for conſanguinities ſake as vertuouſly may deſire. Conſider death in it ſelfe, and nature teacheth Chriſt to ſhun it. Conſider death as a meane to procure the ſalvation of the world, and mercie worketh in Chriſt all [a] willingneſſe of mind towards it. Therefore in theſe two deſires there can be no repugnant oppoſition. Againe, compare them with the will of God, and if any oppoſition bee, it muſt be onely betweene his appointment of Chriſts death, and the former deſire which wiſheth deliverance from death. But neither is this deſire oppoſite to the will of God. The wil of God was that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer the pains of death. Not ſo his will, as if the torment of innocencie did in it ſelfe pleaſe and delight God, but ſuch was his will, in regard of the end wherunto it was neceſſary that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer. The death of Chriſt in it ſelfe therfore God willeth not, which to the end we might therby obtain life, he both alloweth and appointeth. In like manner the Son of man indureth willingly to that purpoſe thoſe grievous paines, which ſimply not to have ſhunned had been againſt nature, and by conſequent againſt God. I take it therfore to be an error, that Chriſt either knew not what himſelfe was to ſuffer, or elſe had forgotten the things hee knew. The root of which errour was an over-reſtrained conſideration of Prayer, as though it had no other lawfull uſe but only to ſerve for a choſen meane, whereby the will reſolveth to ſeeke that which the underſtanding certainely knoweth it ſhall obtaine: wheras prayers in truth both ours are, and his were, as well ſometime a preſentation of meere deſires, as a meane of procuring deſired effects at the hands of God. We are therefore taught by his example, that the preſence of dolorous and dreadfull objects, even in minds moſt perfect, may as cloudes over-caſt all ſenſible joy; that no aſſurance touching future victories, can make preſent conflicts ſo ſweet aud eaſie, but nature will ſhun and ſhrinke from them, nature will deſire eaſe and deliverance from oppreſſive burthens; that the contrary determination of God is oftentimes againſt the effect of this deſire; yet not againſt the affection it ſelfe, becauſe it is naturally in us; that in ſuch caſe our praiers cannot ſerve us as means to obtain the thing we deſire; that notwithſtanding they are unto God moſt acceptable ſacrifices, becauſe they teſtifie we deſire nothing but at his hands, and our deſires we ſubmit with contentment to be overruled by his will, and in general they are not repugnant unto the naturall will of God, which wiſheth to the works of his own hands, in that they are his own handy-work all happines, although perhaps for ſome ſpeciall cauſe in our owne particular, a contrary determination have ſeemed more convenient; finally, that thus to propoſe our deſires which cannot take ſuch effect as we ſpecifie, ſhall notwithſtanding otherwiſe procure us his heavenly grace, even as this very praier of Chriſt obtained [b] Angels to be ſent him as comforters in his agony. And according to this

[a] Eſa. 53 10. Iohn 10 15.

[b] Luke 22:43.

this example we are not afraid to preſent unto God our prayers for thoſe things, which that hee will performe unto us we have no ſure nor certaine knowledge. [a] Saint *Pauls* Prayer for the Church of Corinth was that they might not doe any evill, although hee knew that no man liveth which ſinneth not, although he knew that in this life we alwaies muſt pray, [b] *Forgive us our ſinnes.* It is our frailty that in many things we all do amiſſe, but a vertue that wee would doe amiſſe in nothing, and a teſtimony of that vertue, when we pray that what occaſion of ſin ſoever doe offer it ſelfe, we may be ſtrengthened from above to withſtand it. They pray in vaine to have ſinne pardoned which ſeeke not alſo to prevent ſinne by prayer, even every particular ſin, by prayer againſt all ſin, except men can name ſome tranſgreſſion wherewith wee ought to have truce. For in very deed although wee cannot bee free from all ſin collectively in ſuch ſort that no part thereof ſhall bee found inherent in us, yet diſtributively at the leaſt all great and grievous actuall offences, as they offer themſelves one by one, both may and ought to bee by all meanes avoided. So that in this ſenſe to bee preſerved from all ſin is not impoſſible. Finally, concerning deliverance it ſelfe from all adverſitie, wee uſe not to ſay men are in adverſitie whenſoever they feele any ſmall hinderance of their wel-fare in this World, but when ſome notable affliction or croſſe, ſome great calamitie or trouble befalleth them. Tribulation hath in it divers circumſtances, they mind ſundry faculties to apprehend them: It offereth ſometime it ſelfe to the lower powers of the ſoule as a moſt unpleaſant ſpectacle to the higher, ſometimes as drawing after it a traine of dangerous inconveniences, ſometime as bringing with it remedies for the curing of ſundry evils, as Gods inſtrument of revenge and fury ſometime, ſometime as a rod of his juſt yet moderate ire and diſpleaſure, ſometime, as matter for them that ſpitefully hate us to exerciſe their poyſoned malice, ſometime as a furnace of tryall for vertue to ſhew it ſelfe, and through conflict to obtaine glory. Which different contemplations of adverſitie doe worke for the moſt part their anſwerable effects. Adverſitie either apprehended by ſenſe as a thing offenſive and grievous to nature; or by reaſon conceived as a ſnare, an occaſion of many mens falling from God, a ſequell of Gods indignation and wrath, a thing which Satan deſireth, and would bee glad to behold; tribulation thus conſidered being preſent cauſeth ſorrow, and being imminent breedeth feare. For moderation of which two affections growing from the very naturall bitterneſſe and gall of adverſity, [c] the Scripture much alleaged contrary fruits, which affliction likewiſe hath whenſoever it falleth on them that are tractable, the grace of Gods holy Spirit concurring therewith. But when the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* teacheth, that [d] every one which will live godly in Chriſt Ieſus muſt ſuffer perſecution, and by many tribulations wee enter into the Kingdome of Heaven, becauſe in a forreſt of many Wolves, Sheepe cannot chooſe but feed in continuall danger of life; or when [e] Saint *Iames* exhorteth to account it a matter of exceeding ioy when wee fall into divers temptations, becauſe by the triall of faith, patience is brought forth; was it ſuppoſe we their meaning to fruſtrate our Lords admonition, *Pray that ye enter not into temptation*; when himſelf pronounceth them bleſſed that ſhould for his Name ſake be ſubiect

to

a 2 *Cor.* 13. 7.

b We may not pray in this life to be free from all ſin, becauſe wee muſt alwaies pray, Forgive us our ſinnes.

c *T. C. l.* 3. *p.* 100

c *Pſal.* 11. 7.

d 2 *Tim.* 3. 12. To pray againſt perſecution is contrary to that word which ſaith, that every one which will live godly in Chriſt Ieſu, muſt ſuffer perſecution.

T. C. l. 3. *p.* 100.

e *Iames* 1. 3.

to all kinds of ignominy & opprobrious malediction, was it his purpose that no man should ever pray with *David*, [a] *Lord, remove from me, shame and contempt?* In those tribulations, saith [b] Saint *Augustine*, *which may hurt us well as profit, we must say with the Apostle, What we should aske as we ought, we know not, yet because they are tough, because they are grievous, because the sense of our weakenesse flieth them, we pray according to the generall desire of the will of man, that God would turne them away from us, owing in the mean while this devotion to the Lord our God, that if he remove them not, yet we do not therfore imagin our selves in his sight despised, but rather with godly sufferance of evils, expect greater good at his mercifull hands. For thus is vertue in weakenesse perfected.* To the flesh (as the Apostle himselfe granteth) all affliction is naturally grievous. Therefore nature which causeth to feare, teacheth to pray against all adversity. Prosperity in regard of our corrupt inclination to abuse the blessings of Almighty God, doth prove for the most part a thing dangerous to the soules of men. Very ease it selfe is [c] death to the wicked, and the prosperity of fooles slayeth them; their table is a snare, and their felicity their utter overthrow. Few men there are which long prosper and sin not. Howbeit even as these ill effects, although they bee very usuall and common, are no barre to the heartie prayers, wherby most vertuous minds wish peace and prosperitie alwaies where they love, because they consider that this in it selfe is a thing naturally desired: so because all adversitie is in it selfe against nature, what should hinder to pray against it, although the providence of God turn it often unto the great good of many men? Such prayers of the Church to bee delivered from all adversity, are no more repugnant to any reasonable disposition of mens minds towards death, much lesse to that blessed patience and meek contentment which Saints by heavenly inspiration have to indure, what crosse or calamity soever it pleaseth God to lay upon them, than our Lord and Saviours own prayer before his Passion was repugnant unto his most gracious resolution to die for the sins of the whole World.

a *Psal.* 119. 22.
b *Aug. Epist.* 121. *cap* 14.
c *Prov.* 1. 32.

Prayer that all men may find mercy, and of the will of God that all men might be saved.

49 In praying for deliverance from all adversitie, wee seeke that which nature doth wish to it selfe; but by intreating for mercie towards all, wee declare that affection wherewith Christian Charitie thirsteth after the good of the whole World, we discharge that durie which the [d] Apostle himselfe doth impose on the Church of Christ as a *commendable* office, a sacrifice *acceptable* in Gods sight, a service according to his heart, whose *desire* is to have all men saved, a work most suteable with his purpose, who gave himselfe to bee the price of redemption *for all*, and a forcible meane to *procure the conversion* of all such as are not yet acquainted with the mysteries of that truth which must save their soules. Against it there is but the bare shew of this one impediment, that all mens salvation, and many mens eternall condemnation or death, are things the one repugnant to the other, that both cannot be brought to passe; that we know there are vessels of wrath to whom God will never extend mercy, and therfore that wittingly we aske an impossible thing to be had. The truth is, that as life and death, mercie and wrath are matters of meere understanding or knowledge, all mens salvation and some mens endlesse perdition are things so opposite, that whosoever doth affirme the one, must necessarily

d 1 *Tim.* 2. 3.

ſarily deny the other, God himſelfe cannot effect both, or determine that both ſhall be. There is in the knowledge both of God and man this certainty, that life and death have divided between them the whole bodie of mankind. What portion either of the two hath, God himſelfe knoweth; for us hee hath left no ſufficient meanes to comprehend, and for that cauſe neither given any leave to ſearch in particular who are infallibly the heires of the Kingdome of God, who caſt-awaies. Howbeit concerning the ſtate of all men with whom we live (for only of them our prayers are meant) we may till the Worlds end, *for the preſent*, alwaies preſume, that *as far as in us there is power to diſcerne* what others are, and as far as any duty of ours dependeth upon the notice of their condition in reſpect of God, the ſafeſt axiomes for Charity to the reſt it ſelf upon are theſe, *He which beleeveth already, is*; and *He which beleeveth not as yet, may be the Child of God*. [a] It becommeth not us *during life altogether to condemne any man. Seeing that* (for any thing we know) *there is hope of every mans forgiveneſſe, the poſſibility of whoſe repentance is not yet cut off by death*. And therfore charity which [b] *hopeth all things*, prayeth alſo for all men. Wherfore to let goe perſonall knowledge touching veſſels of wrath and mercy, what they are inwardly in the ſight of God it skilleth not, for us there is cauſe ſufficient in all men wherupon to ground our prayers unto God in their behalfe. For whatſoever the mind of man apprehendeth as good, the will of charity and love is to have it inlarged in the very uttermoſt extent, that all may inioy it to whom it can any way adde perfection. Becauſe therfore the farther good thing doth reach, the nobler and worthier we reckon it, our prayers for all mens good no leſſe than for our own, the Apoſtle with very fit termes commendeth as being ἀγὼν a work commendable for the largeneſſe of the affliction from whence it ſpringeth, even as theirs, [c] which have requeſted at Gods hands the ſalvation of many with the loſſe of their own ſoules, drowning as it were and over-whelming themſelves in the abundance of their love towards others, is propoſed as being in regard of the rareneſſe of ſuch affections ὑπερβολὴν, more than excellent. But this extraordinary height of deſire after other mens ſalvation is no common marke. The other is a dutie which belongeth unto all and prevaileth with God daily. For as it is in it ſelfe good, ſo God accepteth and taketh it in verie good part at the hands of faithfull men. Our prayers for all men doe include both them that ſhall find mercie, and them alſo that ſhall find none. For them that ſhall, no man will doubt but our prayers are both accepted and granted. Touching them for whom wee crave that mercie which is not to bee obtained, let us not think that [d] our Saviour did miſ-inſtruct his Diſciples, willing them to pray for the peace even of ſuch as ſhould bee uncapable of ſo great a bleſſing; or that the Prayers of the [e] Prophet *Ieremie* offended God, becauſe the anſwer of God was a reſolute denial of favour to them for whom ſupplication was made. And if any man doubt how God ſhould accept ſuch prayers in caſe they bee oppoſite to his Will, or not grant them if they bee according unto that which himſelfe willeth, our anſwer is, that ſuch ſutes God accepteth in that they are conformable unto his *generall inclination*, which is that all men might be ſaved, yet alwaies he granteth them not, for asmuch as there is in God ſometimes a more private *occaſionall will*

which

a *Sidon. Apol. lib. 6. Epiſt.*

b 1 *Cor.* 13. 7.

c *Rom.* 9. 3. & 10. 1.

d *Mat.* 10. 11. &c.

e *Ier.* 15. 1.

which determineth the contrary. So that the other being the rule of our actions and not this, our requests for things opposite to this Will of God are not therefore the lesse gracious in his sight. There is no doubt but wee ought in all things to frame our wils to the Will of God, and that otherwise in whatsoever we do we sin. For of our selves being so apt to erre, the only way which we have to streighten our paths, is by following the rule of his will, whose footsteps naturally are right. If the eye, the hand, or the foot doe that which the will commandeth, though they serve as instruments to sin, yet is sin the commanders fault and not theirs, because Nature hath absolutely and without exception made them subjects to the will of man which is Lord over them. As the body is subject to the will of man, so is mans will to the will of God; for so it behoveth that the better should guid and command the worse. But because the subiection of the body to the will is by naturall necessity, the subiection of the will unto God voluntary; we therefore stand in need of direction after what sort our wils and desires may be rightly conformed to his. Which is not done by willing alwaies the self-same thing that God intendeth. For it may chance that his purpose is sometime the speedy death of them, whose long continuance in life if we should not wish we were unnaturall. When the obiect or matter therfore of our desires is (as in this case) a thing both good of it selfe and not forbidden of God; when the end for which we desire it is vertuous and apparantly most holy; when the root from which our affection towards it proceedeth is Charity; piety that which we doe in declaring our desire by prayer; yea over and besids all this, sith we know that to pray for all men living is but to shew the same affection which towards every of them our Lord Iesus Christ hath borne, who knowing only as God who are his, did as man taste death for the good of all men, surely to that will of God which ought to be and is the known rule of all our actions, we do not herein oppose our selves, although his secret determination happily be against us, which if we did understand as we do not, yet to rest contented with that which God will have done, is as much as he requireth at the hands of men. And concerning our selves what we earnestlie crave in this case, the same, as all things else that are of like condition, wee meekly submit unto his most gracious will and pleasure. Finally, as we have cause sufficient why to think the practice of our Church allowable in this behalfe, so neither is ours the first which hath beene of that mind. For to end with the words b of *Prosper*, *This Law of supplication for all men* (saith he) *the devout zeale of all Priests and all faithfull men doth hold with such full agreement, that there is not any part of all the World where Christian people do not use to pray in the same manner. The Church every where maketh prayers unto God not only for Saints and such as already in Christ are regenerate but for all Infidels and enemies of the Crosse of Iesus Christ, for all Idolaters, for all that persecute Christ in his followers, for Iewes to whose blindnesse the light of the Gospell doth not yet shine, for Heretiques and Schismatiques, who from the unity of faith and charitie are estranged. And for such what doth the Church aske of God but this, that leaving their errors they may be converted unto him, that faith and charitie may be given them, and that out of the darknesse of ignorance they may come to the knowledge of his truth? Which because they cannot themselves do in their owne behalfe,*

a *Propterea nihil contrarietatis erat, si Christus homo secundum affectum pietatis quam in humanitate sua assumpserat aliquid volebat, quod tamen secundum voluntatem divinam, in qua cum patre omnia disponebat futurum non esse præsciebat, quia & hoc ad veram humanitatem pertinebat, ut pietate moveretur, & hoc ad veram divinitatem, ut à sua dispositione non moveretur.* Hug. de quat. Chryſ. volunt.

b Prosp. de vocat. Gen. l. 1. c. 4. inter opera Ambroſ.

as long as the ſway of evill cuſtom over-beareth them, and the chaines of Satan detaine them bound, neither are they able to break thorough thoſe errours wherin they are ſo determinately ſetled, that they pay unto falſity the whole ſum of whatſoever love is owing unto Gods Truth, our Lord mercifull and juſt requireth to have all men prayed for, that when we behold innumerable multitudes drawn up from the depth of ſo bottomleſſe evils, we may not doubt but (in part) God hath done the thing we requeſted, nor deſpaire, but that being thankfull for them towards whom already he hath ſhewed mercy, the reſt which are not as yet inlightned, ſhall before they paſſe out of life be made partakers of the like grace. Or if the grace of him which ſaveth [for ſo we ſee it falleth out] overpaſſe ſome, ſo that the Prayer of the Church for them be not received, this we may leave to the hidden Iudgements of Righteouſneſſe, and acknowledge that in this ſecret there is a Gulfe, which while we live we ſhall never ſound.

50 Inſtruction and Prayer, whereof wee have hitherto ſpoken, are duties which ſerve as Elements, Parts or Principles to the reſt that follow, in which number the Sacraments of the Church are chiefe. The Church is to us that very [a] Mother of our new Birth, in whoſe bowels wee are all bred, at whoſe breſts wee receive nouriſhment. As many therfore as are apparently to our judgement borne of God, they have the ſeed of Regeneration by the Miniſtery of the Church, which uſeth to that end and purpoſe not only the Word, but the Sacraments, both having generative force and vertue. As oft as we mention a Sacrament properly underſtood (for in the Writings of the ancient Fathers, all Articles which are peculiar to Chriſtian Faith, all duties of Religion containing that which ſenſe or naturall reaſon cannot of it ſelfe diſcerne, are moſt commonly named Sacraments) our reſtraint of the Word to ſome few principall divine Ceremonies, importeth in every ſuch ceremony two things, the ſubſtance of the Ceremony it ſelfe which is viſible, and beſides that ſomewhat elſe more ſecret, in reference whereunto we conceive that ceremony to be a Sacrament. For we all admire and honour the holy Sacraments, not reſpecting ſo much the ſervice which wee doe unto God in receiving them, as the dignity of that ſacred and ſecret gift which wee thereby receive from God. Seeing that Sacraments therefore conſiſt altogether in relation to ſome ſuch gift or grace ſupernaturall, as only God can beſtow, how ſhould any but the Church adminiſter thoſe Ceremonies as Sacraments, which are not thought to be Sacraments by any but by the Church? There is in Sacraments to be obſerved their force and their forme of adminiſtration. Vpon their force their neceſſity dependeth. So that how they are neceſſary we cannot diſcern, till we ſee how effectuall they are. When Sacraments are ſaid to be viſible Signes of inviſible Grace, wee thereby conceive how grace is indeed the very end for which theſe Heavenly Myſteries were inſtituted, and beſides ſundry other properties obſerved in them, the matter whereof they conſiſt, is ſuch as ſignifieth, figureth, and repreſenteth their end. But ſtill their efficacy reſteth obſcure to our underſtanding, except we ſearch ſomewhat more diſtinctly what grace in particular, that is, whereunto they are referred, and what manner of operation they have towards it. The uſe of Sacraments is but only in this life, yet ſo, that here they concerne a farre better life than this, and are for that cauſe accompanied with

Of the name, the Author, and the force of Sacraments, which force conſiſteth in this, that God hath ordained them as meanes to make us partakers of him in Chriſt, and of life through Chriſt

[a] *Gal.* 4. 26. *Eſay* 54. 3.

grace which worketh ſalvation. Sacraments are the powerfull inſtruments of God to eternall life. For as our naturall life conſiſteth in the union of the bodie with the Soule; ſo our life ſupernaturall in the union of the Soule with God. And for as much as there is no union of God with man, without that [a] meane between both which is both, it ſeemeth requiſite that we firſt conſider how God is in Ghriſt, then how Chriſt is in us, and how the Sacraments do ſerve to make us partakers of Chriſt. In other things we may be more briefe, but the waight of theſe requireth largeneſſe.

[a] *Oportebat Deum carnem fieri ut in ſemet ipſo concordiam conſibularet terrenorum pariter atque cæleſtium, dum utriuſque patris in ſe connectens pignora, & Deum pariter homini, & hominem Deo copularet.* Tertull. de Trinit.

That God is in Chriſt by the perſonall Incarnation of the Sonne who is very God. *Iſay* 9.6. *Ier.* 23.6. *Rom.* 9.5. *Iohn* 16.15. *Iohn* 5.21. *Coloſſ.* 2.9. 1 *Iohn* 5.20.

51 The Lord our God is but one God. In which indiviſible unity notwithſtanding we adore the Father as being altogether of himſelfe, we glorifie that Conſubſtantiall Word which is the Sonne, we bleſſe and magnifie that Co-eſſentiall Spirit eternally proceeding from both, which is the holy Ghoſt. Seeing therefore the Father is of none, the Sonne is of the Father, and the Spirit is of both, they are by theſe their ſeverall properties really diſtinguiſhable each from other. For the ſubſtance of God with this propertie *to be of none*, doth make the perſon of the Father; the very ſelfe ſame ſubſtance in number with this property *to be of the Father*, maketh the perſon of the Sonne: the ſame ſubſtance having added unto it the propertie of *proceeding from the other two*, maketh the perſon of the Holy Ghoſt. So that in every perſon there is implied both the ſubſtance of God which is one, and alſo that propertie which cauſeth the ſame perſon really and truly to differ from the other two. Every [b] perſon hath his owne ſubſiſtence, which no other beſides hath, although there be others beſides that are of the ſame ſubſtance. As no man but *Peter* can be the perſon which *Peter* is, yet *Paul* hath the ſelfe-ſame Nature which *Peter* hath. Again, Angels have every of them the nature of pure and inviſible Spirits, but every Angell is not that Angell which appeared in a Dreame to *Ioſeph*. Now when God became man, leſt wee ſhould erre in applying this to the perſon of the Father, or of the Spirit, Saint *Peters* Confeſſion unto Chriſt was, Thou art the [c] Sonne of the Living God, and Saint *Iohns* Expoſition thereof was made plain, and that it is the [d] *Word* which was made fleſh. [e] *The Father, and the Holy Ghoſt* (ſaith DAMASCEN.) *have no communion with the Incarnation of the Word, otherwiſe than onely by approbation and aſſent.* Notwithſtanding, for as much as the Word and Deity are one ſubject, wee muſt beware we exclude not the Nature of God from incarnation, and ſo make the Sonne of God incarnate not to bee very God. For undoubtedly even [f] the Nature of God it ſelfe in the onely perſon of the Sonne is incarnate, and hath taken to it ſelfe fleſh. Wherefore incarnation may neither bee granted to any perſon but onely one, nor yet denied to that Nature which is common unto all three. Concerning the cauſe of which incomprehenſible Myſtery, for as much as it ſeemeth a thing unconſonant, that the world ſhould honour any other as the Saviour, but him whom it honoureth as the Creatour of

[b] Πρόσωπον ἢ γοῦν ὑπόστασις ἐστὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἁγίους πατέρας τὸ ἴδιον παρὰ τὸ κοινόν. Κοινότης γάρ ἐστιν ἡ φύσις ἑκάστου πράγματος, ἰδίαι δὲ εἰσὶν ὑποστάσεις. Suid. ἡ οὐσία καθ' ἑαυτὴν ὑφίσταται ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι θεωρεῖται. τὸ δὲ κοινὸν μεμέρισται τοῖς ἰδιάζουσιν ἔχει ἡ πρόσωπον καθ' ἑαυτὸ ὑπάρξαι. Damaſc. de Orthod. fide lib 3. cap. 6.

c *Matth.* 16.16.

d *Iohn* 1.14.

Ignat. Epiſt. ad Magneſ. Ὁς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος οὐ ῥητὸς ἀλλ' οὐσιώδης. Οὐ γάρ ἐστι λαλιᾶς ἐναρθρον ἀλλ' ἐνεργείας θεϊκῆς οὐσία γενητή. c Κατ' ὐδένα λόγον κεκοινώνηκεν ὁ πατὴρ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ τῇ σαρκώσει τοῦ λόγου, εἰ μὴ κατ' ἐνδοκίαν καὶ βούλησιν. Damaſc.

f *In illo divinitas eſt unigeniti facta particeps mortalitatis noſtræ, ut & nos particeps ejus immortalitatis eſſemus.* Aug. Epiſt. 57.

of the World, and in the Wiſedome of God it hath not beene thought convenient to admit any way of ſaving man but by man himſelfe, though nothing ſhould bee ſpoken of the love and mercie of God towards man, which this way are become ſuch a ſpectacle, as neither men nor Angels can behold without a kind of heavenly aſtoniſhment, we may hereby perceive there is cauſe ſufficient why divine Nature ſhould aſſume Humane, that [a] God might be in Chriſt reconciling to himſelfe the World. And if ſome cauſe bee likewiſe required, why rather to this end and purpoſe the Son, than either the Father, or the holy Ghoſt ſhould be made man, could we which are borne the children of wrath, bee adopted the Sonnes of God through grace, any other than the naturall Sonne of God being Mediatour betweene God and us? [b] It became therefore him by whom all things are to be the way of ſalvation to all, that the inſtitution and reſtauration of the World might be both wrought by one hand. The Worlds ſalvation was without the Incarnation of the Sonne of God, a thing impoſſible, not ſimply impoſſible, but impoſſible, in regard preſuppoſed that the Will of God was no otherwiſe to have it ſaved than by the death of his owne Son. Wherefore taking to him ſelfe our fleſh, and by his incarnation making it his owne fleſh, he had now of his owne, although from us, what to offer unto God for us. And as Chriſt tooke Manhood, that by it hee might bee capable of death whereunto he humbled himſelfe; ſo the true Manhood is the proper ſubject of compaſſion and feeling pitie, which indeed hath the Scepter of Chriſts Regencie even in the Kingdome of Heaven annexed, hee which without our Nature could not on Earth ſuffer for the ſinnes of the World, doth now alſo by means thereof both make [c] interceſſion to God for ſinners, and exerciſe dominion over all men with a true, a naturall, and a ſenſible touch of mercie.

a 2 *Cor.* 5. 19.

b *Heb.* 2 10.

c *Heb.* 4. 15.

52 It is not in mans ability either to expreſſe perfectly, or conceive the manner how this was brought to paſſe. But the ſtrength of our Faith is tryed by thoſe things wherein our wits and capacities are not ſtrong. Howbeit becauſe this Divine Myſterie is more true than plaine, divers having framed the ſame to their own conceits and fancies, are found in their expoſitions thereof more plaine than true: In ſo much that by the ſpace of five hundred yeeres after Chriſt, the Church was almoſt troubled with nothing elſe, ſaving only with care and travaile to preſerve this Article from the ſiniſter conſtruction of Heretikes. Whoſe firſt miſſe when the light of the [d] *Nicen* Councell had diſpeld, it was not long ere *Macedonius* transferred unto Gods moſt holy Spirit the ſame blaſphemie, wherewith *Arrius* had already diſhonoured his coeternally begotten Son; not long ere *Apollinarius* began to [e] pare away from Chriſts humanitie. In refutation of which impieties when the Fathers of the Church, *Athanaſius*, *Baſil*, and the two *Gregories*, had by their painefull travailes ſufficiently cleered the truth, no leſſe for the Deitie of the Holy Ghoſt, than for the compleat humanitie of Chriſt, there followed hereupon a fixall concluſion, whereby thoſe Controverſies, as alſo the reſt which *Paulus Samoſatenus*, *Sabellius*, *Photinus*, *Aetius*, *Eunomius*, together with the whole ſwarme of peſtilent *Dimi-arians*, had from time to time ſtirred up ſithence the Councell of *Nice*, were both privately firſt at Rome in a ſmaller Synode, and

The miſ-interpretations which Hereſie hath made of the manner how God and man are united in one Chriſt.

d *Anno D.* 325.

e Μηδὲ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνην σάρκα ἐκείνῳ ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχῆς μεμιγμένῳ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑνώσεως ἀνθρωπίνου νοῦ ἐνδεᾶ. Suid.

then [a] at *Constantinople* in a generall famous Assembly brought to a peaceable and quiet end, seven score Bishops and ten agreeing in that Confession which by them set down, remaineth at this present houre, a part of our Church Liturgy, a Memoriall of their fidelity and zeale, a soveraigne preservative of Gods people from the venemous infection of heresie. Thus in Christ the verity of God, and the complete substance of man, were with full agreement established throughout the World, till such time as the Heresie of *Nestorius* broched it selfe, [b] *dividing Christ into two persons, the Sonne of God, and the Sonne of man, the one a person begotten of God before all worlds, the other also a person born of the Virgin* Mary, *and in speciall favour chosen to be made neere to the Sonne of God above all men, so that whosoever will honour God, must together honour Christ, with whose person God hath vouchsafed to joyne himself in so high a degree of gracious respect and favour.* But that the selfe-same person which verily is man should properly bee God also, and that by reason not of two persons linked in amity, but of two natures, Humane and Divine, conjoyned in one and the same Person, the God of glory may be said as well to have suffered death, as to have raised the dead from their graves; the Son of man as well to have made as to have redeemed the World, *Nestorius* in no case would admit. That which deceived him, was want of heed to be first beginning of that admirable combination of God with man. The Word, saith S. *John*, was made flesh and dwelt [c] *in us*. The Evangelist useth the plurall number, Men for Manhood, *us* for the nature whereof we consist, even as the Apostle denying the Assumption of *Angelicall nature*, saith likewise in the plurall number, hee tooke not [d] *Angels* but the seed of *Abraham*. It pleased not the Word or Wisdom of God to take to it self some one person amongst men, for then should that one have been advanced which was assumed and no more, but Wisdome, to the end shee might save many, built her House of that *nature* which is common unto all, shee made not *this or that* man her Habitation, but dwelt *in us*. The seeds of Herbs and Plants at the first are not in act, but in possibility that which they afterwards grow to be. If the Sonne of God had taken to himselfe a man now made and alreadie perfected, it would of necessitie follow that there are in Christ two persons, the one assuming, and the other assumed, whereas the Sonne of God did not assume a mans person unto his owne, but a mans nature to his owne person, and therefore tooke *semen*, the seed of *Abraham*, the very first originall Element of our nature, [e] before it was come to have any personall Humane subsistence. The flesh and the conjunction of the flesh with God began both at one instant, his making and taking to himselfe our flesh was but one act, so that in Christ there is no personall subsistence but one, and that from everlasting. By taking onely the nature of man, hee still continueth one person, and changeth but the manner of his subsisting, which was before in the meere glory of the Sonne of God, and is now in the habit of our flesh. For as much therefore as Christ hath no personall subsistence but one whereby wee acknowledge him to have been eternally the Sonne of God, we must of necessitie apply to the *person* of the Son of God, even that which is spoken of Christ according to his humane nature. For example, according to the flesh he was borne of the Virgin *Mary*, baptized of *Iohn* in the River Iordan, by *Pilate* adjudged

[a] *Anno D.* 381.

[b] Οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἴσμεν ὁμολογεῖ μεθ' ἡμῶν, Cyril. Epist. ad Euog. Οὐκ ἄλλος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ δύο ὑποστάσεις ἄλλαι καὶ διάφοροι. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄνθρωπον καὶ θεὸν ἀποκαλεῖ τὸν χριστὸν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ὡς ἡμεῖς. ἀλλὰ τῇ σχέσει καὶ τῇ ὁμοιώσει κατὰ τὸ ταυτὸ· ἀλλὰ λοιὸς ἀρέσκειν διὰ τὸν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς φιλίας. Leont. de Sect.

[c] *Iohn* 1.14.

[d] *Heb.* 2.16.

[e] ἡ ληφθεῖσα φύσις ὑπόστασις ἦν τῆς λήψεως, Theod. Dial. Ἀπρεπὲς.

adjudged to dye, and executed by the Iewes. We cannot ſay properly that the Virgin bore, or *Iohn* did baptize, or *Pilate* condemne, or the Iewes crucifie the nature of man, becauſe theſe are all perſonall Attributes, his perſon is the ſubject which receiveth them, his nature that which maketh his perſon capable or apt to receive. If wee ſhould ſay that the perſon of a man in our Saviour Chriſt was the ſubject of theſe things, this were plainly to intrap our ſelves in the very ſnare of the *Neſtorians* Hereſie, between whom and the Church of God there was no difference, ſaving only that *Neſtorius* imagined in Chriſt as well a perſonall Humane ſubſiſtence, as a Divine, the Church acknowledging a ſubſtance both Divine and Humane, but no other perſonall ſubſiſtence than Divine, becauſe the Sonne of God tooke not to himſelfe a mans perſon, but the nature onely of a man. Chriſt is a perſon both Divine and Humane, howbeit not therefore two perſons in one, neither both theſe in one ſenſe, but a perſon Divine, becauſe hee is *perſonally* the Sonne of God, Humane, becauſe *he hath* really *the nature* of the children of men. In Chriſt therefore God and Man, *there is* (ſaith [a] *Paſchaſius*) *a two-fold ſubſtence, not a two-fold perſon, becauſe one perſon diſtinguiſheth another, whereas one nature cannot in another leave extinct* [a] *Paſchaſ lib. de Spirit. Sanct.*

For the perſonall being which the Sonne of God already had, ſuffered not the ſubſtance to be perſonall which he tooke although together with the nature which hee had, the nature alſo which hee tooke, continueth. Whereupon it followeth againſt *Neſtorius*, that no perſon was borne of the Virgin but the Sonne of God, no perſon but the Sonne of God baptized, the Sonne of God condemned, the Sonne of God and no other perſon crucified, which one onely point of Chriſtian Beliefe, *the infinite worth of the Sonne of God*, is the very ground of all things believed concerning life and ſalvation, by that which Chriſt either did or ſuffered as man in our behalfe. But for as much as Saint *Cyril*, the chiefeſt of thoſe two hundred Biſhops aſſembled in the [b] Counſell of Epheſus where the Hereſie of *Neſtorius* was condemned, had in his Writings againſt the Arrians avouched, that *the Word or wiſedome* of God hath *but one nature* which is eternall, and whereunto he aſſumed fleſh (for the Arrians were of opinion, that beſides Gods owne eternall Wiſedome there is a Wiſedome which God created before all things, to the end hee might thereby create all things elſe, and that this created Wiſedome was the Word which tooke fleſh.) Againe, for as much as the ſame *Cyril* had given inſtance in the body and the ſoule of man no farther than onely to enforce by example againſt *Neſtorius*, that a viſible, and an inviſible, a mortall and an immortall ſubſtance may united make *one perſon*; the words of *Cyril* were in proceſſe of time ſo taken, as though it had been his drift to teach, that even as in us the bodie and the ſoule, ſo in Chriſt, God and man make but *one nature*. Of which errour, ſixe hundred and thirtie Fathers in the [c] Councell of Chalcedon condemned *Eutiches*. For as *Neſtorius* teaching rightly that God and man are diſtinct Natures, did thereupon miſ-interre that in Chriſt thoſe natures can by no conjunction make one perſon; ſo *Eutiches* of ſound beliefe, as touching their true perſonall copulation became unſound, by denying the difference which ſtill continueth betweene the one and the other nature. Wee muſt therefore

[b] *Anno D.* 431.

[c] *Anno D.* 451.

keepe warily a middle course, shunning both that distraction of persons wherin *Nestorius* went awry, and also this later confusion of natures which deceived *Eutiches*. [a] These natures from the moment of their first combination have beene and are for ever inseparable. For even when his soule forsooke the Tabernacle of his Body, his Deity forsooke neither Body nor Soule. If it had then could wee not truly hold either that the person of Christ was buried, or that the person of Christ did raise up it self from the dead. For the Body separated from the Word, can in no true sense be termed the Person of Christ, nor is it true, to say that the Son of God is raising up that Body did raise up himselfe, if the Body were not both with him and of him, even during the time it lay in the Sepulchre. The like is also to be said of the Soule, otherwise wee are plainly and inevitably *Nestorians*. The very person of Christ therefore for ever one and the selfe same, was bodily touching bodily substance concluded within the Grave, his Soule onely from thence severed, but by personall union, his Deitie still unseparably joyned with both.

That by the union of the one with the other nature in Christ, there groweth neyther gaine nor losse of essentiall properties to either.

53 The sequell of which conjunction of natures in the person of Christ, is no abolishment of naturall properties appertayning to either substance, no transition or transmigration thereof out of one substance into another, finally no such mutuall infusion as really causeth the same naturall operation or properties to be made common unto both substances, but whatsoever is naturall to Deitie, the same remayneth in Christ uncommunicated unto his Manhood, & whatsoever naturall to Manhood, his Deitie thereof is incapable. The true properties and operations of his Deitie are, to know that which is not possible for *created natures* to comprehend, to bee simply the highest cause of all things, the wel-spring of immortality and life, to have neither end nor beginning of dayes, to be every where present, & inclosed no where, to be subject to no alteration nor passion, to produce of it self these effects which cannot proceed but from infinite Majesty & power. The true properties & operations of his Manhood are such, as [b] *Irenæus* reckoneth up, *If Christ* (saith he) *had not taken flesh from the very earth, he would not have covered those earthly nourishments wherewith bodies which be taken from thence are fed. This is the nature which felt hunger after long fasting, was desirous of rest after travaile, testified compassion and love by teares, groned in bitternesse of will, & extremitie of griefe even melted away it self into bloudie sweates.* To Christ we ascribe both working of Wonders & suffering of paines, we use concerning him speeches as well of Humilitie as of Divine Glory, but the one we apply unto that nature which he tooke of the Virgin *Mary*, the other to that which was in the beginning. We may not therfore imagine that the properties of the weaker nature have vanisht with the presence of the more glorious, and have bin therein swallowed up as in a Gulfe. Wee dare not in this point give care to them, who over-boldly affirme, that [c] *The nature which Christ tooke weak & feeble from us by being mingled which Deity became the same which Deity is, that the assumption of our substance unto his, was like the bleeding of a drop of Vineger with the huge Ocean, wherein although it continue still, yet not with those properties which severed it hath, because sithence the instant of their conjunction, all distinction and difference of the one from the other is ceased, & whatsoever we can now conceive of the Son of God, is nothing*

elſe

a Ἀχώριστον πρεσβεύει τῆς σαρκὸς εἶναι τὴν θείαν φύσιν ὁμολογεῖν καὶν τῷ σαυρῷ καὶν τῷ τάφῳ. Theodor. Dial. Ἀπαθής.

b Ταῦτα πάθη συμβολα σαρκὸς τῆς ἀπὸ γῆς εἰλημμένης Iren. lib. 3. adverſ. hæreſ. Chriſt did all theſe ἀνθρωπίνου σώματος νόμῳ Greg. Nazian. orat. 2. de filio. τοὺς μὲν ταπεινοὺς λόγους τῷ ἐκ Μαρίας ἀνθρώπῳ, τοὺς δὲ ἀναγομένους καὶ θεοπρεπεῖς τῷ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντι λόγῳ Theodor. Dial. Ἀσύγχυτ.

c Gregor. Nyſſ. Epiſt. ad Theophil. Alexandr.

elſe but meere Deity, which words are ſo plain and direct for *Eutiches*, that I ſtand in doubt they are not his whoſe name they carry. Sure I am they are far from truth and muſt of neceſſity give place to the better adviſed ſentences of other men. [a] *He which in himſelfe was pointed* (ſaith *Hilarie*) *a Mediator to ſave his Church, and for performance of that myſtery of mediation between God and Man is become God and Man, doth now being but one, conſiſt of both thoſe natures united, neither hath hee through the union of both incurred the damage or loſſe of either, leſt by being borne a Man, we ſhould thinke he hath given over to be God, or that becauſe he continued God, therefore he cannot be Man alſo, whereas the true beliefe which maketh a man happy, proclaimeth joyntly God and Man, confeſſeth the Word and fleſh together.* Cyril more plainely, [b] *His two natures have knit themſelves the one to the other, and are in that neerneſſe as uncapable of confuſion, as of diſtraction. Their coherence hath not taken away the difference betweene them, Fleſh is not become God, but doth ſtill continue fleſh, although it bee now the fleſh of God.* Yea, *of each ſubſtance* (ſaith [c] *Leo*) *the properties are all preſerved and kept ſafe.* Theſe two natures are as cauſes and originall grounds of all things which Chriſt hath done. Wherefore ſome things he doth as God becauſe his Deitie alone is the well-ſpring from which they flow; ſome things as Man, becauſe they iſſue from his meer humane nature, ſome things joyntly as both God and Man becauſe both natures concurre as principles thereunto. For albeit the properties of each *nature* doe cleave only to that nature whereof they are properties, and therfore Chriſt cannot *naturally be* as God, the ſame which he *naturally* is as Man, yet both natures may very well concur unto *one effect*, and Chriſt in that reſpect be truly ſaid to *worke* both as God and as Man, one and the ſelfſame thing. Let us therfore ſet it down for a rule or principle ſo neceſſary, as nothing more to the plaine deciding of all doubts and queſtions about the union of natures in Chriſt, that of both natures there is a *co-operation* often, an *aſſociation* alwaies, but never any mutuall *participation*, wherby the properties of the one are infuſed into the other. Which rule muſt ſerve for the better underſtanding of that which [d] *Damaſcene* hath touching croſſe and circulatorie ſpeeches, wherein there are attributed to God ſuch things as belong to manhood, and to Man ſuch as properly concerne the Deity of Chriſt Ieſus, the cauſe whereof is the *aſſociation* of natures in one ſubject. A kind of mutual commutation there is, wherby thoſe concrete names, *God* and *Man*, when we ſpeak of *Chriſt*, doe take interchangeably one anothers roome, ſo that for truth of ſpeech it skilleth not whether wee ſay that the Son of God hath created the world, and the Son of man by his death hath ſaved it, or elſe that the Son of man did create, and the Son of God die to ſave the world. Howbeit, as oft as we attribute to God what the Man-hood of Chriſt claimeth, or to Man what his Deitie hath right unto, we underſtand by the name of God, and the name of Man neither the one nor the other nature; but the whole perſon of Chriſt in whom both natures are. When the Apoſtle ſaith of the Iewes, that they crucified the Lord of glorie, and when the Son of man, being on earth, affirmeth that the Son of Man was in heaven at the ſame inſtant, there is in theſe two ſpeeches that mutuall circulation before mentioned. In the one there is attributed to God, or the Lord of glory, death, whereof divine nature is not capable; in the other

a *Hilar. de Trin lib. 9.*

b *Cyp. Epiſt. ad Neſt.*

c *Salua proprietate utriuſque naturæ ſuſceptæ, eſt à majeſtate humilitas, à virtute infirmitas, ab æternitate mortalitas,* Leo. Epiſt. ad Flavia.

d Οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἀντιδόσεως ἑκατέρας φύσεως ἀγλιδιδόσεως τοῖς ἑκατέρᾳ τὰ ἴδια, διὰ τὴν τῆς ὑποστάσεως ταυτότητα, καὶ τὴν εἰς ἀλλήλα αὐτῶν περιχώρησιν. Damaſc. de Orthod. fid. lib. 3. c. 4. *Verum eſt duarum in Chriſto naturarum, alteram ſuas alteri proprietates impartire communicando videlicet, idque non in abſtracto ſed in concreto ſolum, divinas hominis, non humanitati humanas non Deitati ſed Deo tribui. Cujus hæc eſt ratio quia cùm ſuppoſitum prædicationis ſit ejuſmodi ut utramque naturam in ſe contineat, ſive ab una ſive ab altera denominetur, ad hoc refert.*

e 1 Cor. 2. 8.

other ubiquitie unto [a] Man, which humane nature admitteth not. Therefore by the Lord of glory we muſt needs underſtand the whole perſon of Chriſt, who being Lord of glory, was indeed crucified, but not in that nature for which hee is termed the Lord of glory. In like manner, by the Sonne of man the whole perſon of Chriſt muſt neceſſarily bee meant, who being man upon earth, filled heaven with his glorious preſence, but not according to that nature for which the title of man is given him. Without this caution the fathers whoſe beliefe was ſincere, and their meaning moſt ſound, ſhall ſeeme in their writings one to deny what another conſtantly doth affirme. *Theodoret* diſputeth with great earneſtnes, that *God* cannot be ſaid to ſuffer. But hee thereby meaneth Chriſts *divine nature* againſt [b] *Apollinarius*, which held even Deitie it ſelfe paſſible. *Cyril.* on the other ſide againſt *Neſtorius* as much contendeth, that whoſoever will deny *very God* to have ſuffered death, doth forſake the faith. Which notwithſtanding to hold, were hereſie, if the name of God in this aſſertion did not import as it doth the perſon of Chriſt, who being verily God ſuffered death, but in the fleſh, and not in that ſubſtance for which the name of God is given him.

a *Iohn* 3.13.

b Θνητὸν τὸν υἱὸν κατασκευάζουσι τὸν θεόν. Greg. Nyſſ. de ſectator. *Apollinar. Epiſt. ad Flavia.*

What Chriſt hath obtained according to the fleſh by the union of his fleſh with Deitie.

54 If then both natures doe remaine with their properties in Chriſt thus diſtinct as hath beene ſhewed, wee are for our better underſtanding what either nature receiveth from other, to note, that Chriſt is by three degrees a receiver, firſt, in that he is the Sonne of God: ſecondly, in that his humane nature hath had the honour of union with Deitie beſtowed upon it: thirdly, in that by meanes thereof ſundrie eminent graces have flowed as effects from Deitie into that nature which is coupled with it. On Chriſt therefore there is beſtowed the gift of eternall generation, the gift of union, and the gift of unction. By the gift of eternall Generation Chriſt hath received of the Father one and in number the [c] ſelfe-ſame ſubſtance, which the Father hath of himſelfe received from any other. For every [d] *beginning is a Father* unto that which commeth of it; and every *off-ſpring is a Sonne* unto that out of which it groweth. Seeing therefore the Father alone is [e] originally that Deitie which Chriſt [f] originally is not (for Chriſt is God [g] by being of God, light [h] by iſſuing out of light) it followeth hereupon, that whatſoever Chriſt hath [i] common unto him with his heavenly Father, the ſame of neceſſitie muſt bee *given* him, but naturally and [k] eternally given, not beſtowed by way of benevolence, and favour, as the other gifts both are. And therefore [l] where the Fathers give it out for a rule, that whatſoever Chriſt is ſaid in Scripture to have

c *Nativitas Dei non poteſt non eam ex qua profecta eſt itinere naturam. Neq; enim aliud quàm id ex ſubſiſtit qui non aliunde quàm ex Deo Deus ſubſiſtit* Hilar. de Trinit. lib. 5 *Cum ſit gloria, ſempiternitate, virtute, regno, poteſtate hoc quod pater eſt, omnia tamen hæc non ſine auctore ſicut pater ſeu ex patre tanquam filius ſine initio & æqualis habet.* Ruffin. in Symb. Apoſt. cap. 9. *Filium alunde non deduco ſed de ſubſtantia patris omnem à patre conſecutum poteſtatem,* Tertull. Contra. Prax. d *Epheſ.* 1.15. πᾶσα πατρία, quicquid alteri quovis modo dat eſſe. e *Iac.* 1.17. *Pater luminum.* ὑὸς τὸ ἀπύμαλος ἀλλοθεν. Pachym. in Dionyſ. de Cœl. Hierar. capa. *Pater eſt principium totius divinitatis quia ipſa à nullo eſt. Non enim habet de quo procedat, ſed ab eo & filius eſt genitus, & Spiritus ſanctus procedit,* Aug. de Trin. l. 4. c. 20. *Hinc Chriſtus deitatis loco nomen ubique patris uſurpat; quia pater nimirum eſt* ἀρχαία θεότης. f *Pater tota ſubſtantia eſt, filius vero derivatio totius & propagatio.* Tertul. contra. Prax. g *Quod enim Deus eſt, ex Deo eſt,* Hilar. de Trin. lib. 5. *Nihil niſi natum habet filius.* Hilar. lib 4. h Ἀπαύγασμα δόξης. *Heb.* 1.3. Ἐστὶν ἀπόῤῥοια τῆς τῶ παντοκράτορος δόξης εἰλικρινὴς, ἀπαύγασμα φωτὸς ἀϊδίου, Sap. 7.25.26. i *Nihil in ſe diverſum ac diſſimile habent natus & generans* Hilar. de Synod. Adverſ. Aria. *In Trinitate alius atque alius, non aliud atque aliud,* Vincent. Lyr. ca. 19. k *Vbi author æternus eſt, ibi & nativitatis æternitas eſt: quia ſicut nativitas ab authore eſt, ita & ab æterno authore æterna nativitas eſt,* Hilar. de Trin. lib. 12. *Sicut naturam præſtat filio ſine initio generatio: ita Spiritui ſancto præſtat eſſentiam ſine initio proceſſio,* Aug. de Trin. lib. 5. cap. 15. l Ὅσα λέγει ἡ γραφὴ περὶ τοῦ λόγου ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ἐδοξάσθη, διὰ τὸν ἀνθρωπίνην αὐτῦ λέγει, ἄνωθεν δεδόσθαι Theodoret. fol. 42. & ex Gregor. Nazian. Orat. 2. de fil. *ibid.* 44.

have *received*, the ſame wee ought to apply onely to the Man-hood of Chriſt: their Aſſertion is true of all things which Chriſt hath received *by grace*, but to that which hee hath received of the Father by eternall nativity or birth, it reacheth not. Touching union of Deity with Man-hood, it is by grace becauſe there can bee no greater grace ſhewed towards man, than that God ſhould vouchſafe to unite to mans nature the Perſon of his onely begotten Sonne. Becauſe the Father [a] loveth the Sonne as Man, hee hath by uniting Deitie with Man-hood, *given* all things into his hands. It hath [b] *pleaſed* the Father that in him all fulneſſe ſhould dwell. The name which he hath above all names is [c] *given* him. As the Father hath life in himſelfe, the Sonne in himſelfe hath life alſo by the [d] *gift* of the Father. The gift whereby God hath made Chriſt a Fountaine of life, is, that [e] *conjunction of the nature of God with the nature of Man*, in the perſon of Chriſt, [f] *which gift* (ſaith Chriſt to the Woman of Samaria) if thou didſt know, and in *that reſpect* underſtand *who it is* which asketh water of thee, thou wouldeſt aske of him, that he might give thee living Water. The Vnion therefore of the Fleſh with Deitie, is to *that fleſh* a gift of principall grace and favour. For by vertue of this grace, Man is really made God, a creature is exalted above the dignity of all creatures, and hath all creatures elſe under it. This admirable union of God with Man, can inforce in that higher nature no alteration, becauſe unto God there is nothing more naturall than not to be ſubject to any change. Neither is it a thing impoſſible, that the Word being made fleſh, ſhould bee that which it was not before, as touching the manner of ſubſiſtence, and yet continue in all qualities or properties of nature the ſame it was, becauſe the Incarnation of the Sonne of God conſiſteth *meerely in the union* of Natures, which union doth adde perfection to the Weaker, to the Nobler no alteration at all. If therefore it bee demanded what the Perſon of the Sonne of God hath attayned by aſſuming Man-hood, ſurely, the whole ſumme of all is this, to bee as wee are, truly, really, and naturally man, by meanes whereof hee is made capable of meaner offices, than otherwiſe his Perſon could have admitted, the onely gaine he thereby purchaſed for himſelfe, was to bee capable of loſſe and detriment for the good of others. But may it rightly be ſaid concerning the Incarnation of Ieſus Chriſt, that as our nature hath in no reſpect changed his, ſo from his to ours as litle alteration hath enſued? The very cauſe of his taking upon him our nature, was to change it, to better the qualitie, and to advance the condition thereof, although in no ſort to aboliſh the ſubſtance which he tooke, nor to infuſe into it the naturall forces and properties of his Deitie. As therefore wee have ſhewed how the Sonne of God by his Incarnation hath changed the manner of that perſonall ſubſiſtence which before was ſolitarie, and is now in the aſſociation of fleſh, no alteration thereby accruing to the nature of God; ſo neither are the *properties of mans nature*, in the perſon of Chriſt, by force and vertue of the ſame conjunction ſo much altered, as not to ſtay within thoſe limits which our ſubſtance is bordered withall; nor the *ſtate and qualitie* of our ſubſtance ſo unaltered, but that there are in it many glorious effects proceeding from ſo neere copulation with Deitie. God from us can receive nothing, wee by him

a *Iohn* 3.35.
b *Epheſ.* 1.5.
c *Phil.* 2.9.
d *Iohn* 5.26.
e 1 *Iohn* 5.20. *Hic eſt verus Deus & vita aterna.*
f *Iohn* 4.10.

ἕωσαν τὸν ἄνθρωπον κοινὸν ἐσὶ τὸ θνητὸν, ὕτω τὸ ἁγίας τριάδος κοινὸν τὸ ἄτρεπτον τὸ ἀπαλλοίωτον, Theod. Dial. Ἄτρεπτος. *Periculum ſtatus ſui Deo nullum eſt.* Tertul. de car. Chr. *Majeſtati filii Dei corporeæ nativitatis nihil contulit, nihil abſtulit,* Leo de Nativ. Sc. Μένῃ ὃν ὃ ἦν ἀπαράλλακτος, θεὸς μένει καὶ λόγος ἄτρεπτος ἐν ἑαυτῷ παραδεχόμενος τὴν πάροδον, Theophil. *Informans ſervi transiſſe non eſt naturam perdidiſſe Dei,* Hilar. de Trin. lib. 12.

him have obtained much. For albeit the naturall properties of Deitie bee not communicable to mans nature, the ſupernaturall gifts, graces, and effects thereof are. The honour which our fleſh hath by being the fleſh of the Sonne of God, is in many reſpects great. If we reſpect but that which is common unto us with him, the glory provided for him and his in the Kingdome of Heaven, his Right and Title thereunto even in that hee is man, differeth from other mens, becauſe he is that Man of whom God is himſelfe a part. Wee have right to the ſame inheritance with Chriſt, but not the ſame right which hee hath, his being ſuch as wee cannot reach, and ours ſuch as hee cannot ſtoope unto. Furthermore, to be the Way, the Truth, and the Life; to bee the Wiſedome, Righteouſneſſe, Sanctification, Reſurrection; to bee the Peace of the whole world, the Hope of the righteous, the Heire of all things; to bee that ſupreme Head whereunto all power both in heaven and in earth is given; theſe are not honors common unto Chriſt with other men, they are Titles above the dignitie and worth of any which were but a meere man, yet true of Chriſt, even in that he is man. But man with whom Deitie is perſonally joyned, and unto whom it hath added thoſe excellencies which makes him more than worthy thereof. Finally, ſith God hath deified our nature, though not by turning it into himſelfe, yet by making it his owne inſeparable habitation, wee cannot now conceive how God ſhould without man either [a] exerciſe divine power, or receive the glory of divine praiſe. For Man is in [b] both an aſſociate of Deitie. But to come to the grace of *unction*, did the parts of our nature the Soule and Bodie of Chriſt receive by the influence of Deitie, wherewith they were matcht, no ability of operation, no vertue, or qualitie above nature? Surely, as the ſword which is made fierie, doth not onely cut by reaſon of the ſharpneſſe which ſimply it hath, but alſo burne by meanes of that heate which it hath from fire; ſo there is no doubt, but the Deitie of Chriſt hath enabled that nature which it tooke of man, to doe more than man in this world hath power to comprehend, for as much as (the bare eſſentiall properties of Deitie excepted) hee hath imparted unto it all things, hee hath repleniſht it with all ſuch perfections as the ſame is any way apt to receive, [c] at the leaſt, according to the exigence of that œconomy or ſervice, for which it pleaſed him in love and mercie to be made man. For as the parts, degrees, and offices of that myſticall adminiſtration did require, which he voluntarily undertooke, the beames of Deitie did in operation alwaies accordingly either [d] reſtraine or inlarge themſelves. From hence wee may ſomewhat conjecture, how the powers of that Soule are illuminated which being ſo inward unto God, cannot chooſe but be privie unto all things which God worketh, and muſt therfore of neceſſity bee indued with knowledg ſo farre forth [e] univerſall, though not with infinite knowledge peculiar to Deity it ſelf. The Soule of Chriſt that ſaw in this life the face of God, was here, through ſo viſible preſence of Deity, filled with all manner [f] graces and vertues in that unmatchable degree of perfection, for which of him we read it written, that God with the Oile of gladnes anointed [g] him [h] above his [i] fellowes. And as God hath in Chriſt unſpeakably glorified the Nobler, ſo

a Μετεχειν ἀνθρωπινη τῆς θειας ἐνεργειας. Theod.

b ἡ μεξια τῶ θεῶ ἡ ποιητικὴ τῶν ὄντων τῶν παντων ἢ τις ἐστὶν ὁ κύριος δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, αὕτη τὸν ἐνοθέντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀνήγαγεν ὕψος διὰ τῆς ἑνώσεως. Gregor. Nyſſ. Apud Theod.

Ἀφ' ὧν τῆς φύσεως τῆς σῆς λαβὼν ἀπαρχὴν ἐκὰθισεν ἑαυτῶ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας. Chry. in Pſal. 41.

c *Luc.* 2. 47.

d ἡσυχαζοντες μὲν τῶ λόγῳ ἐν τῷ πειράζεσθαι καὶ σταυροῦσθαι καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν συζῶσι μένω δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν τῷ νικᾶν καὶ ὑπομένειν καὶ χρῆσθαι καὶ ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι. Theodoret. & Iren. lib. 3. adverſ. hæreſ.

e *Matth.* 27. 46.

f *Iſai.* 11. 2.

g *Iſa.* 11. 2. *Luc.* 4. 18. *Acts* 4. 27.

h *Heb.* 1. 9.

i 2 *Cor.* 1. 21. 1 *Joh.* 2. 20, 27.

like-

likewiſe the meaner part of our nature, the very bodily ſubſtance of man. Where alſo that muſt againe be remembred which we noted before, concerning degrees of the influence of Deitie proportionable unto his owne purpoſes, intents, and counſells. For in this reſpect his bodie which by naturall condition was corruptible, wanted the gift of everlaſting immunity from death, paſſion, and diſſolution, till God which gave it to be ſlain for ſinne, had for righteouſneſſe ſake reſtored it to life with certainty of endleſſe continuance. Yea, in this reſpect the very glorified Body of Chriſt retained in it the [a] skars and markes of former mortality. But ſhall we ſay, that in heaven his glorious Body by vertue of the ſame cauſe, hath now power to preſent it ſelfe in all places, and to bee every where at once preſent? We nothing doubt, but God hath many wayes above the reach of our capacities exalted that Body which it hath pleaſed him to make his own, that Body wherwith hee hath ſaved the world, that Bodie which hath been and is the root of eternall Life, the inſtrument wherwith Deity worketh, the Sacrifice which taketh away ſinne, the Price which hath ranſomed Soules from death, the Leader of the whole Army of bodies that ſhall riſe again. For though it had a beginning from us, yet God hath given it vitall efficacie, Heaven hath indowed it with celeſtiall power, that vertue it hath from above, in regard wherof all the Angels of heaven adore it. Notwithſtanding, [b] a Body ſtill it continueth, a Bodie conſubſtantiall with our bodies, a Bodie of the ſame both nature and meaſure which it had on earth. To gather therefore into one ſumme all that hitherto hath been ſpoken touching this point, there are but foure things which concur to make compleat the whole ſtate of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, his Deitie, his manhood, the conjunction of both, and the diſtinction of the one from the other being joyned in one. Foure principall Hereſies there are which have in thoſe things withſtood the truth; *Arrians*, by bending themſelves againſt the Deity of Chriſt; *Apollinarians*, by maiming & miſinterpreting that which belongeth to his humane nature; *Neſtorians*, by renting Chriſt aſunder, and dividing him into two perſons; the followers of *Eutiches*, by confounding in his perſon thoſe natures which they ſhould diſtinguiſh. Againſt theſe there have been foure moſt famous ancient generall Councels, the Councell of *Nice* to define againſt *Arrians*, againſt *Apollinarians* the Councell of *Conſtantinople*, the Councel of *Epheſus* againſt *Neſtorians*, againſt *Eutichians* the *Calcedon* Councell. In foure words, ἀληθῶς, πλείω, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀσυγχύτως, *truly, perfectly, indiviſibly, diſtinctly*, the firſt applyed to his being God, and the ſecond to his being Man, the third to his being of both One, and the fourth to his ſtill continuing in that One both, wee may fully by way of abridgement comprize whatſoever antiquitie hath at large handled, either in declaration of Chriſtian beliefe, or in refutation of the foreſaid Hereſies. Within the compaſſe of which foure heads, I may truly affirme, that all Hereſies which touch but the perſon of Ieſus Chriſt, whether they have riſen in theſe later daies, or in any Age heretofore, may be with great facility brought to confine themſelves. Wee conclude therefore, that to ſave the World, it was of neceſſitie the Sonne of God ſhould be thus incarnate, and that God ſhould ſo be in Chriſt as hath been declared.

[a] *Iohn* 20. 27.

[b] Μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἀθάνατον μὲν ἐστι καὶ ἄφθαρτον καὶ θείας δόξης μεστὸν, σῶμα δὲ ὅμως τὴν οὐσίαν ἔχον περιγραφῆς. Theod. fol. 80.

55 Having

Of the perſonall preſence of Chriſt every where, and in what ſenſe it may bee granted he is every where preſent according to the fleſh.

55 Having thus farre proceeded in ſpeech concerning the perſon of Ieſus Chriſt, his two natures, their conjunction, that which he either is or doth in reſpect of both, and that which the one receiveth from the other; ſith God in Chriſt is generally the medicine, which doth cure the world, and Chriſt in us is that receipt of the ſame medicine, whereby we are every one particularly cured. In as much as Chrifts Incarnation and Paſſion can be availeable to no mans good which is not made partaker of Chriſt, neither can we participate him without his preſence, we are briefly to conſider how Chriſt is preſent, to the end it may thereby better appeare how we are made partakers of Chriſt both otherwiſe and in the Sacraments themſelves. All things are in ſuch ſort divided into finite and infinite, that no one ſubſtance, nature, or quality, can bee poſſibly capable of both. The world and all things in the world are ſtinted, all effects that proceed from them, all the powers and abilities whereby they work, whatſoever they do, whatſoever they may, and whatſoever they are is limited. Which limitation of each creature is both the perfection and alſo the preſervation thereof. Meaſure is that which perfecteth all things, becauſe every thing is for ſome end, neither can that thing be availeable to any end which is not proportionable therunto, and to proportion as well exceſſes, as defects, are oppoſite. Againe, for as much as nothing doth periſh but onely through exceſſe or defect of that, the due proportioned meaſure whereof doth give perfection, it followeth that meaſure is likewiſe the preſervation of all things. Out of which premiſes wee may conclude, not onely that nothing created can poſſibly be unlimited, or can receive any ſuch accident, quality, or property, as may really make it infinite (for then ſhould it ceaſe to be a creature) but alſo that every creatures limitation is according to his owne kinde, and therefore as oft as we note in them any thing above their kind, it argueth that the ſame is not properly theirs, but groweth in them from a cauſe more powerfull than they are. Such as the ſubſtance of each thing is, ſuch is alſo the preſence thereof. Impoſſible it is that [a] God ſhould withdraw his preſence from any thing, becauſe the very ſubſtance of God is infinite. Hee filleth Heaven and Earth, although hee take up no roome in either, becauſe his ſubſtance is immateriall, pure, and of us in this World ſo incomprehenſible, that albeit [b] no part of us bee ever abſent from him, who is preſent whole unto every particular thing, yet his preſence with us wee no way diſcerne further than onely that God is preſent, which partly by reaſon, and more perfectly by Faith wee know to bee firme and certaine. Seeing therefore that preſence every where is the ſequell of an infinite and incomprehenſible ſubſtance, (for what can bee every where, but that which can no where bee comprehended?) to inquire whether Chriſt be every where, is to inquire of a naturall propertie, a propertie that cleaveth to the Deitie of Chriſt. Which Deitie being common unto him with none, but only the Father, and the holy Ghoſt it followeth that nothing of Chriſt which is limited, that nothing created, that neither the Soule nor the Body of Chriſt, and conſequently, not Chriſt as man, or Chriſt according to his human nature, can poſſibly be every where preſent, becauſe thoſe phraſes of limitation & reſtraint do either point out the principall ſubject whereunto every ſuch attribute adhereth, or

a Pſal. 139.7,8. Ier. 23.24.

b *Ideo Deus ubique eſſe dicitur, quia nulli parti rerum abſens eſt; ideo totus quia non partium partem ſui præſentem præbet, & alteri parti alteram partem, ſed non ſolum univerſitati creaturæ, verum etiam cuilibet parti ejus totus pariter adeſt* Aug. Epiſt. 57.

or elſe they intimate the radicall cauſe out of which it groweth. For Example, when we ſay that Chriſt as man, or according to his humane nature ſuffered death, wee ſhew what nature was the proper ſubject of mortality; when we ſay that as God, or according to his Deity hee conquered death, we declare his Deity to have been the cauſe, by force and vertue whereof he raiſed himſelfe from the Grave. But neither is the Manhood of Chriſt that ſubject whereunto univerſall preſence agreeth, neither is it the cauſe originall by force wherof his Perſon is inabled to be every-where preſent. Wherefore Chriſt is eſſentially preſent with all things, in that he is very God, but not preſent with all things as man, becauſe Manhood and the parts thereof can neither be the cauſe nor the true ſubject of ſuch preſence. Notwithſtanding, ſomewhat more plainely to ſhew a true immediate reaſon wherefore the Manhood of Chriſt can neither be every-where preſent, nor cauſe the perſon of Chriſt ſo to be, we acknowledge that of Saint *Auguſtin* concerning Chriſt moſt true, [a] *In that he is perſonally the Word, hee created all things, in that he is naturally man, he himſelfe is created of God,* and it doth not appeare that any one creature hath power to be preſent with al creatures. Wherupon, neverthelеſſe it will not follow that Chriſt cannot therfore be thus preſent, becauſe he is himſelf a creature, for as much as only infinite preſence is that which cannot poſſibly ſtand with the eſſence or being of any creature, as for preſence with all things that are ſith the whole race, maſſe, and body of them is finite, Chriſt by being a *creature*, is not *in that reſpect* excluded from poſſibility of preſence with them. That which excludeth him therfore as man from ſo great largeneſſe of preſence, is only his being *Man*, a creature *of this particular kind*, whereunto the God of Nature hath ſet thoſe bounds of reſtraint and limitation, beyond which to attribute unto it any thing more than a creature *of that ſort* can admit, were to give it another nature, to make it a creature of ſome other kind than in truth it is. Furthermore if Chriſt in that he is man be every-where preſent, ſeeing this cōmeth not by the nature of Manhood it ſelf, there is no other way how it ſhould grow but either by the grace of union with Deity, or by the grace of unction received from Deity. It hath been already ſufficiently proved, that by force of union the properties of both natures are imparted *to the perſon only* in whom they are, and not what belongeth to the one nature really conveyed or tranſlated into the other; it hath beene likewiſe proved, that natures united in Chriſt continue the very ſame which they are where they are not united. And concerning the grace of unction, wherein are contained the gifts & vertues which Chriſt as man hath above men, they make him really and habitually a man more excellent than we are, they take not from him the nature and ſubſtance that we have, they cauſe not his ſoule nor body to be of another kind than ours is. Supernaturall endowments are an advancement, they are no extinguiſhment of that nature wherto they are given. The ſubſtance of the body of Chriſt hath no preſence, neither can have but only locall. It was not therefore every where ſeen, nor did it every-where ſuffer death, every-where it could not be intombed, it is not everywhere nowbeing exalted into heaven. There is no proofe in the world ſtrong to inforce that Chriſt had a true body, but by the true and naturall properties of his body. Amongſt which proper-

[a] *Quod ad verbum attinet, Creator eſt; quod ad hominem, creatura eſt*, Aug. Epiſt. 57. *Deus qui ſemper eſt, & ſemper erat, ſit creatura.* Leo de Nativ *Multi timore trepidant ne Chriſtum eſſe creaturam dicere ſe compellantur, nos proclamamus non eſſe periculum dicere Chriſtum eſſe creaturam.* Hieron. in Epiſt. ad Epheſ. 2.

ties definite or locall preſence is chiefe,[a] *How is it true of Chriſt* (ſaith *Tertullian*) *that he died, was buried, and roſe again, if Chriſt had not that very fleſh, the nature wherof is capable of theſe things, fleſh mingled with bloud, ſupported with bones, woven with ſinews, imbroidered with veins?* If his majeſticall body have now any ſuch new property, by force wherof it may every-where really even *in ſubſtance* preſent it ſelfe, or may at once be in many places, then hath the Majeſty of his eſtate extinguiſhed the verity of his nature.[b] *Make thou no doubt or queſtion of it* (ſaith S. *Auguſtin*) *but that the man Chriſt Ieſus is now in that very place from whence he ſhall come in the ſame forme & ſubſtance of fleſh, which he carried thither, and from which he hath not taken nature, but given therunto immortality. According to this forme he ſpreadeth not out himſelfe into all places. For it behoveth us to take great heed, leſt while we goe about to maintaine the glorious Deity of him which is man, we leave him not the true bodily ſubſtance of a man.* According to S. *Auguſtines* opinion therefore that Majeſticall body which we make to be every-where preſent, doth thereby ceaſe to have the ſubſtance of a true body. To conclude, we hold it in regard of the fore-alleadged proofes a moſt infallible Truth, that Chriſt as man is not every-where preſent. There are which think it as infallibly true, that Chriſt is every-where preſent as man, which peradventure in ſome ſenſe may be well enough granted. His humane ſubſtance in it ſelfe is naturally abſent from the earth, his ſoule and body not on earth, but in heaven only. Yet becauſe this ſubſtance is inſeparably joyned to that perſonall word which by his very divine eſſence is preſent with all things, the nature which cannot have in it ſelfe univerſall preſence, hath it *after a ſort* by being *no where ſevered* from that which every-where is preſent. For in as much as that infinite word is not diviſible into parts, it could not in part, but muſt needs be wholy incarnate, and conſequently wherſoever the word is, it hath with it Manhood, elſe ſhould the word be in part or ſomwhere God only, and not man, which is impoſſible. For the *perſon of Chriſt is whole*, perfect God and perfect man wherſoever, although the parts of his Manhood being finite, and his Deity infinite, we cannot ſay that the *whole of Chriſt* is ſimply every-where, as we may ſay that his Deity is, and that his perſon is by force of Deity. For *ſomwhat of the perſon of Chriſt* is not everywhere in that ſort, namely his Manhood the *only conjunction* wherof with Deity is extended as far as Deity, the actuall *poſition* reſtrained & tyed to a certain place, yet preſence *by way of conjunction* is in ſome ſort preſence. Againe, as the Manhood of Chriſt may after a ſort be every-where ſaid to be preſent, becauſe that Perſon is every-where preſent, from whoſe Divine ſubſtance Manhood no where is ſevered: ſo the ſame Vniverſallity of preſence may likewiſe ſeeme in another reſpect applyable thereunto, namely; by *co-operation* with Deity, and that *in all things*. The light created of God in the beginning did firſt by it ſelfe illuminate the World, but after that the Sun and Moon were created, the World ſithence hath *by them* alwaies enjoyed the ſame. And that Deity of Chriſt which before our Lords Incarnation wrought al things without man, doth now work nothing wherin the nature which it hath aſſumed is either abſent from it or idle. Chriſt as man hath[c] all power both in Heaven & Earth given him. He hath as man, not as God only,[d] a ſupreme dominion over quick and dead, for ſo much his Aſcenſion into

a *Tertul de car. Chriſt.*

b *Aug. Epiſt 57.*

c *Mat. 28.*

d *Rom. 14.9.*

into Heaven and his ſeſſion at the right hand of God do import. The Son of God which did firſt humble himſelf by taking our fleſh upon him, deſcended afterwards much lower, & became according to the fleſh obedient ſo far as to ſuffer death even the death of the Croſſe for all men, becauſe ſuch was his Fathers will. The former was an humiliation of Deity, the later an humiliation of Manhood, [a] for which cauſe there followed upon the later an exaltation of that which was humbled, forwith power he created the world, but reſtored it by obedience. In which obedience as according to his Manhood he had glorified God on earth, ſo God hath glorfied in Heaven that nature which yeelded him obedience, and hath given unto Chriſt even in that he is man, ſuch fulnes of power over the whole World, that he which before fulfilled in the ſtate of humility & patience whatſoever God did require, doth now [b] reigne in glory til the time that all things be reſtored. He which came down from Heaven, and deſcended into the loweſt parts of the Earth, is aſcended far above all Heavens, that ſitting at the right hand of God, he might from thence fill all things with the gracious and happy fruits of his ſaving preſence. Aſcenſion into Heaven, is a plaine locall tranſlation of Chriſt according to his Manhood from the lower to the higher parts of the World. Seſſion at the right hand of God, is the actuall exerciſe of that Regency and Dominion wherein the Manhood of Chriſt is joyned and matched with the Deity of the Sonne of God. Not that his Man-hood was before without the poſſeſſion of the ſame power, but becauſe the full uſe thereof was ſuſpended, till that humility which had been before as a vaile to hide and conceale majeſty were laid aſide. [c] After his riſing againe from the dead then did God ſet him at his right hand in Heavenly places far above all principality and power, and might, and domination, and every name that is named, not in this World only but alſo in that which is to come, and hath [d] put all things under his feet, and hath appointed him over all the head to the Church which is his body, the fulneſſe of him that filleth all in all. The [e] ſcepter of which ſpirituall Regiment over us in this preſent World is at the length to bee yeelded up into the hands of the Father which gave it, that is to ſay, the uſe and exerciſe therof ſhall ceaſe, there being no longer on earth any Militant Church to govern. This government therfore he exerciſeth both as God and as man; as God by eſſentiall preſence with all things; as man, by co-operation with that which eſſentially is preſent. Touching the manner how he worketh as man in all things, the principall powers of the ſoule of man are the wil and underſtanding, the one of which two in Chriſt aſſenteth unto all things, and from the other nothing which Deity doth work is hid, ſo that by knowledge & aſſent the ſoule of Chriſt is preſent with all things which the Deity of Chriſt worketh. And even the body of Chriſt it ſelfe, although the definite limitation therof be moſt ſenſible, doth notwithſtanding admit in ſome ſort a kind of infinite and unlimited preſence likewiſe. For his body being a part of that nature, which whole nature is preſently joyned unto Deity whereſoever Deity is, it followeth that his bodily ſubſtance hath every where a preſence of true conjunction with Deity. And for as much as it is by vertue of that conjunction made the body of the Son of God, by whom alſo it was made a Sacrifice for the ſins of the whole World, this giveth it a *preſence of force and efficacy* throughout all ge-

[a] *Philip. 2. 9. Heb. 2. 9. Rev. 5. 12.*

[b] *Luke 21. 27. Acts 3. 21. Epheſ. 4. 9.*

[c] *Epheſ. 1. 20.*

[d] *Pſal 8. 6. Heb. 2. 8.*

[e] *1 Cor. 15.*

nerations of men. Albeit therefore nothing bee *actually* infinite *in ſubſtance*, but God only in that hee is God, nevertheleſſe as every number is infinite by poſſibility of addition, and every line by poſſibility of extenſion infinite, ſo there is no ſtint which can bee ſet to the value or merit of the ſacrificed Body of Chriſt, it hath no meaſured certainty of limits, bounds of efficacy unto life it knoweth none, but is alſo it ſelfe infinite in *poſſibility of application*. Which things indifferently every way conſidered, that gracious promiſe of our Lord and Saviour Ieſus Chriſt concerning preſence with his to the very end of the World, I ſee no cauſe but that we may well and ſafely interpret he doth performe both as God by eſſentiall preſence of Deity, and as man in that order, ſenſe, and meaning which hath been ſhewed.

The union or mutuall participation which is betweene Chriſt and the Church of Chriſt in this preſent world.

56 Wee have hitherto ſpoken of the perſon and of the preſence of Chriſt. Participation is that mutuall inward hold which Chriſt hath of us, and wee of him, in ſuch ſort that each poſſeſſeth other by way of ſpeciall intereſt, property and inherent copulation. For plainer explication whereof, wee may from that which hath been before ſufficiently proved, aſſume to our purpoſe theſe two Principles, that *every originall cauſe impartеth it ſelfe unto thoſe things which come of it, and whatſoever taketh being from any other, the ſame is after a ſort in that which giveth it being*. It followeth hereupon that the Son of God being light of light, muſt needs be alſo light a in light. The perſons of the God-head, by reaſon of the unity of their ſubſtance, do as neceſſarily remaine one within another, as they are of neceſſity to bee diſtinguiſhed one from another, becauſe two are the iſſue of one, and one the off-ſpring of the other two, only of three one not growing out of any other. And ſith they all are but one God in number, one indiviſible Eſſence or ſubſtance, their diſtinction cannot poſſibly admit Separation. For how ſhould that ſubſiſt *ſolitarily* by it ſelfe which hath no ſubſtance, but *individually* the very ſame whereby others ſubſiſt with it; ſeeing that the Multiplication of ſubſtances *in particular* is neceſſarily required to make thoſe things ſubſiſt apart, which have the ſelfe-ſame generall Nature, and the perſons of that Trinity are not three particular ſubſtances, to whom one *Generall* Nature is common, but three that ſubſiſt by one ſubſtance, *which it ſelfe is particular*, yet they all three have it, and their ſeverall waies of having it are that which maketh their perſonall diſtinction? The Father therefore is in the Sonne, and the Sonne in him, they both in the Spirit, and the Spirit in both them. So that the Fathers firſt Off-ſpring which is the Sonne, remaineth eternally in the Father; the Father eternally alſo in the Sonne, no way ſevered or divided by reaſon of the ſole and ſingle unity of their ſubſtance. The Son in the Father as light in that light, out of which it floweth without ſeparation; the Father in the Sonne as light in that light which it cauſeth and leaveth not. And becauſe in this reſpect his eternall being is of the Father, which eternall being is his life, therefore hee by the Father liveth. Again, ſith all things do accordingly love their Off-ſpring as themſelves are more or leſſe conteined in it, he which is thus the only begotten, muſt needs be in this degree the only Beloved of the Father. He therefore which is in the Father by eternall derivation of being and life from him, muſt needs bee

a In the boſome of the Father. *Iob.* 1. 18. *Ecce dico alium eſſe patrem, & alium filium; non diviſione alium, ſed diſtinctione.* Tertul. contra Prax. *Nec innumerum plurale deſſuit incorporea generatio nec in diviſionem cadit, ubi qui naſcitur nequaquam à generante ſeparatur.* Ruffin. in Symbol.

be in him through an eternall affection of love. His Incarnation cauſeth him alſo as man to be now in the Father, and the Father to be in him. For in that he is man, he receiveth Life from the Father as from the Fountaine of that ever-living Deity, which in the perſon of the Word hath combined it ſelfe with Manhood, and doth thereunto impart ſuch life as to no other Creature beſides him is communicated. In which conſideration likewiſe the [a] love of the Father towards him is more than it can be towards any other, neither can any attaine unto that perfection of love which he beareth towards his Heavenly Father. Wherefore God is not ſo in any, nor any ſo in God as Chriſt, whether we conſider him as the perſonall Word of God, or as the naturall Son of Man. All other things that are of God have God in them and he them in himſelf likewiſe. Yet becauſe their ſubſtance and his wholly differeth, their coherence and communion either with him or amongſt themſelves is in no ſort like unto that before mentioned. God hath his influence into the very Eſſence of all things, without which influence of Deity ſupporting them, their utter annihilation could not chooſe but follow. Of him all things have both received their firſt being and their continuance to be that which they are. All things are therefore partakers of God, they are his off-ſpring, his influence is in them, and the perſonall Wiſdome of God is for that very cauſe ſaid to excell in nimbleneſſe or agility, to [b] pierce into all intellectuall, pure and ſubtile ſpirits, to go through all, and to reach unto every thing which is. Otherwiſe, how ſhould the ſame wiſdome be that which ſupporteth, [c] beareth up, and ſuſtaineth all? Whatſoever God doth work, the hands of all three Perſons are jointly and equally in it, according to *the order of that connexion*, whereby they each depend upon other. And therefore albeit in that reſpect the Father be firſt, the Son next, the Spirit laſt, and conſequently neereſt unto every effect which groweth from all three, nevertheleſſe, they all being of one eſſence, are likewiſe all of one efficacy. Dare any man, unleſſe he be ignorant altogether how inſeparable the Perſons of the Trinity are, perſwade himſelfe that every of them may have their ſole and ſeverall Poſſeſſions, or that [d] we being not partakers of all, can have fellowſhip with any one? The Father as Goodneſſe, the Sonne as Wiſdome, the Holy Ghoſt as Power, doe all concurre in every particular, outwardly iſſuing from that one only glorious Deity which they all are. For that which mooveth God to work, is Goodneſſe; and that which ordereth his Work, is Wiſdome; and that which perfecteth his Work, is Power. All things which God in their times and ſeaſons hath brought forth, were eternally and before all times in God, as a work unbegun is in the Artificer which afterward bringeth it unto effect. Therefore what ſoever we doe behold now in this preſent World, it was inwrapped within the bowels of divine Mercy, written in the Book of eternall Wiſdome, and held in the hands of Omnipotent Power, the firſt foundations of the World being as yet unlaid. So that all things which God hath made are in that reſpect the [e] Off-ſpring of God, they are in him as effects in their higheſt cauſe, hee likewiſe actually is in them, the aſſiſtance and influence of his Deity is their life. Let hereunto ſaving efficacy bee added, and it bringeth forth a ſpeciall off-ſpring amongſt men,

[a] *Luk.* 3.22. *Ioh.* 3 34,35. 5.20.10. 17. 14.31.15.10.

[b] *Sap.* 7.23.

[c] *Heb.* 1.3.

[d] *Iohn* 14.23.

[e] *Act.* 17.28,29 *Iohn* 1.4.1.10. *Iſay* 40.26.

containing them to whom God hath himſelfe given the gracious and
a 1 John 3.1. amiable name of a Sonnes. Wee are by Nature the Sonnes of *Adam*. When God created *Adam* hee created us, and as many as are deſcended from *Adam*, have in themſelves the Root out of which they ſpring. The Sonnes of God wee neither are all nor any one of us otherwiſe than only by grace and favour. The Sonnes of God
b 1 Cor. 15.47. have Gods owne naturall Sonne as a b ſecond *Adam* from Heaven, whoſe Race and Progenie they are by Spirituall and Heavenly Birth. God therefore loving eternally his Sonne, hee muſt needs eternally
c Ephes. 1.3.4. c in him have loved and preferred before all others them which are ſpiritually ſithence deſcended and ſprung out of him. Theſe were in God as in their Saviour, and not as in their Creator only. It was the purpoſe of his *ſaving* Goodneſſe, his *ſaving* Wiſdome, and his *ſaving* Power which inclined it ſelfe towards them. They which thus were in God eternally by their intended admiſſion to life, have by vocation or adoption God actually now in them, as the Artificer is in the Work which his hand doth preſently frame. Life as all other gifts and benefits groweth originally from the Father, and commeth not to us but
d 1 John 5. 11. d by the Sonne, nor by the Sonne to any of us in particular but
* Rom. 8.10. * through the Spirit. For this cauſe the Apoſtle wiſheth to the Church of Corinth
e 2 Cor. 13.13. e the grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and the love of God, and the fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt.
f 1 Pet. 1 4. Which three Saint *Peter* comprehendeth in one, f the *participation of divine Nature*. We are therfore in God through Chriſt eternally according to that intent and purpoſe, wherby we were choſen to be made his in this preſent World before the World it ſelfe was made, we are in God through the knowledg which is had of us, and the love which is borne towards us from everlaſting. But in God wee actually are no longer than only from the time of our actuall Adoption into the body of his true Church, into the fellowſhip of his children. For his Church hee knoweth and loveth, ſo that they which are in the Church, are thereby knowne to bee in him. Our being in Chriſt by Eternall fore-knowledge, ſaveth us not without our actuall and reall Adoption into the fellowſhip of his Saints
g Col. 2.10. in this preſent World. For in him we actually are by our actuall g incorporation into that ſociety which hath him for their Head; and doth make together with him one bodie, (hee and they in that reſpect having
h 1 Cor. 12.12. h one name) for which cauſe by vertue of this Myſticall conjunction, wee
i Ephes. 5.30. a re of him, and in him, even i as though our very fleſh and bones ſhould
k John 15.9. b ee made continuate with his. Wee are in Chriſt, becauſe hee k knoweth and loveth us even as parts of himſelfe. No man actually is in him but
l 1 John 5.12. they l in whom he actually is. For hee which hath not the Sonne of God, hath not life: m I am the Vine, and you are the branches: Hee which abi-
m John 15.5,6. deth in mee, and I in him, the ſame bringeth forth much Fruit, but the branch ſevered from the Vine withereth. We are therefore adopted Sons of God to Eternall Life by participation of the only begotten Sonne of
n John 14.19. Ephes. 5.23. God, whoſe Life is in the n Wel-ſpring and cauſe of ours. It is too cold an interpretation, whereby ſome men expound our being in Chriſt to import nothing elſe, but onely that the ſelfe-ſame Nature which maketh us to bee men, is in him, and maketh him man as wee are.

For

For what man in the World is there which hath not ſo farre-forth communion with Jeſus Chriſt? It is not this that can ſuſtaine the weight of ſuch ſentences as ſpeake of the myſtery of our [a] coherence with Ieſus Chriſt. The Church is in Chriſt as *Eve* was in *Adam*. Yea by grace wee are every of us in Chriſt and in his Church, as by nature we are in thoſe our firſt Parents. God made *Eve* of the rib of *Adam*. And his Church hee frameth out of the very fleſh, the very wounded and bleeding ſide of the Sonne of Man. His body crucified and his bloud ſhed for the life of the World, are the true Elements of that Heavenly being, which maketh us [b] ſuch as himſelfe is of whom wee come. For which cauſe the words of *Adam* may bee fitly the words of Chriſt concerning his Church, *Fleſh of my fleſh, and bone of my bone*, a true native extract out of my own body. So that in him even according to his Manhood, wee according to our Heavenly being are as branches in that root out of which they grow. To [c] all things hee is life, and to men light *as the Sonne of God*; to the Church both life and light, [d] eternall by being made the Sonne of man for us, and by being in us a Saviour, whether we reſpect him as God, or as man. *Adam* is in us as an originall cauſe of our nature, and of that corruption of nature which cauſeth death, Chriſt as the [e] cauſe originall of reſtauration to life; The perſon of *Adam* is not in us but his nature, and the corruption of his nature derived into all men by propagation, Chriſt having *Adams* nature as we have, but incorrupt, deriveth not nature but incorruption, and that immediatly from his owne perſon into all that belong unto him. As therefore we are really partakers of the body of ſinne and death received from *Adam*; ſo except wee bee truely partakers of Chriſt, and as really poſſeſſed of his Spirit, all wee ſpeake of eternall life is but a dreame. That which [f] quickneth us, is the Spirit of the ſecond *Adam*, and his fleſh that wherewith hee quickeneth. That which in him made our nature uncorrupt, was the union of his Deity with our nature. And in that reſpect the ſentence of death and condemnation, which only taketh hold upon ſinfull fleſh, could no way poſſibly extend unto him. This cauſed his voluntary death for others to prevaile with God, and to have the force of an expiatory Sacrifice. The bloud of Chriſt, as the Apoſtle witneſſeth, doth therefore take away ſinne, becauſe [g] *through the eternall Spirit hee offered himſelfe unto God without ſpot*. That which ſanctified our nature in Chriſt, that which made it a ſacrifice available to take away ſinne, is the ſame which quickeneth it, raiſed it out of the grave after death, and exalted it unto glory. Seeing therefore that Chriſt is in us as a quickning Spirit, the firſt degree of Communion with Chriſt muſt needs conſiſt in the participation of his Spirit, which *Cyprian* in that reſpect well termeth [h] *germaniſſimam ſocietatem*, the higheſt and trueſt ſociety that can bee between man and him which is both God and man in one. Theſe things [i] Saint *Cyrill* duely conſidering, reproveth their ſpheeches, which taught that only the Deity of Chriſt is the Vine whereupon wee by Faith do depend as branches, and that neither his fleſh nor our bodies are compriſed in this reſemblance. For doth any man doubt but that even from the fleſh of Chriſt our very bodies do receive that life which ſhall make them glorious at the later

a *Iohn* 14.20. *Iohn* 15.4.
b 1 *Cor.* 15.48.
c *Iohn* 1.
d *Iohn* 6.57.
e *Heb.* 5.9.
f 1 *Cor.* 15.45. 22.
g *Heb.* 9.14.
h *Cypr. de cana Dom. cap.* 6.
i *Cyril. in Iohn lib.* 10. *cap.* 13.

later day, and for which they are already accounted parts of his bleſſed Body? Our corruptible bodies could never live the life they ſhall live, were it not that here they are joyned with his Body which is incorruptible, and that his is in ours as a cauſe of immortallity, a cauſe by removing through the death and merit of his owne fleſh that which hindered the life of ours. Chriſt is therefore both as God and as Man, that true Vine whereof we both ſpiritually and corporally are branches. The mixture of his bodily ſubſtance with ours is a thing which the ancient Fathers [a] diſclaime. Yet the mixture of his fleſh with ours they [b] ſpeake of, to ſignifie what our very bodies through myſticall conjunction receive from that vitall efficacy which we know to be in his, and from bodily mixtures they borrow divers [c] ſimilitudes rather to declare the truth, than the manner of coherence between his ſacred and the ſanctified bodies of Saints. Thus much no Chriſtian man will deny, that when Chriſt ſanctified his own fleſh, giving as God, & taking as man the Holy Ghoſt, he did not this for himſelf only, but for our ſakes, that the grace of ſanctification and life which was firſt received in him, might paſſe from him to his whole race, as malediction came from *Adam* unto all mankind. Howbeit, becauſe the work of his Spirit to thoſe effects is in us prevented by ſin and death poſſeſſing us before, it is of neceſſity that as well our preſent ſanctification unto newneſſe of life, as the future reſtauration of our bodies ſhould preſuppoſe a participation of the grace, efficacy, merit or vertue of his Body and Bloud, without which foundation firſt laid there is no place for thoſe other operations of the Spirit of Chriſt to enſue. So that Chriſt imparteth plainely himſelfe by degrees. It pleaſeth him in mercy to account himſelfe incomplete and maimed [d] without us. But moſt aſſured wee are that wee all receive of his fulneſſe, becauſe he is in us as a moving and working cauſe, from which many bleſſed effects are really found to enſue, and that in ſundry both kinds and degrees, all tending to eternall happineſſe. It muſt bee confeſt that of Chriſt, working as a Creatour, and a Governour of the World by providence, all are partakers; not all partakers of that grace wherby he inhabiteth whom he ſaveth. Again, as he dwelleth not by grace in all, ſo neither doth he equally work in all them in whom he dwelleth. [e] *Whence is it* (ſaith S. *Auguſtin*) *that ſome be holier than others are, but becauſe God doth dwell in ſome more plentifully than in others?* And becauſe the divine ſubſtance of Chriſt is equally in all, his humane ſubſtance equally diſtant from all, it appeareth that the participation of Chriſt wherin there are many degrees and differences, muſt needs conſiſt in ſuch effects as being derived from both natures of Chriſt really into us, are made our own, and wee by having them in us, are truly ſaid to have him from whom they come, CHRIST alſo more or leſſe to inhabit and impart himſelfe as the graces are fewer or more, greater or ſmaller, which really flow into us from Chriſt. Chriſt is whole with the whole Church, and whole with every part of the Church, as touching his perſon which can no way divide it ſelfe,

[a] *Noſtra quippe & ipſius conjunctio nec miſcet perſonas nec unit ſubſtantias, ſed affectus conſociat & confœderat voluntates.* Cypr. de Cœn. Dom.

[b] *Quomodo dicunt carnem in corruptionem devenire, & non percipere vitam, quæ à corpore Domini & ſanguine alitur?* Iræn. lib 4. adverſ hæreſ c. 34.

[c] *Unde conſiderandum eſt non ſolum σχέσει ſeu conformitate affectionum Chriſtum in nobis eſſe, verum etiam participatione naturali (id eſt reali & vera) quemadmodum ſi quis igne liquefactam ceram alii ceræ ſimiliter liquefactæ ita miſcuerit ut unum quid ex utriſque factum videatur, ſic communicatione Corporis & Sanguinis Chriſti ipſe in nobis eſt & nos in ipſo.* Cyril. in Iohn l. 10. c. 13.

[d] *Epheſ.* 1. 23. *Eccleſia complementum ejus qui implet omnia in omnibus.* Τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι πληρουμένου

[e] *Aug. Tract.* 57.

ſelf, or be poſſeſt by degrees and portions. But the participation of Chriſt importeth, beſides the preſence of Chriſts perſon, and beſides the myſticall copulation thereof with the parts and members of his whole Church, a true actuall influence of grace whereby the [a] life which we live according to godlineſſe is his, and from him we receive thoſe perfections wherin our eternall happineſſe conſiſteth. Thus we participate Chriſt partly by imputation, as when [b] thoſe things which he did and ſuffered for us are imputed unto us for righteouſneſſe; partly by habituall and reall infuſion, as when grace is inwardly beſtowed while we are on earth, and afterwards more fully both our ſoules and bodies made like unto his in glory. The firſt thing of his ſo infuſed into our hearts in this life is the [c] Spirit of Chriſt, whereupon becauſe the reſt of what kind ſoever do all both neceſſarily depend and infallibly alſo enſue, therfore the Apoſtles terme it ſometime [d] the ſeed of God, ſometime the [e] pledge of our Heavenly inheritance, ſometime the [f] hanſell or earneſt of that which is to come. From hence it is, that they which belong to the myſticall body of our Saviour Chriſt, and be in number as the ſtars of Heaven, divided ſucceſſively by reaſon of their mortall condition into many generations, are notwithſtanding coupled [g] every one to Chriſt their Head, and [h] all unto every particular perſon amongſt themſelves, in as much as the ſame Spirit, which anoynted the bleſſed ſoule of our Saviour Chriſt, doth ſo formalize, unite, and actuate his whole race, as if both he and they were ſo many limmes compacted into one body, by being quickned all with one and the ſame ſoule. That wherin we are partakers of Jeſus Chriſt by imputation, agreeth equally unto all that have it. For it conſiſteth in ſuch acts and deeds of his, as could not have longer continuance than while they were in doing, nor at that very time belong unto any other but to him from whom they come, and therfore how men either then, or before, or ſithence, ſhould be made partakers of them, there can be no way imagined, but only by imputation. Again, a deed muſt either not be imputed to any, but reſt altogether in him whoſe it is, or if at all it be imputed they which have it by imputation, muſt have it ſuch as it is whole. So that degrees being neither in the perſonall preſence of Chriſt, nor in the participation of thoſe effects which are ours by imputation only, it reſteth that we wholy apply them to the participation of Chriſts infuſed grace, although even in this kind alſo the firſt beginning of life, the ſeed of God, the firſt fruits of Chriſts Spirit be without latitud. For we have herby only the being of the Sons of God, in which number how far ſoever one may ſeeme to excell another, yet touching this that all are ſons, they are all equals, ſom happily better ſons than the reſt are, but none any more a ſon than another. Thus therfore we ſee how the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father, how both are in all things, and all in them, what communion Chriſt hath with his Church, how his Church and every member therof, is in him by originall derivation, and he perſonally in them by way of myſticall aſſociatiõ wrought through the gift of the holy Ghoſt, which they that are his receive from him, and together with the ſame, what benefit ſoever the vital force of his body & blood may yeeld, yea by ſteps & degrees they receive the complete meaſure of all ſuch divine grace, as doth ſanctifie and ſave throughout, till the day of their finall exaltation to a ſtate of fellowſhip

[a] *Gal.* 2. 20.
[b] *Eſay* 53. 5. *Epheſ.* 1. 7.
[c] *Rom* 8. 9. *Gal* 4. 6.
[d] 1 *Iohn* 3. 9.
[e] *Epheſ.* 1. 14.
[f] *Rom.* 8. 23.
[g] 1 *Cor.* 12. 27. *Epheſ* 4. 15.
[h] *Rom.* 12. 5. *Epheſ* 4. 25.

in

in glory with him, whoſe partakers they are now in thoſe things that tend to glory. As for any mixture of the ſubſtance of his fleſh with ours, the participatiō which we have of Chriſt includeth no ſuch kind of groſſe ſurmize.

The neceſsity of Sacraments unto the participation of Chriſt.

57 It greatly offendeth, that ſome, when they labour to ſhew the uſe of the holy Sacraments, aſſigne unto them no end but only *to teach* the mind, by other ſenſes, that which the Word doth teach by hearing. Whereupon, how eaſily neglect and careleſſe regard of ſo Heavenly myſteries may follow, we ſee in part by ſome experience had of thoſe men with whom that opinion is moſt ſtrong. For where the Word of God may be heard, which teacheth with much more expedition and more full explication any thing we have to learne, if all the benefit wee reap by Sacraments be inſtruction, they which at all times have opportunity of uſing the better meane to that purpoſe, will ſurely hold the worſe in leſſe eſtimation. And unto Infants which are not capable of inſtruction, who would not think it a meere ſuperfluity that any Sacrament is adminiſtred, if to adminiſter the Sacraments be but to teach receivers what God doth for them? There is of Sacraments therfore undoubtedly ſom other more excellent & Heavenly uſe. Sacraments, by reaſon of their mixt nature, are more diverſly interpreted and diſputed of, than any other part of Religion beſides, for that in ſo great ſtore of properties belonging to the ſelfe-ſame thing, as every mans Wit hath taken hold of ſome eſpeciall conſideration above the reſt, ſo they have accordingly ſeemed one to croſſe another as touching their ſeverall opinions about the neceſſity of Sacraments, whereas in truth their diſagreement is not great. For let reſpect be had to the duty which every communicant doth undertake, & we may well determine concerning the uſe of Sacraments, that they ſerve as bonds of obedience to God, ſtrict obligations to the mutuall exerciſe of Chriſtian Charity, provocations to godlineſſe, preſervations from ſin, memorials of the principall benefits of Chriſt; reſpect the time of their inſtitution, and it thereby appeareth that God hath annexed them for ever unto the New Teſtament, as other Rites were before with the Old; regard the weakneſſe which is in us, and they are warrants for the more ſecurity of our beliefe; compare the receivers of them with ſuch as receive them not, and Sacraments are markes of diſtinction to ſeparate Gods own from ſtrangers; ſo that in all theſe reſpects they are found to be moſt neceſſary. But their chiefeſt force and vertue conſiſteth not herein ſo much, as in that they are Heavenly Ceremonies, which God hath ſanctified and ordained to be adminiſtred in his Church, firſt, as markes wherby to know when God doth impart the vitall or ſaving grace of Chriſt unto all that are capable therof, and ſecondly, as means conditionall which God requireth in them unto whom he impurteth grace. For ſith God in himſelf is inviſible, and cannot by us be diſcerned working, therfore when it ſeemeth good in the eyes of his heavenly wiſdome, that men for ſome ſpecial intent & purpoſe ſhould take notice of his glorious preſence, he giveth them ſome plain & ſenſible token wherby to know what they cannot ſee. For *Moſes* to ſee God and live was impoſſible, yet [a] *Moſes* by fire knew where the glory of God extraordinarily was preſent. The [b] Angel, by whom God indued the waters of the Poole called *Bethesda* with ſupernatural vertue to heale, was not ſeen of any, yet the time of the Angels preſence known by the troubled

a *Exod.* 3. 2.
b *Ioha* 5. 4.

troubled motions of the waters themſelvs. The Apoſtles [a] by fiery tongues which they ſaw, were admoniſhed when the Spirit, which they could not behold, was upon them. In like manner it is with us. Chriſt and his Holy Spirit with all their bleſſed effects, though entring into the ſoule of man we are not able to apprehend or expreſſe how, do notwithſtanding give notice of the times when they uſe to make their acceſſe; becauſe it pleaſeth Almighty God to communicate by ſenſible meanes thoſe bleſſings which are incõprehenſible. Seeing therfore that grace is a conſequent of Sacraments, a thing which accompanieth them as their end, a benefit which he that hath received from God himſelfe the author of Sacraments, and not from any other naturall or ſupernaturall quality in them, it may be hereby both underſtood that Sacraments are neceſſary and that the manner of their neceſſity to life ſupernaturall is not in all reſpects as food unto naturall life, becauſe they contain *in themſelves* no vital force or efficacy, they are not phyſicall but *morall inſtruments* of ſalvation, duties of ſervice and worſhip, which unleſſe we performe as the author of grace requireth, they are unprofitable. For all receive not the grace of God which receive the Sacraments of his grace. Neither is it *ordinarily* his will to beſtow the grace of Sacraments on any, but by the Sacraments; which grace alſo they that receive by Sacraments or with Sacraments, receive it from him and not from them. For of Sacraments the very ſame is true which *Salomons* wiſdom obſerveth in the brazen Serpent: [b] *He that turned towards it, was not healed by the thing he ſaw, but by thee, O Saviour of all.* This is therfore the neceſſity of Sacraments. That ſaving grace which Chriſt originally is, or hath for the generall good of his whole Church, by Sacraments he ſeverally deriveth into every member therof. Sacraments ſerve as the inſtrumeuts of God to that end and purpoſe, morall inſtruments the uſe wherof is in our hands, the effect in his; for the uſe we have his expreſſe cõmandement, for the effect his conditional promiſe; ſo that without our obedience to the one, there is of the other no apparant aſſurance, as contrariwiſe where the ſignes and Sacraments of his grace are not either through contempt unreceived, or received with contempt, we are not to doubt but that they really give what they promiſe, and are what they ſignifie. For we take not Baptiſme nor the Euchariſt for bare *reſemblances* or memorialls of things abſent, neither for *naked ſignes* and teſtimonies aſſuring us of grace received before, but (as they are indeed and in verity) for meanes effectuall, wherby God, when we take the Sacraments, delivereth into our hands that grace available unto eternall life, which grace the Saeraments repreſent or ſignifie. There have grown in the doctrine concerning Sacraments many difficulties for want of diſtinct explication what kind or degree of grace doth belong unto each Sacrament. For by this it hath come to paſſe, that the true immediate cauſe why Baptiſm, and why the Supper of our Lord is neceſſary, few do rightly and diſtinctly conſider. It cannot be denied but ſundry the ſame effects and benefits which grow unto men by the one Sacrament, may rightly be attributed unto the other. Yet then doth Baptiſme challenge to it ſelfe but the inchoation of thoſe graces, the conſummation wherof dependeth on myſteries enſuing. We receive Chriſt Ieſus in Baptiſme once as the firſt beginner, in the Euchariſt often as being by continuall degrees the finiſher of

a *Acts* 2. 3.

b Wiſd. 16. 17. *Spiritus Sanctũ munus eſt gratiam implere myſterii*, Ambr. in Luc. cap. 7. *Sanctificationis elementis effectum non propria ipſarum natura præbet, ſed virtus divina potentiùs operatur.* Cypr. de Chriſm.

c *Dum homini bonum inviſibile redditur, foris ei ejuſdem ſignificatio per ſpecies viſibiles adhibetur: ut foris excitetur & intus reparetur. In ipſa vaſis ſpecie virtus exprimitur medicinæ.* Hugo de Sacram. li. 1. ca. 3. *Si ergo vaſa ſunt ſpiritualis gratiæ ſacramenta, non ex ſuo ſanant, quia vaſa ægrotum non curant, ſed medicina.* Idem li. 1. ca. 4.

of our life. By Baptisme therfore we receive Christ Iesus, and from him that saving grace which is proper unto Baptism. By the other Sacrament we receive him also, imparting therein himselfe and that grace which the Eucharist properly bestoweth. So that each Sacrament having both that which is generall or common, and that also which is peculiar unto it selfe, we may hereby gather that the participation of Christ, which properly belongeth to any one Sacrament, is not otherwise to be obtained but by the Sacrament whereunto it is proper.

The substance of Baptisme; the rites or solemnities therunto belõging and that the substance therof being kept, other things in Baptism may give place to necessity.

58 Now even as the soule doth organize the body, and give unto every member therof that substance, quantity, and shape which nature seeth most expedient, so the inward grace of Sacraments may teach what serveth best for their outward forme, a thing in no part of Christian Religion, much lesse here to be neglected. Grace intended by Sacraments was a cause of the choise, and is a reason of the fitnesse of the Elements themselves. Furthermore, seeing that the grace which here we receive, doth no way depend upon the naturall force of that which we presently behold, it was of necessity that words of expresse declaration taken from the very mouth of our Lord himself should be added unto visible Elements, that the one might infallibly teach what the other do most assuredly bring to passe. In writing and speaking of the blessed Sacraments we [a] use for the most part under the name of their *substance*, not only to comprise that wherof they outwardly and sensibly consist, but also the secret grace which they signifie and exhibit. This is the reason wherfore commonly in [b] definitions, whether they be framed larger to augment, or stricter to abridge the number of Sacraments, we find grace expressly mentioned as their true essentiall form, Elements as the matter wherunto that form doth adjoin it selfe. But if that be separated which is secert, and that considered alone which is seene, as of necessity it must in all those speeches that make distinction of Sacraments from Sacramentall grace, the name of a Sacrament in such speeches can imply no more than what the *outward substance therof* doth comprehend. And to make complete the outward substance of a Sacrament, there is required an outward forme, which form sacramentall Elements receive from sacramentall words. Herupon it groweth that [c] many times there are three things said to make up the substance of a Sacrament, namely, the grace which is therby offered, the element which shadoweth or signifieth grace, and the Word which expresseth what is done by the Element. So that whether we consider the outward by it selfe alone, or both the outward and inward substance of any Sacrament, there are in the one respect but two essentiall parts, and in the other but three that concur to give Sacraments their full being. Furthermore, because definitions are to expresse but the most immediat and neerest parts of nature, wheras other principles farther off, although not specified in defining, are not withstanding in nature implied and presupposed, we must note that in as much as Sacraments are actions religious and mysticall, which nature they have not unlesse they proceed from a serious meaning; and what every mans private

a *Eucharistia duabus ex rebus constat, terrena & cœlesti.* Iren. x. adverſ. hæreſ. l. 4. c. 34. *Arcanarum rerum ſymbola non nudis ſignis, ſed ſignis ſimul & rebus conſtant.* Helvet. confeſſ. prior. Art. 2.

b *Sacramentum eſt cum res geſta viſibilis longè aliud inviſibile intus operatur* Iſid. Etym. l. 1. *Sacramentum eſt per quod ſub tegumento rerum viſibilium divina virtus ſalutem ſecretius operatur.* Gregor. mag. *Sacramentum eſt ſignum ſignificans efficaciter effectum Dei gratuitum.* Occa. ſent. l. 4. d. 1. *Sacramentum proprie non eſt ſignum cujuſlibet rei ſacræ, ſed tantùm rei ſacræ ſanctificantis homines.* Th. 12. q. 101, 4. & q 102. 5. *Sacramentum eſt ſignum paſſionis Chriſti, gratiæ & gloriæ. Ideo eſt commemoratio præteriti, demonſtratio præſentis, & prognoſticon futuri.* Th. 3. q. 60. 3. *Sacramenta ſunt ſigna & ſymbola viſibilia rerum inter arum & inviſibilium, per quæ, ſeu per media Deus virtute ſpiritus ſancti in nobis agit.* Cõf Belg. Art. 33. Item Bœ. Conf. c. 11.

c *Sacramenta conſtant verbo, ſignis, & rebus ſignificatis.* Confeſſ Helvet. poſt. cap. 19.

vate mind is, as wee cannot know, ſo neither are wee bound to examine: therfore alwayes in theſe caſes the knowne intent of the Church generally doth ſuffice, and where the contrarie is not [a] manifeſt, we may preſume that hee which outwardly doth the worke, hath inwardly the purpoſe of the Church of God. Concerning all other Orders, Rites, Prayers, Leſſons, Sermons, Actions, & their Circumſtances whatſoever they are to the outward ſubſtance of Baptiſme but things acceſſory, which the wiſdome of the Church of Chriſt is to order according to the exigence of that which is principall. Againe, conſidering that ſuch Ordinances have beene made to adorne the Sacrament, [b] not the Sacrament to depend on them, ſeeing alſo that they are not of the ſubſtance of Baptiſme, and that Baptiſme, is farre more neceſſary than any ſuch incident Rite or Solemnitie ordained for the better adminiſtration thereof, [c] if the caſe be ſuch as permitteth not Baptiſme to have the decent Complements of Baptiſme, better it were to injoy the bodie without his Furniture, than to wait for this, till the opportunitie of that for which wee deſire it be loſt. Which Premiſes ſtanding, it ſeemeth to have beene no abſurd collection, that in caſes of neceſſitie which will not ſuffer delay till Baptiſme bee adminiſtred, with uſuall ſolemnities (to ſpeake the leaſt) it may bee tolerably given without them, rather than any man without it ſhould bee ſuffered to depart this life.

a *Si aliud Miniſtri agere intendant, prætexat ſe illudere myſterijs, vel aliud quod Eccleſiæ non conſentiat, nihil agitur, ſine fide enim ſpiritualis poteſtas exerceri quidam poteſt, ſine Eccleſiæ intentione non poteſt.* Lancel. inſt. jur. Can. lib. 2. tit. 2. § hoctamen

b *Acceſſorium non regulat principale ſed ab eo regulatur.* 42. De regul. jur. in Sext. l. 3. ff. quod juſſu.

c *Et ſi nihil facilè mutandum eſt ex ſolennibus, tamen ubi æquitas evidens poſcit ſubveniendum eſt.* Lib. 183. de reg. jur.

59 They which denie that any ſuch caſe of neceſſitie can fall, in regard whereof the Church ſhould tolerate Baptiſme, without the decent Rites and ſolemnities thereunto belonging, pretend that ſuch tolerations have riſen from a falſe interpretation which *certaine men* have made of the Scripture, grounding a neceſſitie of externall Baptiſme upon the words of our Saviour Chriſt. *Vnleſſe a man be borne again of Water & of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* For, by *Water and the Spirit*, we are in that place to underſtand (as they imagine) no more than if the Spirit alone had beene mentioned, and Water not ſpoken of. Which they thinke is plaine, becauſe elſe where it is not improbable, that *the Holy Ghoſt and Fire*, doe but ſignifie the Holy Ghoſt in operation reſembling Fire. Whereupon they conclude, that ſeeing Fire in one place may bee, therefore Water in another place is but a Meraphor, Spirit, the interpretation thereof, and ſo the words doe onely meane, that unleſſe a man bee borne again of the Spirit he cannot enter into the Kingdome of Heaven. I hold it for a moſt infallible rule in Expoſitions of ſacred Scripture, that where a literall conſtruction will ſtand, the fartheſt from the Letter is commonly the worſt. There is nothing more dangerous than this licentious & deluding Art, which changeth the meaning of words, as Alchymie doth or would doe the ſubſtance of Metals, maketh of any thing what it liſteth, and bringeth in the end all Truth to nothing. Or howſoever ſuch voluntarie exerciſe of wit might bee borne with otherwiſe, yet in places which uſually ſerve, as this doth, concerning Regeneration by water & the

The ground in Scripture, whereupon a neceſſitie of outward Baptiſme hath beene built. *T. C. l. 1. p. 143.* Private Baptiſme firſt roſe upon a falſe interpretation of the place of S. *Iohn* 3. 5. *Vnleſſe a man be borne againe of Water and of the Spirit:* and where certaine doe interpret the word *Water* for the materiall and elementall VVater, when as our Saviour Chriſt taketh Water there by a borrowed ſpeech, for the Spirit of God, the effect wherof it ſhadoweth out. For even as in another place, *Mat.* 3. 11. by Fire and the Spirit, hee meaneth nothing but the Spirit of God, which purgeth and purifieth as the fire doth: So in this place by Water and the Spirit, he meaneth nothing elſe but the Spirit of God which cleanſeth the filth of ſinne, and cooleth the broyling heat of an unquiet Conſcience, as VVater waſheth the thing which is foule and quencheth the heat of the fire.

Holy Ghoſt, to be alleaged for grounds and principles, leſſe is permitted. To hide the generall conſent of Antiquitie agreeing in the literall interpretation, they cunningly affirme, that *certaine* have taken thoſe words as meant of materiall water, when they know, that of all the Ancient there is not one to be named, that ever did otherwiſe either expound or alleage the place, than as implying externall Baptiſme. Shall that which hath alwayes [a] received this and no other conſtruction, bee now diſguiſed with a toy of noveltie? Muſt wee needs at the only ſhew of Criticall conceit without any more deliberation, utterly condemne them of errour, which will not admit that fire in the words of *Iohn*, is quenched with the Name of the Holy Ghoſt, or with the name of the Spirit, water dried up in the words of Chriſt? When the letter of the Law hath two things plainely and expreſly ſpecified, *water*, & the *Spirit*; Water as a dutie required on our parts, the Spirit as a gift which God beſtoweth; there is danger in preſuming ſo to interpret it, as if the clauſe which concerneth our ſelves were more than needeth. We may by ſuch rare expoſitions attain perhaps in the end to be thought witty, but with ill advice. Finally, if as [b] the time, when that Baptiſme which was meant by *Iohn*, came to bee really and truly performed by Chriſt himſelf, we find the Apoſtles that had beene, ar we are, before baptized, new baptized with the Holy Ghoſt, and in this their later Baptiſme as well a [c] viſible deſcent of fire, as a ſecret miraculous infuſion of the Spirit; if on us hee accompliſh likewiſe the heavenly work of our new birth, not with the Spirit alone, but with Water therunto adjoyned, ſith the faithfulleſt Expounders of his words are his owne deeds, let that which his hand hath manifeſtly wrought, declare what his ſpeech did doubtfully utter.

a *Minimè ſunt mutanda quæ inter relationem certam ſemper habuerunt.* D. lib. 1. tit. 2 lib. 23.

b *Acts* 1.3. *Iohn* baptized with Water, but you ſhall within few dayes be baptized with the Holy Ghoſt.

c *Acts* 2.3.

What kind of neceſſitie in outward Baptiſme hath beene gathered by the words of our Saviour Chriſt, and what the true neceſſitie thereof indeed is. *T. C. lib. 1. pag.* 143. Secondly, this errour [of private Baptiſme] came by a falſe and unneceſſarie concluſion drawne of that place. For although the Scripture ſhould ſay, that none can be ſaved but thoſe which have the Spirit of God, and are babtized with materiall and elementall Water, yet ought it to bee underſtood of thoſe which can conveniently and orderly bee brought to Baptiſme, as the Scripture, ſaying, that whoſo doth not beleeve the Goſpell is condemned alreadie, *Ioh.* 3. 18. meaneth this ſentence of thoſe which can heare the Goſpell, and have diſcretion to underſtand it when they heare it, and cannot here ſhut under this condemnation, either thoſe that bee borne deafe, and ſo remaine, or little Infants, or naturall Fooles, that have no wit to conceive what is preached. d Ἀναγκαῖον λέγεται ἃ ἄνευ ὰς ἐνδέχεται ζῆν ὡς σωτήριν, ἄνευ τὸ ἀγαθὸν μὴ ἐνδέχεται ἢ εἶναι ἢ γένεσθαι, ἢ καλὸν ἀποβαλεῖν ἢ περιβλῦσαι. *Neceſſarium id dicitur ſine quo ut concauſa fieri non poteſt ut vivatur: & ea ſine quibus fieri nequit ut bonum aut ſit aut fiat; vel malum aliquod amoveatur, aut neh adſit*, Ariſt. Metaph. 5. cap. 5.

60 To this they adde, that as wee erre by following a wrong conſtruction of the place before alleaged, ſo our ſecond overſight is, that wee thereupon inferre a neceſſitie over-rigorous and extreme. The true neceſſitie of Baptiſme, a few Propoſitions conſidered will ſoone decide. All things which either are knowne [d] *Cauſes*, or ſet *Meanes*, wherby any great good is uſually procured, or men delivered from grievous evill, the ſame wee muſt needs confeſſe neceſſary. And if *Regeneration* were not in this very ſenſe a thing neceſſarie to eternall life, would Chriſt himſelfe have taught *Nicodemus* that to ſee the Kingdome of God is [e] impoſſible, ſaving only for thoſe men which are borne from above? His words following in the next ſentence, are a proofe ſufficient, that to our Regeneration *his Spirit* is no leſſe [f] neceſſary, than Regeneration it ſelfe neceſſary unto life. Thirdly, unleſſe as the Spirit is a neceſſary inward cauſe, ſo *water* were a neceſſary outward meane to our Regeneration, what conſtruction ſhould wee give unto thoſe words wherein wee are ſaid to bee new born, and that ἐξ ὕδατος, even

e *Iohn* 3.3.

f.5.

even of *water*? Why are we taught that [m] with water God doth purifie and cleanſe his Church? Wherfore do the Apoſtles of Chriſt terme baptiſme [n] a bath of Regeneration? What purpoſe had they in giving men advice to receive outward Baptiſme, & in perſwading them it did availe [o] to remiſſion of ſins? If outward Baptiſme were a cauſe in it ſelfe poſſeſſed of that power either naturall or ſupernaturall, without the preſent operation wherof no ſuch effect could poſſibly grow, it muſt then follow, that ſeeing effects doe never prevent the neceſſarie cauſes out of which they ſpring, no man could ever receive grace before Baptiſme: which being apparently both knowne and alſo confeſt to bee otherwiſe in many particulars, although in the reſt wee make not Baptiſme a cauſe of grace, yet the grace which is given them with their [p] Baptiſme, doth ſo farre forth depend on the very outward Sacrament, that God will have it imbraced not onely as a ſigne or token what wee receive, but alſo as an inſtrument or meane wherby we receive grace, becauſe Baptiſme is a Sacrament which God hath inſtituted in his Church, to the end that they which receive the ſame, might therby be [q] incorporated into Chriſt, and ſo through his moſt precious Merit obtayne as well that ſaving grace of imputation which taketh away [r] all former gultineſſe, as alſo that [s] infuſed Divine vertue of the holy Ghoſt, which giveth to the powers of the Soule their firſt diſpoſition towards future newneſſe of life. There are that elevate too much the ordinarie and immediate meanes of life, relying wholly upon the bare conceit of that eternall election, which notwithſtanding includeth a ſubordination of meanes, without which wee are not actually brought to injoy what God ſecretly did intend, and therefore to build upon Gods Election, if wee keepe not our ſelves to the wayes which hee hath appointed for men to walke in, is but a ſelfe-deceiving vanitie. When the Apoſtle ſaw men called to the participation of Ieſus Chriſt, after the Goſpell of God embraced, and the Sacrament of life received, he feareth not then to put them in the number of Elect Saints, he [t] then accounteth them delivered from death, & cleane purged from all ſinne. Till then, notwithſtanding their predordination unto life which none could know of ſaving God, what were they in the Apoſtles owne [x] account, but children of wrath as well as others, plaine Aliens, altogether without hope, ſtrangers utterly without God in this preſent world? So that by Sacraments and other ſenſible tokens of grace, wee may boldly gather that hee, whoſe mercy vouchſafeth now to beſtow the meanes, hath alſo long ſithence intended us that whereunto they lead. But let us never thinke it ſafe to preſume of our owne laſt end, by bare conjecturall collection of his intent and purpoſe, the meanes fayling that ſhould come betweene. Predeſtination bringeth

m *Epeſ.* 5. 26.
n *Tit.* 3. 5.
o *Act.* 2. 38.
p *Fideles ſalutem exiſtis elementis non quærunt etiamſi inſiſti ſquerunt. Non enim iſta tribuunt quod per iſta tribuitur.* Hugo de Sacram. lib. 1. cap. 3. q *Suſceptus à Chriſto Chriſtumq; ſuſcipiens non idem ſit poſt lavacrum qui ante baptiſmum fuit, ſed corpus regenerati ſit caro crucifixi.* Leo. Serm. 4. de Paſ. Dom. r *Carne abluitur ut anima emaculetur.* Tert. de carn. reſur. *Homo per aquam baptiſmi licet à foris idem eſſe videatur intus tamen alter efficitur, cum peccato natus ſine peccato renaſcitur, prioribus perit, ſuccedentibus proficit, deterioribus exuitur, in meliora innovatur, perſona tingitur & natura mutatur.* Euſeb Emiſ. de Epiphan. homil. 3. Τριττὼ γέννησιν ἡμῖν ὁλοκλήρου ὁ λόγος, τὴν ἐκ σώματος, τὴν ἐκ βαπτίσματος τὴν ἐξ ἀναστάσεως. Αὐτὴ μὲν ἡ τοῦ βαπτίσματος χάρις καὶ δωρεὰ ἡμῖν καὶ κόσμῳ καταλλυσμὸν ὡς πάλαι, τῆς δὲ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον ἁμαρτίας καθάρσιν ἔχουσα, Greg. Homil. de ſanct. bap. *Vnde emitalis auxilio ſuperioris æui labe deterſa in expiatum peſtus ac purum deſuper lumen infundit.* Cyp. ep. ad donat. Οὐ μόνον τῶν παλαιῶν ἁμαρτημάτων δωρεῖται τὴν ἄφεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδα τῶν ἐσομένων ἐπιδεικνύμενον καὶ τὴν ἀναστασιν ἐκδῶν καὶ τῆς θεοποιοῦ δεξιᾶς κοινωνοὺς καὶ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος δωρεᾶς τὴν μετουσίαν χαρίζεται. Theodoret. Epito. d vn. dogmat. *Ita tingari, eſt purgari à ſordibus peccatorum, & donari varia Dei gratia ad vitam novam & innocentem,* Confeſſ. Helvet. cap. 20.

t *Epheſ.* 1. 1.
u 5. 8.
x 2. 3. 12.

bringeth not to life, without the grace of externall [a] vocation, wherein our Baptiſme is implyed. For as we are not naturally men without birth, ſo neither are we Chriſtian men in the eye of the Church of God but by new birth, nor according to the manifeſt ordinarie courſe of Divine Diſpenſation new borne, but by that Baptiſme which both declareth and maketh us Chriſtians. In which reſpect we juſtly hold it to bee the doore of our actuall entrance into Gods houſe, the firſt apparent [b] beginning of life, a ſeale perhaps to the [c] grace of *Election* before received, but to our Sanctification here, a ſtep that hath not any before it. There were of the old *Valentinian* Heretiks ſome, which had knowledge in ſuch admiration, that to it they aſcribed al, and ſo deſpiſed the Sacraments of Chriſt, pretending that as ignorance had made us ſubject to all miſerie, ſo the full Redemption of the inward man, and the work of our Reſtauration, muſt needs belong unto [d] *Knowledge only*. They draw very neere unto this errour, who fixing wholly their minds on the knowne neceſſitie of Faith, [e] imagine that nothing but Faith is neceſſary for the ataynment of all Grace. Yet is it a branch of Beliefe that Sacraments are in their place no leſſe required than Beliefe it ſelfe. For when our Lord & Saviour promiſeth eternall Life, is it any otherwiſe than as he promiſed reſtitution of health unto *Naaman* the Syrian, namely, with this condition, *waſh and be cleane*? or as to them which were ſtung of Serpents, health by [g] beholding the brazen Serpent? If Chriſt himſelfe which giveth Salvation doe [h] require Baptiſme, it is not for us that look for ſalvation, to ſound and examine him whether unbaptized men may be ſaved, but ſeriouſly to [i] doe that which is required, and religiouſly to feare the danger which may grow by the want thereof. Had Chriſt only declared his will to have all men baptized, and not acquainted us with any cauſe why Baptiſme is neceſſarie, our ignorance in the reaſon of that hee injoyneth, might perhaps have hindred ſomewhat the forwardnes of our obedience thereunto: whereas now being taught, that Baptiſme is neceſſary to take away ſinne, how have wee the feare of God in our hearts, if care of delivering mens Soules from ſin, do not move us to uſe all meanes for their Baptiſme? [k] *Pelagius* which denyed utterly the guilt of originall ſinne, and *in that reſpect* the neceſſitie of Baptiſme, did notwithſtanding both baptize Infants, and acknowledge their Baptiſme neceſſary for *entrance into the Kingdome of God*. Now the Law of Chriſt, which in theſe conſiderations maketh Baptiſme neceſſary, muſt bee conſtrued and underſtood according to rules of [l] naturall equitie. Which rules if they themſelves did not follow in expounding the Law of God, would they never bee able to prove that [m] the Scripture in ſaying, *who ſo beleeveth not the Goſpell of Chriſt, is condemned already, meaneth this ſentence of thoſe which can heare the Goſpell, and have diſcretion when they heare to underſtand it, neither ought it to bee applyed unto Infants, Deafe men, and fooles*. That which teacheth them thus to interpret the Law of Chriſt, is naturall equitie. And (becauſe equitie ſo teacheth) it is on all parts gladly conſeſt

a *Rom.* 8. 30.

b Ἀρχὴμοι ζωῆς τὸ βάπτισμα. Baſil. de Sp. S. c. 10. e *T. C. l.* 3 *p.* 134. Hee which is not a Chriſtian before hee come to receive Baptiſme, cannot bee made a Chriſtian by Baptiſme; which is onely the ſeale of the grace of God before received.

d *Iren. contra Hæreſ. l.* 1. *c.* 18.

e *Hic ſceleriſſimi illi provocant q̃ actiones. Adeo dicunt baptiſmus nõ eſt neceſſarius quibus fide ſatis eſt.* Tert. de baptiſ. *Huic nulla proderit fides, qui cum poſſit non percipit Sacramentum.* Bern. Epiſt. 70. ad Hugon.

f 2. *Reg.* 5 14.

g *Num.* 21. 8.

h *Marc.* 16. 16.

i *Inſtitutio Sacramentorum quantum ad Deum autherem d. ſpenſationis eſt, quantum vero ad hominem obedientem neceſſitatis.* *Quoniam in poteſtate Dei eſt præter iſta hominem ſalvare, ſed in poteſtate hominis non eſt, ſine iſtis ad ſalutem pervenire.* Hug. de Sacram. *l.* 1. *c.* 5.

k Pelagius *aſſerere arrepta impietate præſumit non propter vitam, ſed propter regnum Cœlorum baptiſmum parvulis conferendum*, Euſeb. Emiſſ. Hom. 5. de Paſch. l *Benignius leges interpretande ſunt, quò voluntas earum conſervetur.* L. Benign. D. de legib. & Senatuſc. m *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 143.

that

that *there may bee in divers caſes* life by vertue of inward Baptiſme, even where outward is not found. So that if any queſtion be made, it is but about the bounds and limits of this poſſibility. For example, to think that a man whoſe Baptiſme the Crown of Martyrdome preventeth, doth loſe in that caſe, the happineſſe which ſo many thouſands enjoy, that only have had the grace to beleeve, and not the honour to ſeale the teſtimony therof with death, were almoſt barbarous. Again, [a] when ſome certain opinative men in St. *Bernards* time began privately to hold, that becauſe our Lord hath ſaid, *unleſſe a man bee borne again of water*, therefore life, without either actuall Baptiſme or *Martyrdome* in ſtead of Baptiſme, cannot *poſſibly* be obtained at the hands of God: *Bernard* conſidering that the ſame equity which had moved them to think the neceſſity of Baptiſme no barre againſt the happy eſtate of unbaptized Martyrs, is as forcible for the warrant of their Salvation, in whom, although there bee not the ſufferings of Holy Martyrs, there are the vertues which ſanctified thoſe ſufferings and made them precious in Gods ſight, profeſſed himſelf an enemy to that ſeverity & ſtrictnes which admitteth no exception but of Martyrs only. For, ſaith he, if a man deſirous of Baptiſme be ſuddenly cut off by death, in whom there wanted neither ſound Faith, devoute Hope, nor ſincere Charity (God be merciſull unto me, and pardon me if I erre) but verily of ſuch a ones Salvation, in whom there is no other defect beſides his faultleſſe lack of Baptiſme, deſpaire I cannot, nor induce my mind to think his Faith voyd, his Hope confounded, and his Charity falne to nothing, only becauſe he hath not that which not contempt but impoſſibility with-holdeth. *Tell me I beſeech you* (ſaith *Ambroſe*) *what there is in any of us more than to will, and to ſeek for our own good. Thy Servant* Valentinian, *O Lord, did both.* (For *Valentinian* the Emperour died before his purpoſe to receive Baptiſme could take effect.) *And is it poſſible that he which had purpoſly thy ſpirit given him to deſire grace, ſhould not receive thy grace which that Spirit did deſire? Doth it move you that the outward accuſtomed ſolemnities were not done? As though Converts that ſuffer Martyrdome before Baptiſme, did thereby forfeit their right to the Crown of eternall glory in the Kingdome of Heaven. If the bloud of Martyrs in that caſe be their Baptiſme, ſurely his religious deſire of Baptiſme ſtandeth him in the ſame ſtead.* It hath been therefore conſtantly held as well touching other Beleevers as Martyrs, that Baptiſme taken away by neceſſity, is ſupplyed by deſire of Baptiſm, becauſe with [b] equity this opinion doth beſt ſtand. Touching Infants which die unbaptized, ſith they neither have the Sacrament it ſelfe, nor any ſenſe or conceit thereof, the judgement of many hath gone hard againſt them. But yet ſeeing grace is not abſolutely tyed unto Sacraments, and beſides ſuch is the lenity of God, that unto things altogether impoſſible hee bindeth no man, but where we cannot do what is injoyned us, acceepteth our will to do in ſtead of the deed it ſelf; again foraſmuch as there is in their Chriſtian Parents and in the Church of God a preſumed deſire that the Sacrament of Baptiſme might be given them, yea a purpoſe alſo that it ſhall bee given, remorſe of equity hath moved divers of the [c] Schoole-divines in theſe conſiderations ingenuouſly to grant, that God all merciſull to ſuch as are not in themſelves able to deſire Baptiſme, imputeth the ſecret deſire that others have in their behalfe,

[a] *Bern. Epiſt. 76 ad Hugon.*

[b] *Qui ad tolerandam omnem pro Dei gloria injuriam ſemel dicavit animum in Martyrium mihi videtur impleſſe. Summi ergo meriti eſt ſemel fixiſſe ſententiam, atque ideo ut dixi ratio principatum obtinet paſſionis & ſi ſors perpetiendi denegat facultatem, pertulit tamen cuncta quæ voluit pati.* Ioſeph. l. de imper. ratio. [c] *Gerſ. Serm. in Nativit. Beatæ Mariæ. Cajetan. in 3. Tho. q. 68. art. 1. & 2. viel in 4. Senten. d. 4. q. 2. Tilman. Segeberg. de ſacr. c. 1. Eliſius Neapol. in Cly. adverſ. Lutheſ. c. de bapt.*

halfe, and accepteth the ſame as theirs rather than caſteth away their Soules for that which no man is able to help. And of the Will of God to impart his grace unto Infants without Baptiſme, in that caſe the very circumſtance of their naturall birth may ſerve as a juſt Argument, whereupon it is not to bee miſliked that men in charitable preſumption do gather a great likelihood of their Salvation, to whom the benefit of Chriſtian parentage being given, the reſt that ſhould follow is prevented by ſome ſuch caſualty as man hath himſelfe no power to avoyd. For, wee are plainely taught of God. a That the Seed of faithfull Parentage is holy from the very birth. Which albeit wee may not ſo underſtand, as if the Children of beleeving Parents were without ſinne, or grace from baptized Parents deprived by Propagation, of God by Covenant and Promiſe tyed to ſave any in meere regard of their Parents Beleefe: yet ſeeing that to all profeſſors of the name of Chriſt, this preeminence above Infidels is freely given, the fruit of their bodies bringeth into the World with it a preſent intereſt and right to thoſe meanes wherewith the Ordinance of Chriſt is that his Church ſhall be ſanctified, it is not to be thought that he which as it were from Heaven hath nominated and deſigned them unto holineſſe by ſpeciall priviledge of their very birth, will himſelfe deprive them of Regeneration and inward grace, only becauſe neceſſity depriveth them of outward Sacraments. In which caſe, it were the part of Charity to hope, and to make men rather partiall than cruell Judges, if wee had not thoſe faire apparancies which here we have. Wherfore a neceſſity there is of receiving, and a neceſſity of adminiſtring the Sacrament of Baptiſm; the one peradventure not ſo abſolute as ſome have thought, but out of all peradventure the other more Straight and narrow, than that the Church which is by office a Mother unto ſuch as crave at their hands the Sacred Myſtery, of their new Birth, ſhould repell them, and ſee them die unſatisfied of theſe their Ghoſtly deſires, rather than give them their Soules Rites, with omiſſion of thoſe things which ſerve b but only for the more convenient and orderly Adminiſtration thereof. For as on the one ſide we grant that thoſe ſentences of Holy Scripture which make Sacraments moſt neceſſary to eternall life, are no prejudice to their Salvation that want them by ſome inevitable neceſſity, and without any fault of their own; ſo it ought in reaſon to bee likewiſe acknowledged, that for as much as our Lord himſelfe maketh Baptiſme neceſſary, neceſſary whether wee reſpect the good received by Baptiſme, or the Teſtimony thereby yeelded unto God of that humility and meeke obedience, which repoſing wholly it ſelfe on the abſolute authority of his Commandement, and on the truth of his Heavenly Promiſe, doubteth not but from Creatures deſpicable in their own condition and ſubſtance to obtaine grace of ineſtimable value, or rather not from them, but from him, yet by them as by his appointed meanes, howſoever hee by the ſecret wayes of his owne incomprehenſible mercy may bee thought to ſave without Baptiſme, this cleereth not the Church from guiltineſſe of bloud, if through her ſuperfluous ſcrupuloſity, lets and impediments of leſſe regard ſhould cauſe a grace of ſo great moment to bee with-held, wherein our mercileſſe ſtrictneſſe may bee our owne harme, although not theirs towards whom wee ſhew it; and

a 1 Cor. 7. 12.

b T. C. l. 3. p. 228 It is in queſtion whether there bee any ſuch neceſsity of Baptiſme as that for the miniſtring thereof, the common decent orders ſhould bee broken.

and wee for the hardneſſe of our hearts may periſh, albeit they through Gods unſpeakeable mercie doe live. God which did not afflict that innocent, whoſe Circumciſion *Moſes* had over long deferred, tooke revenge upon [a] *Moſes* himſelfe for the injurie, which was done through ſo great neglect, giving us thereby to underſtand, that they whom Gods owne mercie ſaveth without us, are on our parts notwithſtanding, and as much as in us lyeth, even deſtroyed, when under unſufficient pretences, we defraude them of ſuch ordinarie outward helps as wee ſhould exhibit. Wee have for Baptiſme no day ſet as the Iewes had for Circumciſion, neither have wee by the Law of God, but onely by the Churches deſcretion, a place thereunto appoynted. Baptiſme therefore, even in the meaning of the Law of Chriſt, belongeth unto Infants capable thereof, from the [b] very inſtant of their birth. Which if they have not howſoever, rather then loſe it by being put off, becauſe the time, the place, or ſome ſuch like circumſtance, doth nor ſolemnly enough concurre, the Church as much as in her lyeth, wilfully caſteth away their ſoules.

a *Exod.4,24.*

b *In omnibus obligationibus in quibus dies non ponitur, præſenti die debetur, lib.14. D. de Reg.Iur.*

61 The ancient it may bee were too ſevere, and made the neceſſitie of Baptiſme more abſolute then reaſon would, as touching Infants. But will any man ſay that they, notwithſtanding their too much rigour heerein, did not in that reſpect ſuſtaine and tolerate defects of locall or of perſonall ſolemnities, belonging to the Sacrament of Baptiſme? The Apoſtles themſelves did neither uſe nor appoynt for baptiſme any certaine time. The Church for generall baptiſme heertofore made choiſe of two chiefe dayes in the yeere, the feaſt of Eaſter, and the feaſt of Pentecoſt. Which cuſtome, when certaine Churches in Sicily beganne to violate without cauſe, they were by [b] *Leo* Biſhop of Rome adviſed, rather to conforme themſelves to the reſt of the World in things ſo reaſonable, then to offend mens mindes through needleſſe ſingularitie: howbeit, alwayes providing that nevertheleſſe in apparant perill of death, danger of ſiege, ſtreights of perſecution, feare of ſhipwracke, and the like exigents, no reſpect of times ſhould cauſe this ſingular defence of true ſafety to be denyed unto any. This of *Leo* did but confirme that ſentence which [c] *Victor* had many yeares before given, extending the ſame exception as wel unto *places* as times. That which S. *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh of women haſting to bring their children to the Church when they ſaw danger, is a weake proofe, that *when neceſſity did not leave them ſo much time*, it was not then permitted them neither to make a Church of their owne homes. Which anſwer diſchargeth likewiſe their example of a ſicke Iew, carried in bed to the place of Baptiſme, and not baptized at home in privat. The cauſe why ſuch kinde of Baptiſme barred men afterwards from entring into holy orders, the reaſon wherefore it was objected againſt *Nevatian*, in what reſpect

What things in Baptiſme have beene diſpenced with by the Fathers reſpecting neceſſity.

a *T.C.l.p.146.* The Authors themſelves of that error, that they cannot be ſaved which are not baptized did never ſeeke no remedie of the miſchiefe in Womans or private Baptiſme. *T.C.lib.3.pag.* 219. What plainer teſtimonie can there bee then that of *Auguſtine*; which noteth the uſe of the Church to have beene, to come to the Church with their children in danger of death, and that when ſome had opinion, that their children could not bee ſaved if they were not baptized, *Contr. lit. Parm. lib. 2. cap. 13.* I would alſo know of him what hee will anſwere to that, which is noted of a Chriſtian Iew deſperately ſicke of the palſie, that was with his bed carried to the place of Baptiſme, *Socr. lib. 7. cap. 4.* What will hee anſwer to this, That thoſe which were baptized in their beddes, were thereby made unapt to have any place amongſt the Clergie, as they call them] doth it not leave a note of infamie in thoſe, which had procured that baptiſme ſhould bee miniſtred in private houſes? *Euſeb. Lib.6.cap.43.* What unto the Emperours decree, which upon authority of the ancient Lawes, and of the Apoſtles, forbiddeth that the holy things ſhould bee adminiſtred in any mans private houſe? *Iuſt. Novel.57* b *Leo Epiſt.4. ad Epiſc. Cicil.* c *Viſt. Epiſt. ad Theop. Alexand. in Pontif. Damaſ.*

reſpect and how farre forth it did diſable, may be gathered by the twelfth Canon, ſet downe in the Councell of Neocæſarea, after this manner. *A man which hath beene baptized in ſikneſſe, is not after to be ordained Prieſt,* For it may bee thought, *that ſuch doe rather at that time, becauſe they ſee no other remedie, than of a voluntary minde, lay hold on the Chriſtian faith, unleſſe their true and ſincere meaning bee made afterwards the more manifeſt, or elſe the ſcarcity of others inforce the Church to admit them.* They bring in *Iuſtinians* imperiall Conſtitution, but to what purpoſe, ſeeing it onely forbiddeth men to have the myſteries of God adminiſtred in their private Chappels, leſt under that pretence hereticks ſhould do ſecretly thoſe things which were unlawfull? In which conſideration he therefore commandeth, that if they would uſe thoſe private Oratories otherwiſe than only for their private Prayers, the Biſhop ſhould appoynt them a Clark, whom they might entertaine for that purpoſe. This is plaine by later Conſtitutions, made in the time of *Leo*: [a] *It was thought good* (ſaith the Emperour) *in their judgement which have gone before, that in private Chappels none ſhould celebrate the holy Communion, but Prieſts belonging unto greater Churches. Which order they tooke as it ſeemeth for the cuſtodie of Religion, leſt men ſhould ſecretly receive from hereticks, in ſtead of the food the bane of their ſoules, pollution in place of expiation.* [b] Againe, *Whereas a ſacred Canon of the ſixt reverend Synode requireth Baptiſme, as others have likewiſe the holy Sacrifices and Myſteries, to be celebrated only in Temples hallowed for publike uſe, and not in private Oratories; which ſtrict decrees appeare to have beene made heretofore in regard of Hereticks, which entred cloſely in to ſuch mens houſes as favoured their opinions, whom, under colour of performing with them ſuch religious Offices, they drew from the ſoundneſſe of true Religion: now that perverſe opinions through the grace of Almighty God are extinct & gone: the cauſe of former reſtraints being taken away, we ſee no reaſon but that private Oratories may hence forward injoy that liberty, which to have granted them heretofore, had not bin ſafe.* In ſum, all theſe things alledged are nothing, nor will it ever be proved while the world doth continue, but that the practice of the Church in caſes of extreme neceſſitie, hath made for private Baptiſme alwaies more than againſt it. Yea, *Baptiſme by any man in the caſe of neceſſity*, was the [c] voice of the whole world heretofore. Neither is *Tertullian*, *Epiphanius*, *Auguſtine*, or any other of the ancient againſt it. The boldnes of ſuch as pretending *Teclaes* example, took openly upon them both Baptiſme, & al other publique functions of Prieſthood, *Tertullian* ſeverely controlleth, ſaying: [d] *To give Baptiſme is in truth the Biſhops right. After him it belongeth unto Prieſts & Deacons; but not to them without authority from him received. For ſo the honour of the Church requireth, which being kept, preſerveth peace. Were it not in this reſpect, the Laity might doe the ſame, all ſorts might give even as all ſorts receive.* But becauſe Emulation is the mother of Schiſmes, *Let it content thee* (which art of the order of Laymen) *to do it in neceſſity when the ſtate of time, or place, or perſon thereunto compelleth. For then is their boldneſſe privileged that help, when the circumſtance of other mens dangers craveth it.* What he granteth generally to Lay perſons of the houſe of God, the ſame we cannot ſuppoſe he denyeth to any ſort or ſex contained under that name, unleſſe himſelfe did reſtraine the limits of his owne ſpeech, eſpecially ſeeing that *Tertullians* rule of interpretation is

a *Leo Conſt. 4.*
b *Idem Conſt. 15*
c *T. C. lib. 1. pag.* 145. To allow of Womens baptizing, is not only contrarie to the learned Writers now, but alſo contrary to all learned Antiquity, & contrarie to the practiſe of the Church whilſt there was any tolerable eſtate, *Tertull. de Virgin veland, & lib de Baptiſ. Epiphan lib. 1. & lib. 2 cont. Hæreſ. S. Auguſtine*, although hee ſeeme to allow of a Lay mans Baptiſme in time of neceſſitie, *cont. Epiſt. Parmen lib. 2. c.* 13. yet there he mentioneth not Womens Baptiſme: and in the fourth Councell of Carthage, *cap.* 100. it is ſimply without exception decreed, that a woman ought not to baptize.
d *Tertull. de Baptiſ.*

is [a] elſewhere, *Specialties are ſignified under that which is generall, becauſe they are therein comprehended.* All which *Tertullian* doth [b] denie, is, that women may be called to beare, or publikely take upon them to execute Offices of Eccleſiaſticall order, whereof none but men are capable. As for *Epiphanius*; he ſtriketh on the very ſelfe-ſame Anvill with *Tertullian*. And in neceſſitie if *S. Auguſtine* allow as much unto Lay-men as *Tertullian* doth, his *not mentioning* of women, is but a ſlender proofe that his meaning was to exclude women. Finally, the Councell of Carthage likewiſe, although it make no expreſſe ſubmiſſion, may be very well preſumed, willing to ſtoowp as other Poſitive ordinances doe, to the countermands of neceſſitie. Iudge therfore what the ancient would have thought, if in their dayes it had beene heard which is publiſhed in ours, [c] that becauſe, *The ſubſtance of the Sacrament doth chiefly depend on the inſtitution of God, which is the forme; and as it were the life of the Sacrament*, therefore firſt, *if the whole inſtitution be not kept, it is no Sacrament*; and ſecondly, if Baptiſme be private his inſtitution is broken, inas much as *according to the orders which he hath ſet for Baptiſme, it ſhould be done in the Congregation*, from whoſe ordinance in this point *wee ought not to ſwarve, although weknow that Infants ſhould be aſſuredly damned without Baptiſme*. O ſir, you that would ſpurn thus at ſuch, as in caſe of ſo dreadfull extremitie ſhould lie proſtrate before your feet, you that would turne away your face from them at the houre of their moſt neede, you that would damme up your eares, and harden your hearts as Iron, againſt the unreſiſtable cryes of Supplicants, calling upon you for mercy with termes of ſuch invocation, as that moſt dreadfull perplexitie might miniſter, if God by miracle did open the mouthes of Infants, to expreſſe their ſuppoſed neceſſitie, ſhould firſt imagine your ſelfe in their caſe, and them in yours. This done, let their ſupplications proceed out of your mouth, and your anſwere out of theirs. Would you then contentedly heare, *My Sonne, the Rites and Solemnities of Baptiſme muſt bee kept, wee may not do ill that good may come of it; neither are ſoules to bee delivered from eternall death and condemnation, by breaking orders which Chriſt hath ſet*, would you in their caſe your ſelfe bee ſhaken off with theſe anſweres, and not rather imbrace incloſed with both your armes a ſentence, which now is no Goſpell unto you, [c] *I will have mercy and not ſacrifice*? To acknowledge Chriſts inſtitution the ground of both Sacraments, I ſuppoſe, no Chriſtian man will refuſe: for it giveth them their very nature, it appointeth the matter whereof they conſiſt, the forme of their adminiſtration it teacheth, and it bleſſeth them with that grace whereby to us they are both pledges and inſtruments of life. Nevertheleſſe, ſeeing Chriſts inſtitution contayneth, beſides that which maketh compleate the Eſſence or Nature, other things that only are parts as it were of the furniture of Sacraments, the difference betweene theſe two muſt unfold that which the generall termes of indefinite ſpeech would confound. If the place appointed for Baptiſme be a part of Chriſts inſtitution, it is but his inſtitution as *ſacrifice*, Baptiſme his inſtitution as *mercy*, in this caſe. He which requireth both Mercy and Sacrifice, rejecteth his owne inſtitution of Sacrifice, where the offering of ſacrifice

[a] *Subjectum eſt generalis ſpeciale. In ipſo ſignificatur, quia in iſſe continetur*, Tert. de velan. Virg. *Poſito genere ſupponitur ſpecies.* Arc. in l. 2. c. de Tranſact.

[b] *Non permittitur mulieri in Eccleſia loqui, ſed nec docere, nec tingere, nec offerre, nec ullius virilis muneris nedum Sacerdotalis officii ſortem ſibi vendicare*, Tertul. de veland. Vir.

[c] *T. C. l. 1. p. 144.* The ſubſtance of the Sacrament dependeth chiefly of the inſtitution and Word of God, which is the forme, and as it were the life of the Sacrament. *T. C. lib. 1. p. 144.* Although part of the inſtitution bee obſerved, yet if the whole inſtitution be not, it is no Sacrament. *T. C. lib. 1. p. 146.* The orders which God hath ſet are, that it ſhould be done in the Congregation and by the Miniſter. *T. C. lib 1. p. 145* And I will further ſay, that although that the Infants which die without Baptiſme ſhould be aſſuredly damned; (Which is moſt falſe) yet ought not the orders which God hath ſet in his Church, be broken, after this ſort. [d] *Noſtro peccato aliis ſalutis conſulere non debemus*, Aug. lib. cont. Mendac. c. 17. [e] *Matth. 9. 13.*

would

would hinder mercy from being ſhewed, Externall circumſtances even in
a Matth.23.23. the holieſt and higheſt actions, are but the a *leſſer things of the Law*, whereunto thoſe actions themſelves being compared are *the greater*; and therefore as the greater are of ſuch importance that they *muſt be done*, ſo in that extremitie before ſuppoſed, if our account of the leſſer which are *not to be omitted*, ſhould cauſe omiſſion of that which is more to be accounted of, were not this our ſtrict obedience to Chriſts inſtitution touching *Mint and Commin*, a diſobedience to his inſtitution concerning love? But ſith no inſtitution of Chriſt hath ſo ſtrictly tyed Baptiſme to publique Aſſemblies, as it hath done all men unto Baptiſme, away with theſe mercileſſe and bloudy ſentences, let them never bee found ſtanding in the Bookes and writings of a Chriſtian man, they ſavour not of Chriſt, nor of his moſt gracious and meeke Spirit, but under colour of exact obedience, they nouriſh crueltie and hardneſſe of heart.

VVhether Baptiſme by VVomen be true Baptiſme, good and effectuall to them that receive it.

b *T. C. lib. 1. pag.* 144. On this point, whether he be a Miniſter or no, dependeth not only the dignitie, but alſo the being of the Sacrament, So that I take the Baptiſme of VVomen to bee no more the holy Sacrament of Baptiſme, than any other daily or ordinarie waſhing of the child.

62 To leave private Baptiſme therfore, and to come unto Baptiſme by women, which b they ſay, is no more a Sacrament, than any other ordinary waſhing or bathing of a mans body; the reaſon whereupon they ground their opinion herein is ſuch, as making Baptiſme by Women void, becauſe Women are no Miniſters in the Church of God, muſt needs generally annihilate the Baptiſme of all unto whom their conceit ſhall apply this exception, whether it be in regard of ſexe, of qualitie, of inſufficiency, or what ſoever. For if want of Calling do fruſtrate Baptiſme, they that baptize without Calling do nothing, be they Women or Men. To make Women Teachers in the houſe of God, were a groſſe abſurditie, ſeeing the Apoſtle hath ſaid, c *I permit not a Woman to teach:* And againe, d *Let your Women in Churches be ſilent.* Thoſe extraordinary gifts of ſpeaking with tongues & prophecying, which God at that time did not only beſtow upon Men, but on Women alſo, made it the harder to hold them confined with private bounds. Whereupon the Apoſtles ordinance was neceſſary againſt Womens publique admiſſion to teach. And becauſe when Law hath begun ſome one thing or other wel, it giveth good occaſion either to draw by judicious expoſition out of the very Law it ſelf or to annex to the Law by authoritie & juriſdiction things of like conveniency, therfore *Clement* extendeth this Apoſtolike Conſtitution to Baptiſme. For (ſaith he) *If we have denied them leave to teach, how ſhould any man diſpenſe with nature, & make them Miniſters of holy things, ſeeing this unskilfulneſs is a part of the Grecians impietie, which for the ſervice of women goddeſſes, have women Priests.* I ſomewhat marvel, that men which would not willingly be thought to ſpeake or write, but with good conſcience, dare hereupon openly avouch *Clement* for
f T.C.l.1.p.114. a f witneſſe, that *as when the Church began not only to decline, but to fall away from the ſinceritie of Religion, it borrowed a number of other prophanations of the Heathens, ſo it borrowed this, and muſt needes have women Prieſts as the Heathens had, and that this was one occaſion of bringing Baptiſme by Women into the Church of God.* Is it not plaine in their owne eyes, that firſt by an evidence which forbiddeth Women to bee Miniſters of Baptiſme,

c 1.*Tim.*2.12.
d 1.*Tim.*14.34.
e *Clem. Conſt. Apoſtol. lib.*2. *cap* 9.

they

they endevour to ſhew how Women were admitted unto that function in the waine and declination of Chriſtian pietie: Secondly, that by an evidence rejecting the Heathens, and condemning them of impietie, they would proove ſuch affection towards Heathens, as ordereth the affaires of the Church by the patterne of their example: and thirdly, that out of an evidence which nameth the Heathens, as being in ſome part a reaſon why the Church had no Women Prieſts, they gather, the Heathens to have bein one of the firſt occaſions why it had? So that throughout every branch of this teſtimonie their iſſue is, *Yea*, and their evidence directly, *No*. But to womens Baptiſme in private by occaſion of urgent neceſſitie, the reaſons that onely concerne ordinarie Baptiſme in publike are no juſt prejudice, neither can wee by force thereof diſprove the practice of thoſe Churches, which (neceſſitie requiring) allow Baptiſme in private to be adminiſtred by Women. Wee may not from Lawes that prohibit any thing with reſtraint, conclude abſolute and unlimited prohibitions: Although we denie not but they which utterly forbid ſuch Baptiſme, may have perhaps wherewith to juſtifie their orders againſt it. For, even things lawfull are [a] well prohibited, when there is feare leſt they make the way to unlawfull more eaſie. And it may bee, the libertie of Baptiſme by Women at ſuch times, doth ſometimes embolden the raſher ſort to doe it where no ſuch neceſſitie is. But whether of permiſſion beſides Law, or in preſumption againſt Law they doe it, is it thereby altogether fruſtrate, void, and as though it were never given? They which have not at the firſt their right Baptiſme, muſt of neceſſitie be rebaptized, becauſe the Law of Chriſt tyeth all men to receive Baptiſme. Iteration of Baptiſme once given hath beene alwayes thought a manifeſt contempt of that ancient Apoſtolique Aphoriſm, [b] *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſme*; Baptiſme not only one in as much as it hath every-where the ſame ſubſtance, and offereth unto all men the ſame grace, but one alſo for that it ought not to bee received by any one man above once. Wee ſerve that Lord which is but one, becauſe no other can bee joyned with him: wee embrace that Faith which is but one, becauſe it admitteth no innovation: that Baptiſme wee receive which is but one, becauſe it cannot be received often. For how ſhould we practiſe iteration of Baptiſme, and yet teach that wee are by Baptiſme borne anew, that by Baptiſme we are admitted into the heavenly ſocietie of Saints, that thoſe things bee really and effectually done by Baptiſme, which are no more poſſible to bee often done, [c] than a man can naturally bee often borne, or civilly bee often adopted into any ones ſtock and family? This alſo is the cauſe why they that preſent us unto Baptiſme, are intitled for ever after our Parents in God, and the reaſon why there wee receive new names, in token that by Baptiſme wee are made new creatures. As Chriſt hath therfore died and riſen from the dead but once, ſo the Sacrament which both extinguiſheth in him our former ſinne, and beginneth in us a new condition of life, is by one only actuall adminiſtration for ever availeable, according to that in the Nicene Creed, *I beleeve one Baptiſme for remiſſion of ſinnes*. And becauſe ſecond Baptiſme was ever [d] abhorred in the Church of God as a kind of inceſtuous birth, they that iterate Baptiſme, are driven under ſome pretence or other to make the former Baptiſme void.

[a] *Licita prohibeatur, ne ſi permittentur, eorum occaſione perveniatur ad illicita. neque tamen*, Iuſt. de Aſſuth. tut. l. Officium. D. de rei vind.

[b] *Epheſ.* 4. 5.

[c] *Una eſt naſcitivitas de terra alia de cœlo; una de carne, alia de Spiritu; una de æternitate, alia de mortalitate: una de maſculo & fœmina, alia de Deo & Eccleſia. Sed ipſe duæ ſingulares ſunt. Quomodo enim uterus non poteſt repeti, ſic nec baptiſmus iterari* Proſp. Sentent. 331. *Eia fratres lacteum genialiit, fontis ad laticem convolate, ut ſemper vobis aqua ſufficiat, hoc ente omnia ſcientes, quia hanc nec effundere licet nec rurſus haurire*, Zeno. Inuit. ad font.

[d] *Aug. ſt. de Baptiſ. cont. Don.* l. 2. c. 14.

Ter-

a Tertull. de Bapt. ism.
b Cypr Epist. 71

[a] *Tertullian* the first that proposed to the Church, [b] *Agrippinus* the first in the Church that accepted, and against the use of the Church *Novatian* the first that publikely began to practise rebaptization, did it therefore upon these two grounds, a true perswasion that Baptism is necessary, and a false, that the Baptism which others administred was no Baptism. *Novatianus* his conceit was, that none can administer true Baptism but the true Church of Iesus Christ, that he and his followers alone were the Church, and for the rest he accounted them wicked and profane persons, such as by Baptism could cleanse no man, unlesse they first did purifie themselves, and reforme the faults wherewith he charged them. At which time [c] S. *Cyprian* with the greatest part of African Bishops, because they likewise thought that none but only the true Church of God can baptize, and were of nothing more certainly perswaded, than that Hereticks are as rotten branches cut off from the life and body of the true Church, gathered hereby that the Church of God both may with good consideration, and ought to reverse that Baptisme which is given by Hereticks. These held and practised their own opinion, yet with great protestations often made that they neither loved a whit the lesse, nor thought in any respect the worse of them that were of a contrary mind. In requitall of which ingenious moderation, the rest that withstood them, did it in peaceable sort with very good regard had of them as of men in errour, but not in heresie. The Bishop of Rome against their novelties, upheld (as beseemed him) the ancient and true Apostolike customes, till they which unadvisedly before had erred, became in a manner all [d] reconciled friends unto Truth, and saw that heresie in the Ministers of Baptisme, could no way evacuate the force thereof; [e] such Heresie alone excepted, as by reason of unsoundnesse in the highest Articles of Christian Faith, presumed to change, and by changing to mayme the substance, the forme of Baptisme. In which respect the Church did neither simply disanull, nor absolutely ratifie Baptisme by Hereticks. For the Baptisme which Novatianists gave, stood firme, whereas they whom [f] Samosatenians had baptized, were rebaptized. It was likewise ordered in the [g] Councell of Arles, that if any Arrian did reconcile himselfe to the Church, they should admit him without new Baptisme, unlesse by examination they found him not baptized in the Name of the Trinitie. [h] *Dionysius* Bishop of Alexandria maketh report, how there lived under him a man of good reputation, and of very ancient continuance in that Church, who being present at the Rites of Baptisme, and observing with better consideration than ever before what was there done, came, and with weeping submission craved of his Bishop not to denie him Baptisme, the due of all which professe Christ, seeing it had beene so long sithence his evill hap to bee deceived by the fraud of Heretickes, and at their hands (which till now he never throughly and duely waighed) to take a Baptisme full fraught with blasphemous impieties, a Baptisme in nothing like unto that

c Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 2. 3. Cypr. Epist. 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76.

d *Illi ipsi Episcopi qui rebaptizandos Hereticos cum* Cypriano *statuerant, ad antiquam consuetudinem revoluti novum emisere decretum*, Hieron. cont. Lucifer. *Vide &* August. cont. Cresc. lib. 3. cap. 2, 3. & Epist. 48.

e *Dixisti fieri non posse ut in falso baptismate inquinatus abluat, immundus emundet, supplantator erigat, perditus haberet, reus veniam tribuat, damnatus absolvat. Nec haec omnia poterunt ad scios haereticos pertinere, qui falsaverunt symbolum, dum alter dixerit duos Deos, cum Deus unus sit, alter Patrem vult in persona Filii cognosci, alter carnem subducens Filio Dei per quam Deo reconciliatus est mundus: & ceteri hujusmodi, qui à Sacramentis Catholicis alieni noscuntur*, Optat. lib. 1.

f Synod. Nicæ. cap. 19.
g Synod 1. Arelat. cap. 8.
h Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 7. ca. 8.

that which the true Church of Chriſt uſeth. The Biſhop greatly moved therat, yet durſt not adventure to rebaptize, but did the beſt he could to put him in good comfort, uſing much perſwaſion with him not to trouble himſelfe with things that were paſt and gone, nor after ſo long continuance in the fellowſhip of Gods people, to call now in queſtion his firſt entrance. The poore man that ſaw himſelfe in this ſort anſwered but not ſatisfied, ſpent afterwards his life in continuall perplexity, whereof the Biſhop remained fearfull to give releaſe: perhaps too fearfull, if the Baptiſme were ſuch as his own Declaration importeth. For that the ſubſtance wherof was rotten at the very firſt, is never by tract of time able to recover ſoundneſſe. And where true Baptiſme was not before given, the caſe of rebaptization is cleere. But by this it appeareth that Baptiſme is not void in regard of Hereſie, and therefore much leſſe through any *other morall* defect in the Miniſter thereof. Vnder which ſecond pretenſe, Donatiſts notwithſtanding tooke upon them to make fruſtrate the Churches Baptiſm, and themſelves to rebaptize their own fry. For whereas ſome forty yeares after the Martyrdome of bleſſed *Cyprian*, the Emperour *Diocleſian* began to [a] perſecute the Church of Chriſt, and for the ſpeedier aboliſhment of their Religion, to burn up their ſacred Bookes, there were in the Church it ſelf *Traditors*, content to deliver up the Bookes of God by compoſition, to the end their own lives might be ſpared. Which men growing thereby odious to the reſt, whoſe conſtancy was greater, it fortuned that after, when one *Cæcilian* was ordained Biſhop in the Church of Carthage, whom others endevoured in vaine to defeat by excepting againſt him as a *Traditor*, they whoſe accuſations could not prevaile, deſperatly joyned themſelvs in one, and made a Biſhop of their own crue, accounting from that day forward their faction the only true and ſincere Church. The firſt Biſhop on that part was *Majorinus*, whoſe Succeſſour *Donatus* being the firſt that wrote in defence of their Schiſme, the Birds that were hatched before by others, have their names from him. Arrians and Donatiſts began both about one time. Which Hereſies according to the different ſtrength of their own ſinews, wrought as hope of ſucceſſe led them, the one with the choyceſt wits, the other with the multitude ſo far, that after long and troubleſome experience the perfecteſt view men could take of both was hardly able to induce any certaine determinate reſolution, whether Errour may do more by the curious ſubtlety of ſharp Diſcourſe, or elſe by the meere appearance of zeale and devout affection, the later of which two aides, gave Donatiſts beyond all mens expectation, as great a ſway as ever any Schiſm or Hereſie had within that reach of the Chriſtian World where it bred and grew: the rather perhaps, becauſe the Church which neither greatly feared them, and beſides had neceſſary cauſe to bend it ſelfe againſt others that aymed directly at a farre higher marke the Deity of Chriſt, was contented to let Donatiſts have theirs forth by the ſpace of three-ſcore yeares and above, even from tenne yeares before *Conſtantine*, till the time that [b] *Optatus* Biſhop of Milevis publiſhed his Books againſt *Parmenian*. During which terme and the ſpace of that Schiſmes continuance afterwards, they had, beſides many other Secular and worldly meanes to help them forward, theſe ſpeciall advantages. Firſt, the very occaſion of

[a] *Circa an.* 303.

[b] *Circa an.* 378.

their breach with the Church of God, a juſt hatred and diſlike of *Traditors* ſeemed plauſible, they eaſily perſwaded their hearers that ſuch men could not be holy as held communion and fellowſhip with them that betray Religion. Again, when to dazle the eyes of the ſimple, and to prove that it can be no Church which is not holy, they had in ſhew and ſound of words the glorious pretence of the Creed Apoſtolike, *I beleeve the holy Catholike Church*, we need not think it any ſtrange thing that with the multitud they gained credit. And avouching that ſuch as are not of the true Church can adminiſter no true Baptiſm, they had for this point whole Volumes of St. *Cyprians* own writing, together with the judgement of divers Affrican Synods, whoſe ſentence was the ſame with his. Wherupon, the Fathers were likewiſe in defence of their juſt cauſe very greatly prejudiced, both for that they could not inforce the duty of mens communion with a Church confeſt to be in many things blame-worthy, unles they ſhould oftentimes ſeem to ſpeak as halfe defenders of the faults themſelves, or at the leaſt not ſo vehement accuſers therof as their adverſaries; & to withſtand iteration of Baptiſm, the other branch of the Donatiſts Hereſie was impoſſible, without manifeſt and profeſt rejection of *Cyprian*, whom the World univerſally did in his life time admire as the greateſt amongſt Prelates, and now honour as the loweſt in the Kingdome of Heaven. So true we find it by experience of all Ages in the Church of God, that the teachers errour is the peoples try-all, harder and heavier by ſo much to beare, as he is in worth & regard greater that miſperſwadeth them. Although there was oddes between *Cyprians* cauſe and theirs, he differing from others of ſounder underſtanding in that point, but not dividing himſelfe from the body of the Church by Schiſm, as did the Donatiſts. For which cauſe, [a] ſaith *Vincentius*, *Of one and the ſame opinion we judge (which may ſeem ſtrange) the Authors Catholike, & the followers hereticall; we acquit the Maſters, & condemn the Schollers; they are heires of Heaven which have written thoſe Books, the defendors wherof are trodden down to the pit of Hel.* The invectives of Catholik Writers therfore againſt them are ſharp; the words of [b] Imperiall Edicts by *Honorius* & *Theodoſius* made to bridle them very bitter, the puniſhments ſevere in revenge of their folly. Howbeit for feare (as we may conjecture) leſt much ſhould be derogated from the Baptiſm of the Church, and Baptiſm by Donatiſts be more eſteemed of than was meet, if on the one ſide that which Heretiks had done ill ſhould ſtand as good, on the other ſide that be reverſed which the Catholike Church had well and religiouſly done, divers better minded than adviſed men, thought it fitteſt to meet with this inconvenience, by rebaptizing Donatiſts as well as they rebaptized Catholikes. For ſtay whereof, the [c] ſame Emperours ſaw it meet to give their Law a double edge, wherby it might equally on both ſides cut off not only Heretiks which rebaptized whom they could pervert, but alſo Catholike and Chriſtian Prieſts which did the like unto ſuch as before had taken Baptiſme at the hands of Heretiks, and were afterwards reconciled to the Church of God. Donatiſts were therefore in proceſſe of time, though with much adoe, wearied, and at the length worne out by the conſtancy of that Truth which teacheth, that evill Miniſters of good things are as Torches, a light to others, a waſte to none but themſelves only, and that the foulneſſe of their hands can neither

[a] *Vincent. Liren. adverſ. hæreſ. cap. 11.*

[b] *Vide C. Theo. lib. 16. tit. 6. l. Adverſarios & l. Nullus circa an. 405.*

[c] *Si quis C. Ne. ſanct. baptiſ. circa an. 413.*

neither any whit impaire the vertue, nor ſtaine the glory of the Myſteries of Chriſt. Now that which was done amiſſe by vertuous and good men, as *Cyprian* carried aſide with hatred againſt Hereſie, and was ſecondly followed by Donatiſts, whom Envy and Rancor covered with ſhew of Godlines, made obſtinate to cancell whatſoever the Church did in the Sacrament of Baptiſme, hath of later daies, in another reſpect, farre different from both the former, been brought freſhly againe into practice. For the Anabaptiſt rebaptized, becauſe, in his eſtimation the Baptiſme of the Church is fruſtrate, for that we give it unto infants which have not Faith, whereas, according unto Chriſts Inſtitution as they conceive it, true Baptiſme ſhould alwaies preſuppoſe actuall beliefe in Receivers, and is otherwiſe no Baptiſm. Of theſe three Errours, there is not any but hath been able at the leaſt to alleage in defence of it ſelf many faire probabilities. Notwithſtanding, ſith the Church of God hath hitherto alwayes conſtantly maintained, that to rebaptize them which are known to have received true Baptiſm is unlawful; that if Baptiſm ſeriouſly be adminiſtred in the ſame Element, and with the ſame form of words which Chriſts Inſtitution teacheth, there is no other defect in the World that can make it fruſtrate, or deprive it of the nature of a true Sacrament; and laſtly, that Baptiſm is only then to be re-adminiſtred, when the firſt deliverie thereof is void, in regard of the forealledged imperfections and no other, ſhall we now in the caſe of Baptiſme, which having both for matter and forme the ſubſtance of Chriſts Inſtitution, is by a fourth ſort of men voided, for the only defect of Eccleſiaſticall authoritie in the Miniſter, thinke it enough that they blow away the force therof with the bare ſtrength of their very breath, by ſaying, *we take ſuch Baptiſme to be no more the Sacrament of Baptiſme, than any other ordinarie bathing to be a Sacrament?* [a] it behooveth generally all ſorts of men to keepe themſelves within the limits of their owne vocation. And ſeeing God, from whom mens ſeverall degrees and preeminences doe proceed, hath appointed them in his Church, at whoſe hands his pleaſure is that we ſhould receive both Baptiſme and all other publike medicinable helpes of ſoule, perhaps thereby the more to ſettle our hearts in the love of our ghoſtly Superiors, they have ſmall cauſe to hope that with him their voluntary ſervices will be accepted, who thruſt themſelvs into functions, either above the capacity or beſides their place, and over-boldly intermeddle with duties, whereof no charge was ever given them. They that in any thing exceed the compaſſe of their own order, do as much as in them lyeth to diſſolve that Order which is the harmony of Gods Church. Suppoſe therfore that in theſe and the like conſiderations the Law did utterly prohibit Baptiſm to be adminiſtred by any other than perſons therunto ſolemnly conſecrated; what neceſſity ſoever happen. Are not [b] many things firme being done, although in part done otherwiſe than Poſitive rigor and ſtrictneſſe did require? Nature as much as is poſſible inclineth unto validities and preſervations. Diſſolutions and Nullities of things done are not only not favoured, but hated, when either urged without cauſe, or extended beyond their reach: if therfore at any time it come to paſſe, that in teaching publikely or privately in delivering this bleſſed Sacrament of Regeneration ſome unſanctified hand, contrary to Chriſts ſuppoſed Ordi-

[a] *Numb.16.10. Levit.10.1. 1 Sam 13.11. 2 Sam.6.6. 2 Chron.26.16. Heb.5 4.*

[b] *Seq.306. Lugdunenſis ex literu Decret. de matri. contract. Damaſ. Burchar. Reg.106. Prohibita fieri ſi fiant non tenent. In prohibitionibus autem circa res favourabiles contrarium obtinet.*

nance, doe intrude it ſelfe to execute that, whereupon the Lawes of God and his Church have deputed others, which of theſe two opinions ſeemeth more agreeable with Equity, ours that diſallow what is done amiſſe, yet make not the force of the Word and Sacraments, much leſſe their nature and very ſubſtance to depend on the Miniſters authority and calling, or elſe [a] theirs which defeat, diſanull, and annihilate both, in reſpect of that one only perſonall defect, there being not any Law of God which ſaith, that if the Miniſter be incompetent, his Word ſhall be no Word, his Baptiſm no Baptiſm? He which teacheth and is not ſent, loſeth the reward, but yet retaineth the name of a Teacher; his uſurped actions have in him the ſame nature which they have in others, although they yeeld him not the ſame comfort. And if theſe two caſes bee peeres, the caſe of Doctrine and the caſe of Baptiſm both alike, ſith no defect in their vocation that teach the Truth, is able to take away the benefit therof from him which heareth, wherfore ſhould the want of a lawfull calling in them that baptize, make Baptiſme to be vaine? [b] They grant that the matter and the form in Sacraments are the only parts of ſubſtance, and that if theſe two be retained, albeit other things beſides bee uſed which are inconvenient, the Sacrament notwithſtanding is adminiſtred but not ſincerely. Why perſiſt they not in this opinion? when by theſe faire ſpeeches they have put us in hope of agreement, wherfore ſup they up their words againe, interlacing ſuch frivolous Interpretations & Gloſes as diſgrace their Sentence? What ſhould move them, having named the *matter* and the *form* of the Sacrament to give us preſently warning, [c] that they mean by *the forme* of the Sacrament *the inſtitution*, which expoſition darkeneth what ſoever was before plaine? For whereas in common underſtanding, that *forme*, which added to the Element doth make a Sacrament, and is of the outward ſubſtance thereof, containeth onely the words of uſuall application, they ſet it downe (leſt common Dictionaries ſhould deceive us) that *the forme* doth ſignifie in their Language *the inſtitution*, which inſtitution in truth comprehendeth both forme and matter. Such are their fumbling ſhifts to incloſe the Miniſters vocation within the compaſſe of ſome eſſentiall part of the Sacrament. A thing that can never ſtand with ſound and ſincere conſtruction. For what if the [d] Miniſter be *no circumſtance, but a ſubordinate efficient cauſe in the* work of Baptiſm? What if the Miniſters vocation be a matter [e] *of perpetuall neceſsity, and not a Ceremonie variable as times and occaſions require*? *What if his calling bee a principall part of the Inſtitution of Chriſt*? Doth it therfore follow that the Miniſters authority is [f] *of the ſubſtance of the Sacrament*, and as incident into the nature therof as the matter and the forme it ſelfe, yea, more incident? For wheras in caſe of neceſſity the greateſt amongſt them profeſſeth the change of the Element of Water lawfull, and others which like not ſo well this opinion, could be better content that voluntarily the *words* of Chriſts Inſtitution were altered, and

[a] *T.C. l.1.p.144.* As S. *Paul* ſaith that a man cannot preach which is not ſent, *Rom.*10.15 no not although hee ſpeake the words of the Scripture & interpret them: So I cannot ſee how a man can baptize unleſſe he be ſent to that end, although hee powre water & rehearſe the words which are to be rehearſed in the Miniſtry of Baptiſme.

[b] *T.C.l.1.p.165.* If either the matter of the Sacrament, or the forme of it, which is the Iuſtitution [which things are only ſubſtantiall parts] were wanting, there ſhould then have bin no Sacrament at al miniſtred. But they being retained & yet other things uſed which are not convenient, the Sacrament is miniſtred, but not ſincerely.

[c] *T.C.l.3.p.117.*

[d] *T.C.l.3.p.121.*

[e] *T.C.l.3.p.135.* The Miniſter is of the ſubſtance of the Sacrament, conſidering that it is a principall part of Chriſts Inſtitution. *Bez. Epiſt.2. Deſit aqua, & tamen Baptiſmus alicujus differri cum ædificationem non poſſit nec debeat, ego certè quovis alio liquore non minus ritè quàm aqua baptizarim.*

[f] *T.C.l.3.p.* 138. Shew mee why the breach of the Inſtitution in the forme ſhould make the Sacrament unavaileable, and not the breach of this part [which concerneth the Miniſter] *T.C ibid.* Howſoever ſome learned and godly give ſome liberty in the change of the Elements of the holy Sacrament, yet I do not ſee how that can ſtand. *Idem.p.*137. I would rather judge him baptized into the Name of Chriſt without adding the Father and the Holy Ghoſt when the Element of water is added, than when the other words being duly kept, ſome other liquor is uſed.

men

men baptized in *the Name of Chriſt*, without either mention made of the Father or of the Holy Ghoſt, nevertheleſſe, in denying that Baptiſm adminiſtred by private perſons, ought to be reckoned of as a Sacrament, they both agree. It may therfore pleaſe them both to conſider, that Baptiſm is an action in part Morall, in part Eccleſiaſticall, and in part Myſticall: Morall, as being a duty which men performe towards God; Eccleſiaſticall, in that it belongeth unto Gods Church as a publike duty; finally Myſticall, if we reſpect what God doth therby intend to work. The greateſt Morall perfection of Baptiſm conſiſteth in mens devout obedience to the Law of God, which Law requireth both the outward act or thing done, and alſo that Religious affection which God doth ſo much regard, that without it whatſoever we do is hatefull in his ſight, who therfore is ſaid to reſpect *Adverbes* more than *Verbes*, becauſe the end of his Law in appointing what we ſhall do is our own perfection, which perfection conſiſteth chiefly in the vertuous diſpoſition of the mind, and approveth it ſelf to him not by *doing*, but by doing *well*. Wherin appeareth alſo the difference between Humane and Divine Laws, the one of which two are content with *opus operatum*, the other require *opus operantis*, the one do but claime the deed, the other eſpecially the mind. So that according to Laws which principally reſpect the heart of men, works of Religion being not religiouſly performed, cannot morally be perfect. Baptiſm as an Eccleſiaſticall work, is for the manner of performance ordered by divers Eccleſiaſticall Laws, providing that as the Sacrament it ſelfe is a gift of no meane worth, ſo the Miniſtery thereof might in all circumſtances appeare to be a Function of no ſmall regard. All that belongeth to the Myſticall perfection of Baptiſm outwardly, is the Element, the Word and the ſerious application of both unto him which receiveth both, whereunto if wee adde that ſecret reference which this action hath to life and remiſſion of ſinnes, by vertue of Chriſts own compact ſolemnely made with his Church, to accompliſh fully the Sacrament of Baptiſm, there is not any thing more required. Now put the queſtion whether Baptiſme adminiſtred to Infants without any Spirituall calling, be unto them both a true Sacrament and an effectuall inſtrument of grace, or elſe an act of no more account than the ordinary Waſhings are. The ſumme of all that can be ſaid to defeat ſuch Baptiſme is, that thoſe things which have no being, can work nothing; and that Baptiſm without the power of Ordination, is as a judgement without ſufficient Iuriſdiction, voyd, fruſtrate, and of no effect. But to this wee anſwer, that the fruit of Baptiſm dependeth only upon the Covenant which God hath made; that God by Covenant requireth in the elder ſort, Faith and Baptiſm, in Children the Sacrament of Baptiſm alone, whereunto he hath alſo given them right by ſpecial priviledge of birth, within the boſom of the holy Church; that Infants therfore, which have received Baptiſm complete, as touching the Myſticall perfection thereof, are by vertue of his own Covenant and promiſe cleanſed from all ſinne, for as much as all other Laws concerning that which in Baptiſm is either Morall or Eccleſiaſticall, do binde the Church which giveth Baptiſm, and not the Infant which receiveth it of the Church. So that if any thing be therein amiſſe, the harm which groweth by violation of holy Ordinances, muſt altogether reſt where the bonds

of ſuch Ordinances hold. For that in actions of this Nature it fareth not as in Iuriſdictions may ſomewhat appeare by the very opinion which men have of them. The nullity of that which a Judge doth by way of authority without authority, is known to all men, and agreed upon with full conſent of the whole World, every man receiveth it as a generall Edict of Nature, whereas the nullity of Baptiſme in regard of the like defect, is only a few mens new ungrounded and as yet unapproved imagination. Which difference of generallity in mens perſwaſions on the one ſide, and their paucity whoſe conceit leadeth them the other way, hath riſen from a difference eaſie to obſerve in the things themſelves. The exerciſe of unauthorized Juriſdiction is a grievance unto them that are under it, whereas they that without authority preſume to baptize, offer nothing but that which to all men is good and acceptable. Sacraments are food and the Miniſters thereof as Parents or as Nurſes, at whoſe hands when there is neceſſity but no poſſibility of receiving it, if that which they are not preſent to do in right of their Office, bee of pitty and compaſſion done by others, ſhall this bee thought to turne Celeſtiall Bread into gravell, or the medicine of ſoules into poyſon? Iuriſdiction is a yoke which Law hath impoſed on the necks of men in ſuch ſort, that they muſt indure it for the good of others, how contrary ſoever it be to their own particular appetites and inclinations, Iuriſdiction bridleth men againſt their wils, that which a Iudge doth prevaile by vertue of his very power; and therfore not without great reaſon, except the Law hath given him authority, whatſoever he doth, vaniſheth. Baptiſme on the other ſide being a favour which it pleaſeth God to beſtow, a benefit of ſoule to us that receive it, and a grace which they that deliver are but as meere Veſſels, either appointed by others or offered of their own accord to this ſervice; of which two if they be the one, it is but their own honour, their own offence to be the other; can it poſſibly ſtand with [a] equity and right, that the faultineſſe of their preſumption in giving Baptiſme ſhould be able to prejudice us, who by taking Baptiſm have no way offended? I know there are many ſentences found in the Books and Writings of the ancient Fathers, to prove both Eccleſiaſticall and alſo Morall defects in the Miniſter of Baptiſm, a bar to the heavenly benefit therof. Which ſentences we alwayes ſo underſtand, as [b] *Auguſtin* underſtood in a caſe of like nature the words of *Cyprian*. When Infants baptized were after their Parents revolt carried by them in armes to the ſtewes of Idols, thoſe wretched creatures, as Saint *Cyprian* thought, were not only their own ruine but their childrens alſo; *Their children*, whom this their Apoſtaſie profaned, *did loſe what Chriſtian Baptiſm had given them being newly borne*. They loſt (ſaith S. *Auguſtin*) the grace of Baptiſm, *if we conſider to what their Parents impiety did tend*, although the mercy of God preſerved thē, & will alſo in that dreadfull day of account give them favourable audience pleading in their own behalfe, *The harme of other mens perfidiouſneſſe it lay not in us to avoyd*. After the ſame manner, whatſoever we read written, if it ſound to the prejudice of Baptiſm through any either Morall or Eccleſiaſticall defect therein, we conſter it, as Equity and Reaſon teacheth, with reſtraint to the offender only, which doth, as far as concerneth himſelfe and them which wittingly concur with him, make the Sacrament of God fruitleſſe. S. *Auguſtin doubtfulneſſe*,

[a] *Factum alterius alii nocere non debet.* Vlp. l. de pup. llo. §. ſi plurimum. Item Alphen. l. Pater familias. De Hære. inſti. *Maleficia tenent Autores ſuos non alios.* L. Sancimus 22 C. de pœn.

[b] *Aug. Epiſt.* 23.

fulneſſe,[a] whether Baptiſm by a Lay-man may ſtand, or ought to be readminiſtred, ſhould not be mentioned by them which preſume to define peremptorily of that, wherin he was content to profeſſe himſelfe unreſolved. Albeit in very truth his opinion is plain enough, but the manner of delivering his judgement being modeſt, they make of a vertue an imbecility, and impute his calmneſſe of ſpeech to an irreſolution of mind. His Diſputation in that place is againſt *Parmenian*, which held, that a Biſhop or a Prieſt if they fall into any Hereſie, do therby loſe the power which they had before, to baptize, and that therefore Baptiſme by Hereticks is meerely void. For anſwer wherof he firſt denyeth, that Hereſie can more deprive men of power to baptize others, than it is of force to take from them their own Baptiſm; and in the ſecond place he farther addeth, that if Hereticks did loſe the power which before was given them by Ordination, and did therefore unlawfully uſurp as ſoft as they took upon them to give the Sacrament of Baptiſme, it followeth not that Baptiſm, by them adminiſtred without authority, is no Baptiſm. For then what ſhould we think of Baptiſm by Lay men, to whom authority was never given? I doubt (ſaith S. *Auguſtin*) whether any man which carryeth a vertuous and godly mind will affirme, that the Baptiſm which Lay-men do in caſe of neceſſity adminiſter ſhould be iterated. *For to do it unneceſſarily, is to execute another mans office; neceſſity urging, to do it is then either no fault at all* (much leſſe ſo grievous a crime that it ſhould deſerve to be termed by the name of[b] ſacriledge) *or if any, a very pardonable fault. But ſuppoſe it even of very purpoſe uſurped and given unto any man by every man that liſteth, yet that which is given cannot poſſibly be denied to have been given, how truly ſoever we may ſay it hath not been given lawfully. Unlawfull uſurpation a penitent affection muſt redreſſe. If not, the thing that was given ſhall remain to the hurt and detriment of him which unlawfully either adminiſtred or received the ſame, yet ſo that in this reſpect it ought not to be reputed, as if it had not at all been given.* Whereby we may plainely perceive, that Saint *Auguſtin* was not himſelfe uncertaine what to think, but doubtfull, whether any well-minded man in the whole World, could thinke otherwiſe than he did. Their Argument taken from a ſtollen ſeale, may returne to the place out of which they had it; for it helpeth their cauſe nothing. That which men give or grant to others, muſt appeare to have proceeded of their own accord. This being manifeſt, their Gifts and Grants are thereby made effectuall, both to bar themſelves from revocation, and to aſſecure the right they have given. Wherein for further prevention of miſchiefes, that otherwiſe might grow by the malice, treachery, and fraud of men, it is both equall and meet that the ſtrength of mens deeds, and the inſtruments which declare the ſame, ſhould ſtrictly depend upon divers ſolemnities, wherof there cannot be the like reaſon in things that paſſe between God and us, becauſe ſith we need not doubt, leſt the treaſures of his Heavenly grace ſhould without his conſent be paſt by forged conveiances, nor leſt he ſhould deny at any time his own acts, and ſeeke to revoke what hath beene conſented unto before: as there is no ſuch feare of danger through deceit and falſhood in this caſe, ſo neither hath the circumſtance of mens perſons that waight in Baptiſme, which for good and juſt conſiderations in the cuſtody of ſeales of Office it ought to have. The grace of Baptiſm

[a] *T. C. l. 3. f. 136. Auguſtine* ſtandeth in doubt, whether Baptiſme by a Lay-man be availeable or no. *Cont. lit. Parmen. l. 2. c. 13.* where by all likelyhood hee was out of doubt, that that which was miniſtred by a Woman, whoſe unaptneſſe herein is double to that of a Lay-man, was of no effect.

[b] *T. C. l. 3. p. 116* The ſacriledge of private perſons, Women eſpecially in adminiſtring the holy Sacrament of Baptiſme.

[c] *T. C. l. 3. p. 139.* As by the ſeale which the Prince hath ſet a part to ſeale his Grants with, when it is ſtollen and ſet to by him that hath no authority, there groweth no aſſurance to the party that hath it: So if it were poſſible to be the ſeale of God, which a woman ſhould ſet to, yet for that ſhe hath ſtollen it and put it to, not only without, but contrary to the Commandement of God, I ſee not how any can take any aſſurance by reaſon thereof.

Baptiſm commeth by donation from God alone. That God hath committed the miniſtery of Baptiſm unto ſpeciall men, it is for orders ſake in his Church, and not to the end that their authority might give being, or adde force to the Sacrament it ſelfe. That Infants have right to the Sacrament of Baptiſm, we all acknowledge. Charge them we cannot as guileſull and wrongfull poſſeſſors of that, whereunto they have right by the manifeſt will of the Donor, and are not parties unto any defect or diſorder in the maner of receiving the ſame. And if any ſuch diſorder bee, wee have ſufficiently before declared, that *delictum cum capite ſemper ambulat*, mens own faults are their own harmes. Wherfore to countervaile this and the like miſchoſen reſemblances with that, which more truely and plainely agreeth, the ordinance of God concerning their vocation that miniſter Baptiſme, wherein the myſtery of our regeneration is wrought, hath therunto the ſame Analogy which laws of wedlock have to our firſt nativity and birth. So that if Nature do effect procreation, notwithſtanding the wicked violation & breach even of Natures law, made that the entrance of all mankind into this preſent World might bee without blemiſh, may we not juſtly preſume that grace doth accompliſh the other, although there be faultineſſe in them that tranſgreſſe the order which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath eſtabliſhed in his Church? Some light may be borrowed from Circumciſion, for explication, what is true in this queſtion of Baptiſm. Seeing then that even they, which [a] condemn *Sephora* the wife of *Moſes*, for taking upon her to circumciſe her ſon, a thing neceſſary at that time for her to do, and as I think very hard to reprove in her, conſidering how *Moſes*, becauſe himſelfe had not done it ſooner, was therfore ſtricken by the hand of God, neither could in that extremity performe the office; wherupon, for the ſtay of Gods indignation, there was no choice, but the action muſt needs fall into her hands; whoſe fact therein whether wee interpret, as ſome have done, that being a Midianite, and as yet not ſo throughly acquainted with the exerciſe of Jewiſh Rites, it much diſcontented her, to ſee her ſelfe through her busbands over-ſight, in a matter of his own Religion brought unto theſe perplexities and ſtreights, that either ſhe muſt now indure him periſhing before her eyes, or elſe wound the fleſh of her own Child, which ſhee could not do but with ſome indignation ſhewed, in that ſhe fumingly both threw down the fore-skin at his feet, and upbraided him with the cruelty of his Religion: or if wee better like to follow their more judicious Expoſition, which are not inclinable to thinke that *Moſes* was matcht like *Socrates*, nor that Circumciſion could now in *Eleazar* bee ſtrange unto her having had *Gerſom* her elder ſonne before circumciſed, nor that any occaſion of choler could riſe from a ſpectable of ſuch miſery, as doth [b] naturally move compaſſion and not wrath, nor that *Sephora* was ſo impious, as in the viſible preſence of Gods deſerved anger, to ſtorme at the ordinance and Law of God, nor that the words of the hiſtory it ſelfe can inforce any ſuch affection, but do only

[a] *Exod.* 4. 24. *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 144. I ſay that the unlawfulnes of that fact doth appeare ſufficiently, in that ſhe did it before her husband *Moſes* which was a Prophet of the Lord, to whom that office of circumciſion did appertaine. Beſides, that ſhee did cut off the fore-skin of the Infant, not of mind to obey the Commandement of God, or for the ſalvation of the Child, but in a choler only, to the end that her husband might be eaſed and have releaſe: which mind appeareth in her both by her words and by caſting away in anger the fore-skin which ſhe had cut off. And if it be ſaid, that the event declared that the act pleaſed God, becauſe *Moſes* forthwith waxed better, and was recovered of his ſickneſſe, I have ſhewed before that if wee meaſure things by the event, wee ſhall oftentimes juſtifie the wicked, and take the righteouſneſſe of the righteous from them.

[b] *Mala paſſis non iraſcimur, ſed compatimur*, Hoct. de Conſol.

only declare how after the act performed, ſhe *touched* the feet of *Moſes*, ſaying, [a] *Sponſus tu mihi es ſanguinum*; *Thou art unto mee an husband of bloud*, which might be very well, the one done, and the other ſpoken, even out of the flowing abundance of commiſeration and love, to ſignifie with hands laid under his feet, that her tender affection towards him, had cauſed her thus to forget woman-wood, to lay all motherly affection aſide, and to redeeme her husband out of the hands of Death with effuſion of bloud; the ſequell thereof, take it which way you will, is a plaine argument that God was ſatisfied with that ſhe did, as may appeare by his own teſtimony, declaring how there followed in the perſon of *Moſes* preſent releaſe of his grievous puniſhment upon her ſpeedy diſcharge of that duty, which by him neglected, had offended God, [b] even as after execution of Juſtice by the hands of Princes, the plague was immediatly taken away, which former impunity of ſin had cauſed; in which ſo manifeſt and plain caſes, not to make that a reaſon of the event, which God himſelfe hath ſet down as a reaſon, were falſly to accuſe whom he doth juſtifie, and without any cauſe to traduce what we ſhould allow: yet ſeeing they which will have it a breach of the Law of God, for her to circumciſe in that neceſſity, are not able to deny, but Circumciſion being in that very manner performed, was to the innocent child which received it true Circumciſion, why ſhould that defect whereby Circumciſion was ſo little weakned bee to Baptiſme a deadly wound? Theſe premiſſes therefore remayning, as hitherto they have been layd, becauſe the commandement of our Saviour Chriſt, which committeth joyntly to publique Miniſters both Doctrin and Baptiſme, doth no more by linking them together import, that the nature of the Sacrament dependeth on the Miniſters authority and power to preach the Word, than the force and vertue of the Word doth on licence to give the Sacrament; and conſidering that the work of externall miniſtery in Baptiſme is only a preeminence of honour, which they that take to themſelves and are not thereunto called as *Aaron* was, do but themſelves in their own perſons, by meanes of ſuch uſurpation, incurre the juſt blame of diſobedience to the Law of God, farther alſo in as much as it ſtandeth with no reaſon, that errours grounded on a wrong interpretation of other mens deeds, ſhould make fruſtrate whatſoever is miſconceived, and that Baptiſme by Women ſhould ceaſe to be Baptiſme, as oft as any man will thereby gather that children which die unbaptized are damned, which opinion if the act of Baptiſme adminiſtred in ſuch manner did inforce, it might bee ſufficient cauſe of diſliking the ſame, but none of defeating or making it altogether void; laſt of all, whereas generall and full conſent of the godly-learned in all ages, doth make for validity of Baptiſme, yea albeit adminiſtred in private and even by Women, which kind of Baptiſm, in caſe of neceſſity, divers reformed Churches do both allow and

[a] Where the uſuall tranſlation hath *Exod.* 4. 25. She cut away the fore-skin of her ſon, and caſt it at his feet, and ſaid, Thou art indeed a bloudy husband unto me. So he departed from him. Then ſhe ſaid, O bloudy husband, becauſe of the circumciſion: the words as they lie in the originall, are rather to bee thus interpreted: And ſhee cut off the fore-skin of her ſon. Which being done, ſhee touched his feet (the feet of *Moſes*) and ſaid Thou art to me an husband of bloud (in the plural number, thereby ſignifying effuſion of bloud.) And the Lord withdrew from him at the very time, when ſhe ſaid, A husband of bloud in regard of circumciſion.

[b] *Pſal.* 106. 30.

[c] *T. C. 3. l. b. 3. p.* 142. Seeing they only are bidden in the Scripture to adminiſter the Sacraments, which are bidden to preach the Word, and that the publike Miniſters have only this charge of the word; and ſeeing that the adminiſtration of both theſe are linked together, that the deniall of licence to do one, is a deniall to do the other, as of the contrary part, licence to one, is licence to the other: conſidering alſo, that to miniſter the Sacraments in an honour in the Church, which none can take unto him, but he which is called unto it, as was *Aaron*: and further, for as much as the baptizing by private perſons, and by women eſpecially, confirmeth the dangerous errour of the condemnation of young children, which die without Baptiſme, laſt of all, ſeeing we have the conſent of the godly learned of all times againſt the Baptiſm by women, and of the Reformed Churches now, againſt the Baptiſme by private men, we conclude that the adminiſtration of this Sacrament by private perſons, and eſpecially by women, is meerly both unlawfull and void.

defend,

defend, ſome others which do not defend, tolerate; few, in compariſon, and they without any juſt cauſe, do utterly diſanull and annihilate, ſurely, howſoever through defect on either ſide, the Sacrament may be without fruit, aſwell in ſome caſes to him which receiveth, as to him which giveth it, yet no diſability of either part can ſo far make it fruſtrate and without effect, as to deprive it of the very nature of true Baptiſm, having all things elſe which the ordinance of Chriſt requireth. Wherupon we may conſequently infer, that the adminiſtration of this Sacrament by private perſons, be it lawfull or unlawfull, appeareth not as yet to be meerely voyd.

Interrogatories in Baptiſme touching Faith, and the purpoſe of a Chriſtian life

63 All that are of the race of Chriſt, the Scripture named them *Children of the promiſe*, which God hath made. The promiſe of eternall Life is the ſeed of the Church of God. And becauſe there is no attainement of life, but through the only begotten Son of God, nor by him otherwiſe than being ſuch as the Creed Apoſtolike deſcribeth, it followeth that the Articles thereof are principles; neceſſary for all men to ſubſcribe unto, whom by Baptiſm the Church receiveth inro Chriſts Schoole. All points of Chriſtian doctrine are either demonſtrable Concluſions, or demonſtrative Principles. Concluſions have ſtrong and invincible proofes, as well in the Schoole of Ieſus Chriſt as elſewhere. And Principles be grounds, which require no proofe in any kind of Science, becauſe it ſufficeth if either their certainty be evident in it ſelfe, or evident by the light of ſome higher knowledge, and in it ſelfe ſuch as no mans knowledge is ever able to overthrow. Now the principles whereupon we do build our ſoules, have their evidence where they had their originall, and as received from thence we adore them, we hold them in reverend admiration, we neither argue nor diſpute above them, we giveunto them that aſſent which the Oracles of God require. We are not therefore aſhamed of the Goſpell of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, becauſe miſcreants in ſcorne have upbraided us, that the higheſt point of our Wiſdome is [a] *Beliefe*. That which is true and neither can be diſcerned by ſenſe, nor concluded by meere naturall principles, muſt have principles of revealed Truth whereupon to build it ſelfe, and an habit of Faith in us wherewith principles of that kind are apprehended. [b] The myſteries of our Religion are above the reach of our underſtanding, above diſcourſe of mans reaſon, above all that any creature can comprehend. Therefore the firſt thing required of him, which ſtandeth for admiſſion into Chriſts Family, is beliefe. Which beliefe conſiſteth not ſo much in knowledge, as in acknowledgement of all things that Heavenly wiſdome revealeth; the affection of Faith is above her reach, her love to Godward above the comprehenſion which ſhe hath of God. And becauſe only for Beleevers all things may be done, he which is goodneſſe it ſelfe, loveth them above all. Deſerve we then the love of God, beauſe we beleeve in the Son of God? What more oppoſite than Faith and Pride? When God had created all things, he looked upon them, and loved them, becauſe they were all as himſelfe had made them. So the true reaſon wherefore Chriſt doth love Beleevers, is, becauſe their beliefe is [c] the gift of God, a gift than which fleſh and bloud in this world cannot poſſibly receive a greater. And as love to them of whom we receive good things is duty, becauſe they ſatisfie our deſires in that which elſe we ſhould want, ſo to love them on whom

a *Aposlata malediction.* ὑδὲν ὑπὲρ τὸ πίστευσον τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐστὶ σοφίας. *Nazian. Orat. cont. Iulia.*

b ὑπὲρ νοῦν, ὑπὲρ λόγον, ὑπὲρ κοσμικὴν ἐλπίδα φύσεως τὰ ὑμέτερα. *Iust. Mart. Expos. fid.*

c *Mat.* 16 17. *Iohn* 1. 12.

whom we beſtow is nature, becauſe in them wee behold the effects of our own vertue. Seeing therfore no Religion enjoyeth Sacraments, the ſignes of Gods love, unleſſe it have alſo that Faith whereupon the Sacraments are built, could there be any thing more cõvenient than that our firſt admittance to the actuall receit of his grace in the Sacrament of Baptiſme, ſhould bee [a] conſecrated with profeſſion of beliefe, which is to the Kingdom of God as a key, the want whereof excludeth Infidels both from that and from all other ſaving grace? We find by experience, that although Faith be an intellectuall habit of the mind, and have her ſeat in the underſtanding, yet an evill morall diſpoſition obſtinately wedded to the love of darkneſſe, dampeth the very light of heavenly illumination, and permitteth not the mind to ſee what doth ſhine before it. Men are lovers of pleaſure more than lovers of God. Their aſſent to his ſaving Truth is many times with-held from it, not that the Truth is too weak to perſwade, but becauſe the ſtreame of corrupt affection carrieth them a cleane contrary way. That the mind therfore may abide in the light of Faith, there muſt abide in the wil as conſtant a reſolution to have no fellowſhip at all with the vanities and works of darkneſſe. Two Covenants there are which Chriſtian men (ſaith [b] *Iſidor*) do make in Baptiſme, the one concerning relinquiſhment of Satan, the other touching obedience to the Faith of Chriſt. In like ſort [c] Saint *Ambroſe*, *He which is baptized*, forſaketh the intellectuall *Pharaoh* the Prince of this World, ſaying, *Abrenuncio*; *Thee, O Satan, and thy Angels, thy works and thy mandats, I forſake utterly.* [d] *Tertullian* having ſpeech of wicked ſpirits: *Theſe* (ſaith he) *are the Angels which we in Baptiſm renounce.* The declaration of [e] *Iuſtine* the *Martyr* concerning Baptiſme, ſheweth how ſuch as the Church in thoſe daies did baptize, made profeſſion of Chriſtian beliefe, and undertooke to live accordingly. Neither do I think it a matter eaſie for any man to prove that ever Baptiſme did uſe to be adminiſtred without interrogatories of theſe two kinds. Wherunto S. *Peter* (as it may be thought) alluding, hath ſaid, that the Baptiſme *which ſaveth* us, is not (as Legall purifications were) a clenſing of the fleſh from outward impurity, but ἐπερώτημα *an interrogative triall of a good conſcience towards God.*

a *Spiritus Sanctus habitator ejus Templi non efficitur quod Antiſtitem non habet veram fidem.* Hier. on. adver. Lucifer. cap. 4.

b *Iſid de Offic. Eccleſ. li. 2. c. 24.*

c *Ambroſ. Hexam. l. 1. c. 4.*

d *Tertull de Spectac.*

e Ὅσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύσωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν ὕτως δυνάσθαι ὑπισχνῶνται, εὔχεσθαι τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν προημαρτημένων ἄφεσιν δι' ἡμῶν αἰτοῦσιν διδάσκονται, ἔπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔνθα ὕδωρ ἐστὶ καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀνεγεννήθημεν ἀναγεννῶνται, Iuſtin. Apol. 1. *Pet.* 3. 21.

64 Now the fault which they find with us concerning interrogatories, is our mooving of theſe queſtions unto Infants which cannot anſwer them, and the anſwering of them by others as in their names. The Anabaptiſt hath many pretences to ſcorne at the Baptiſme of children: firſt, becauſe the Scriptures, hee ſaith, doe no where give commandement to baptize Infants: ſecondly, for that as there is no commandement, ſo neither any manifeſt example ſhewing it to have been done either by Chriſt or his Apoſtles: thirdly, in as much as the Word preached and the Sacraments muſt go together, they which are not capable of the one, are no fit receivers of the other: laſt of all, ſith the order of Baptiſm continued from the firſt beginning, hath in it thoſe things which are

Interrogatories propoſed unto Infants in Baptiſme, and anſwered as in their names by god-fathers. They prophan holy Baptiſm in toying fooliſhly, for that they aske queſtions of an Infant which cannot anſwer, and ſpeake unto them as was wont to bee ſpoken unto men, and unto ſuch as being converted anſwered for themſelves, and were baptized. Which is but a mockery of God, and therefore againſt the holy Scriptures, *Gal.* 6 7. Admon. to the Parlia. The ſame defended in *T. C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 168.

unfit

unfit to be applied unto ſucking children, it followeth in their conceit that the Baptiſme of ſuch is no Baptiſme, but plain mockery. They with whom we contend are no enemies to the Baptiſm of Infants; it is not their deſire that the Church ſhould hazzard ſo many ſoules, by letting them run on till they come to ripeneſſe of underſtanding, that ſo they may be converted & then baptized as Infidels hertofore have been; they beare not towards God ſo unthankfull minds, as not to acknowledge it even amongſt the greateſt of his endleſſe mercies, that by making us his own poſſeſſion ſo ſoon, many advantages which Satan otherwiſe might take are prevented, and (which ſhould be eſteemed a part of no ſmall happines) the firſt thing whereof we have occaſion to take notice is, how much hath beene done already to our great good, though altogether without our knowledge; the Baptiſm of Infants they eſteem as an ordinance which Chriſt hath inſtituted, even in ſpeciall love and favour to his own people; they deny not the practice therof accordingly to have been kept, as derived from the hands, and continued from the daies of the Apoſtles themſelves unto this preſent. Only it pleaſeth them not, that to Infants there ſhould be interrogatories propoſed in Baptiſm. This they condemn as fooliſh, toyiſh, and prophan mockery. But are they able to ſhew that ever the Church of Chriſt had any publike form of Baptiſme without interrogatories; or that the Church did ever uſe at the ſolemne Baptiſm of Infants, to omit thoſe queſtions as needleſſe in this caſe? a *Boniface* a Biſhop in S. *Auguſtins* time, knowing that the Church did univerſally uſe this cuſtome of baptizing Infants with interrogatories, was deſirous to learn from S. *Auguſtin* the true cauſe and reaſon thereof, *If* (ſaith he) *I ſhould ſet before thee a young Infant, and ſhould aske of thee whether that Infant when hee commeth unto riper age, will bee honeſt and juſt or no; thou wouldeſt anſwer* (*I know*) *that to tell in theſe things what ſhall come to paſſe, is not in the power of a mortall man. If I ſhould aske what good or evill ſuch an Infant thinketh, thine anſwer hereunto muſt needs be againe with the like uncertainty. If thou neither canſt promiſe for the time to come, nor for the preſent pronounce any thing in this caſe, how is it that when ſuch are brought unto Baptiſme, their Parents there undertake what the child ſhall afterwards do, yea they are not doubtfull to ſay it doth that which is impoſſible to bee done by Infants? At the leaſt there is no man preciſely able to affirme it done. Vouchſafe me hereunto ſome ſhort anſwer, ſuch as not only may preſſe me with the bare authority of cuſtome, but alſo inſtruct mee in the cauſe thereof.* Touching which difficulty, whether it may truly bee ſaid for Infants at the time of their Baptiſme that they do beleeve, the effect of Saint *Auguſtines* anſwer is yea, but with this diſtinction, b a preſent *actuall habite of Faith there is not* in them, there is delivered unto them that Sacrament, a part of the due celebration whereof conſiſteth in anſwering to the Articles of Faith, *becauſe* the habit of Faith, which afterwards doth come with yeares, is but *a farther* building up of the ſame edifice, the *firſt foundation whereof was laid by the Sacrament* of Baptiſm. For that which there wee profeſſed without any underſtanding, when we afterwards come to acknowledge, do wee any thing elſe but only bring unto ripeneſſe the very ſeed that was ſowne before? We are *then beleevers*, becauſe *then we begin to be* that which proceſſe of time doth make perfect. And till we come to actual beliefe, the very Sacrament of faith is a ſhield

a *Aug. Epiſt. 23.*

b *Sicut credere reſpondetur, Ita etiam fidelis vocatur; non rem ipſa mente annuendo, ſed ipſius rei Sacramentum percipiendo.* Auguſt.

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as ſtrong as after this the faith of the Sacrament againſt all contrarie infernall powers. Which whoſoever doth thinke impoſſible, is undoubtedly farther off from Chriſtian beliefe, though hee be baptized, than are theſe innocents which at their Baptiſme albeit they have no conceipt or cogitation of faith, are, notwithſtanding pure and free from all oppoſite cogitations, whereas the other is not free. If therefore without any feare or ſcruple wee may accompt them and terme them beleevers only for their outward profeſſions ſake, which inwardly are farther from faith than Infants, why not Infants much more at the time of their ſolemn initiation by Baptiſm the Sacrament of faith, wherunto they not only conceive nothing oppoſite, but have alſo that [a] grace given them which is the firſt and moſt effectuall cauſe out of which our beliefe groweth? In ſumme, the whole Church is a multitude of beleevers, all honoured with that title, even Hypocrites for their profeſſions ſake as well as Saints, becauſe of their inward ſincere perſwaſion, and *Infants as being in the firſt degree of their ghoſtly motion towards the actuall habit of Faith*; the firſt ſort are faithfull in the eie of the World, the ſecond faithfull in the ſight of God; the laſt in the readie direct way to become both, if all things after be ſutable to theſe their preſent beginnings. *This* (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) *would not happily content ſuch perſons as are uncapable or unquiet, but to them which having knowledge are not troubleſome, it may ſuffice. Wherein I have not for eaſe of my ſelfe objected againſt you that cuſtome onely, than which nothing is more firme, but of a cuſtome moſt profitable I have done that little which I could to yeeld you a reaſonable cauſe.* Were Saint *Auguſtine* now living, there are which would tell him for his better inſtruction that to ſay [b] of a child *it is elect* and to ſay it doth beleeve are all one, for which cauſe ſith no man is able preciſely to affirme the one of any Infant in particular, it followeth that *preciſely* and *abſolutely* wee ought not to ſay the other. Which *preciſe* and *abſolute* termes are needleſſe in this caſe. We ſpeake of infants *as the rule of pietie* alloweth both to ſpeake and thinke. They that can take to themſelves in ordinarie talke a charitable kind of libertie to name men of their owne ſort *Gods deere children* (notwithſtanding the large raigne of hypocriſie) ſhould not me thinks be ſo ſtrict and rigorous againſt the Church for preſuming as it doth of a Chriſtian innocent. For when we know how Chriſt in general hath ſaid that *of ſuch* is the kingdom of heaven, which kingdom is the inheritance of Gods elect, and do withal behold how his providence hath called them unto the firſt beginnings of eternall life, and preſented them at the welſpring of new birth, wherin originall ſin is purged, beſides which ſin there is no hinderance of their ſalvation known to us, as themſelves will grant, hard it were that having ſo many faire inducements wherupon to ground, wee ſhould not bee thought to utter at the leaſt a truth as probable and allowable in terming any ſuch particular infant an elect babe, as in preſuming [c] the like of others, whoſe ſatetie nevertheleſſe wee are not *abſolutely* able to warrant. If any troubled with theſe ſcruples be only for inſtructions ſake deſirous to know yet ſome farther reaſon why interrogatories ſhould be miniſtred to infants in baptiſm, and be anſwered unto by others as in their names, they may conſider that baptiſme implyeth a covenant or league between God and man, wherin as God doth beſtow preſently

a *Multum mirabilis res eſt quumodmodum quorundam nondum cognoſcentium Deum ſit inhabitator Deus & quorundam cognoſcentium non ſit. Nec illi enim ad Templum Dei pertinent, qui cognoſcentes Deum non ſicut Deum glorificaverunt & ad templum Dei pertinent parvuli ſanctificati ſacramento chriſtiano regenerati ſpiritu Sancto, qui per ætatem nondum poſſunt cognoſcere Deum. Vnde quem potuerunt illi noſſe nec habere iſti potuerunt habere antequam noſſe.* Auguſt. Epiſt. 57.

b *T. C. l. 1. p. 169.* If childrē could have faith, yet they that preſent the child cannot preciſely tell whether that particular child hath faith or no; we are to think charitably and to hope it is one of the Church, but it can bee no more preciſely ſaid that it hath faith, than it may be ſaid preciſely elected.

c *2 Iohn 1.*

remiſſion of ſinnes and the holy Ghoſt, binding alſo himſelfe to adde in proceſſe of time what grace ſoever ſhall be farther neceſſary for the attainment of everlaſting life; ſo every baptized ſoule receiving the ſame grace at the hands of God, tieth likewiſe it ſelfe for ever to the obſervation of his Law no leſſe than the Iewes [a] by Circumciſion bound themſelves to the Law of *Moſes*. The Law of Chriſt requiring therefore Faith and newneſſe of life in all men by vertue of the Covenant which they make in Baptiſme, is it toyiſh that the Church in Baptiſme exacteth at every mans hands an expreſſe profeſſion of faith, and an irrevocable promiſe of obedience by way of [b] ſolemne ſtipulation? That Infants may contract and covenant with God, [c] the Law is plaine. Neither is the reaſon of the Law obſcure. For ſith it tendeth wee cannot ſufficiently expreſſe how much to their owne good, and doth no way hurt or endanger them to begin the race of their lives herewith, they are as equity requireth admitted hereunto, and in favour of their tender yeeres ſuch formall complements of ſtipulation as being requiſite are impoſſible by themſelves in their owne perſons to be performed, leave is given that they may [d] ſufficiently diſcharge by others. Albeit therefore neither deafe nor dumbe men, neither furious perſons, nor children can receive any civill ſtipulation, yet this kind of ghoſtly ſtipulation they may through his indulgence who reſpecting the ſingular benefit thereof accepteth children brought unto him for that end, entreth into Articles of Covenant with them, and in tender commiſeration granteth that other mens profeſſions and promiſes in Baptiſm made for them ſhall availe no leſſe than if they had beene themſelves able to have made their owne. None more fit to undertake this office in their behalfe than ſuch as preſent them unto Baptiſme. A wrong conceit that none may receive the Sacrament of Baptiſme, but they whoſe Parents at the leaſt the one of them are by the ſoundneſſe of their Religion and by their vertuous demeanour knowne to be men of God, hath cauſed [e] ſome to repell children whoſoever bring them if their Parents be miſperſwaded in Religion, or for other miſ-deſerts excommunicated; ſome likewiſe for that cauſe to withhold Baptiſme, unleſſe the Father, albeit no ſuch exception can juſtly be taken againſt him, doe notwithſtanding make profeſſion of his Faith, and avouch the child to bee his owne. Thus whereas God hath appointed the Miniſters of holy things, they make themſelves inquiſitours of mens perſons a great deale farther than need is. They ſhould conſider that God hath ordained Baptiſme in favour of mankinde. To reſtrain favours is an odious thing, to enlarge them acceptable both to God and Man. Whereas therefore the Civill Law gave divers immunities to them which were fathers of three children and had them living, thoſe immunities they held although their children were all dead if warre had conſumed them, becauſe it ſeemed in that caſe not againſt reaſon to repute them by a courteous conſtruction of Law as [f] live-men in that the honour of their ſervice done to the common-wealth would remaine alwayes. Can it hurt us in exhibiting the graces which God doth beſtow on men, or can it prejudice his glorie if the ſelfe-ſame equity guide and direct our hands? When God made his Covenant with ſuch as had *Abraham* to their Father, was onely *Abrahams* immediate iſſue, or onely his lineall poſterity according

a *Gal.5.3.*

b *Stipulatio eſt verborum conceptio, quibus is qui interrogatur dat iurum factu rumve ſe quod interrogatus eſt reſpondet, l 5.§. 1.ff.de oblig. & act. In hac re olim ta'ia verba tradita fuerunt. Spondes? Spondeo. Promittis? Promitto. Fide promittis? Fide promitto. Fide jubes? Fide jubeo. Dabis? Dabo. Facies? Faciam. Inſtit.de verb. obl. lib. 3. tit. 15.*

c *Gen. 17.14.*

d *Accommodat illis mater Eccleſia aliorum pedes ut veniant, aliorum cor ut credant, aliorum linguam ut fateantur, ut quoniam quod ægri ſunt alio peccante prægravantur, ſic cum ſani fiant alio pro eis confitente ſalvantur* Aug. Serm. 10. de verb. Apoſt.

e *T.C.l.1.p.172*

f *Hi enim qui pro reb. ceciderunt in perpetuum per gloriam vivere intelliguntur. Inſtit.lib.2. tit. 25.§.1.*

according to the fleſh included in that covenant? Were not Proſelytes as well as Iewes alwayes taken for the ſons of *Abraham*? Yea becauſe the very heads of Families are Fathers in ſome ſort as touching providence and care for the meaneſt that belong unto them, the ſervants which *Abraham* had bought with money were as capable of Circumciſion being newly born as any naturall childe that *Abraham* himſelf begat. Be it then that Baptiſme belongeth to none but ſuch as either beleeve preſently, or elſe being infants are the children of *beleeving parents*. In caſe the Church do bring children to the holy Font whoſe naturall parents are either unknown, or known to be ſuch as the Church accurſeth, but yet forgetteth not in that ſeverity to take compaſſion upon their off-ſpring (for [a] it is the Church which doth offer them to Baptiſme by the Miniſtery of preſenters) were it not againſt both equity and duty to refuſe the mother of beleevers her ſelf, and not to take her in this caſe for a faithfull parent? It is not the vertue of our fathers, nor the faith of any other that can give us the true holineſſe which we have by vertue of our new birth. Yet even through the common faith and ſpirit of Gods Church (a thing which no quality of parents can prejudice) I ſay through the faith of the Church of God undertaking the motherly care of our ſoules, ſo far forth we may be, and are in our infancy ſanctified as to be thereby made ſufficiently capable of Baptiſme, and to be intereſſed in the rites of our new birth for their pieties ſake that offer us thereunto. *It commeth ſometime to paſſe* (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) *that the children of bond-ſlaves are brought to Baptiſme by their Lord; ſometime the Parents being dead, the friends alive undertake that office; ſometime ſtrangers or Virgins conſecrated unto God, which neither have nor can have children of their own, take up Infants in the open ſtreets, and ſo offer them unto Baptiſme, whom the cruelty of unnaturall parents caſteth out and leaveth to the adventure of uncertain pity.* As therefore he which did the part of a Neighbour, was a Neighbour to that wounded man whom the parable of the Goſpell deſcribeth: ſo they are fathers, although ſtrangers, that bring Infants to him which maketh them the ſons of God. In the phraſe of ſome kind of men they uſe to be termed *witneſſes*, as if they came but to ſee and teſtifie what is done. It ſavoureth more of piety to give them their old accuſtomed name of Fathers and Mothers in God, whereby they are well put in minde what affection they ought to bear towards thoſe Innocents, for whoſe religious education the Church accepteth them as pledges. This therefore is their own duty. But becauſe the anſwer which they make to the uſuall demands of ſtipulation propoſed in Baptiſme is not their own, the Church doth beſt to receive it of them in that forme which beſt ſheweth whoſe the act is. That which a Gardian doth in the name of his Guard or Pupill ſtandeth by naturall equity forcible for his benefit, though it be done without his knowledge. And ſhall we judge it a thing unreaſonable, or in any reſpect unfit, that infants by words which others utter, ſhould though unwittingly, yet truly and forcibly bind themſelves to that whereby their eſtate is ſo aſſuredly bettered? Herewith [b] *Ne-*

[a] *Offeruntur quippe parvuli ad percipiendum ſpiritualem gratiam non tam ab eis quorum geſtantur manibus q amvis & abipſis ſi etipſi boni fideles ſint, quam ab univerſa ſocietate ſanctorum atque fidelium.* Auguſt. in Ep. 23.

Ἀξιοῦται δὲ καὶ τῶν διὰ τὸ βαπτισμα τὸν ἀγαθὸν τὰ βρέφη τῇ πίστει τῶν προσφερόντων αὐτὰ τῷ βαπτίσματι. Liſtin. reſp. ad Orthod.

[b] *Si Arrianæ aut Sabellianæ hæreſeos aſſertor eſſes, & non tuo ipſius ſymbolo tecum uterer, convincerem te tamen teſtimoniorum ſacrorum auctoritate, quid tandem ſi ſic apud te agerem, quid diceres? quid reſponderes? nonne obſecro illud in eo te baptiſatum, in eote renatum eſſe? Et vos è in negotio quamvis improbo non importuna defenſio. & quæ non abſit de cauſam erroris diuves, ſi pertinaciam non ſociares errori. Nunc autem cùm in Catholica urbe natus, Catholica fide inſtitutus, Catholico baptiſmate regeneratus ſis, numquid agere tecum quaſi cum* Arriano *aut* Sabelliano *poſſum? quod utinam fuſſes. Minus dolerem in malis editum quàm debitis lapſum, minus fidem non habitam quàm amiſſam. Non iniquum autem, hæretice, non iniquum aut grave aliq id poſtulo. Hoc fac in Catholica fide editus quod ſacras properverſitate facturus.* Caſſiad. de incarn. lib. 6. cap 5

ſtorius the Heretick was charged as having fallen from his firſt profeſſion, and broken the promiſe which he made to God in the armes of others. Of ſuch as profaned themſelves being Chriſtians with irreligious delight in the Enſignes of Idolatry, heatheniſh ſpectacles, ſhowes, and ſtage-playes, a *Tertullian*, to ſtrike them the more deep, claymeth the promiſe which they made in Baptiſme. Why were they dumbe being thus challenged? Wherfore ſtood they not up to anſwer in their own defence, that ſuch profeſſions and promiſes made in their names were frivolous; that all which others undertook for them was but mockery and profanation? That which no heretick, no wicked liver, no impious deſpiſer of God, no miſcreant or malefactor, which had himſelf been baptized, was ever ſo deſperate as to diſgorge in contempt of ſo fruitfull received cuſtomes, is now their voice that reſtore, as they ſay, the ancient purity of Religion.

a *Tertul. lib. de ſpectac.*

Of the Croſſe in Baptiſme.

65 In baptiſme many things of very ancient continuance are now quite & clean aboliſht, for that the vertue and grace of this Sacrament had been therewith over-ſhadowed as fruit with too great abundance of leaves. Notwithſtanding to them which think it alwayes imperfect reformation that doth but ſheare and not flea, our retaining certain of thoſe former Rites, eſpecially the *dangerous* ſigne of the Croſſe hath ſeemed almoſt an impardonable over-ſight. *The croſſe* (they ſay) *ſith it is but a meere invention of man, ſhould not therefore at all have been added to the Sacrament of Baptiſme. To ſigne childrens forebeads with a Croſſe, in token that hereafter they ſhall not be aſhamed to make profeſſion of the Faith of Chriſt, is to bring into the Church a new word, whereas there ought to be no Doctor heard in the Church but our Saviour Chriſt. That reaſon which moved the Fathers to uſe, ſhould move us not to uſe the ſigne of the Croſſe. They lived with Heathens which had the Croſſe of Chriſt in contempt, we with ſuch as adore the Croſſe, and therefore we ought to abandon it, even as in like conſideration* Ezekias *did of old the brazen Serpent.* Theſe are the cauſes of diſpleaſure conceived againſt the Croſſe, a ceremony the uſe whereof hath been profitable, although we obſerve it not as the Ordinance of God but of man. For, ſaith b *Tertullian, If of this and the like cuſtomes thou ſhouldeſt require ſome commandement to be ſhewed thee out of Scriptures, there is none found.* What reaſon there is to juſtifie tradition, uſe or cuſtome in this behalfe, *either thou mayſt of thy ſelf perceive, or elſe learn of ſome other that doth.* Leſt therefore the name of tradition ſhould be offenſive to any, conſidering how far by ſome it hath been and is abuſed, we mean by c traditions, or ordinances made in the prime of Chriſtian religion, eſtabliſhed with that authority which Chriſt hath left to his Church for matters indifferent; and in that conſideration requiſite to be obſerved, till like authority ſee juſt and reaſonable cauſe to alter them. So that traditions Eccleſiaſticall are not rudely and in groſſe to be ſhaken off, becauſe the Inventors of them were men. Such as, ſay they, allow no d invention of man to be mingled with the outward adminiſtration of Sacraments, and under that pretence condemne our uſing the ſigne of the Croſſe, have belike ſome ſpeciall diſpenſation themſelves to violate their

b *Tertul. de Coro. Mil tis.*

c *Traditiones non ſcriptas, ſi doctrinam reſpiciant, cum doctrina ſcripta convenire debere dicimus. Quod ad rituales & Eccleſiaſticas attinet, ordinis & ædificationis Eccleſiarum in his ſemper habenda ratio eſt; inutiles autem & noxias, nempe ineptas et ſuperſtitioſas patronis ſuis relinquamus.* Goulart. Gen. venſ. annot. in Epiſt. Cypr. 74.

d *T. C. li p. 171.* They ſhould not have been ſo bold as to have brought it into the holy Sacrament of Baptiſme; and ſo mingle the ceremonies and inventions of men with the Sacraments and Inſtitutions of God.

own

own rules. For neither can they indeed decently, nor do they ever baptize any without manifeſt breach of this their profound axiome, that *Mens inventions ſhould not be mingled with Sacraments and Inſtitutions of God.* They ſeem to like very well in Baptiſme the cuſtome of Godfathers, [a] *becauſe ſo generally the Churches have received it.* Which cuſtome being of God no more inſtituted than the other (howſoever they pretend the other hurtfull, and this profitable) it followeth that even in their own opinion, if their words do ſhew their minds, there is no neceſſity of ſtripping Sacraments out of all ſuch attire of Ceremonies as mans wiſdome hath at any time clothed them withall, and conſequently that either they muſt reform their ſpeech as over-generall, or elſe condemne their own practiſe as unlawfull. Ceremonies have more in weight then in ſight, they work by commonneſſe of uſe much, although in the ſeverall acts of their uſage we ſcarcely diſcern any good they do. And becauſe the uſe which they have for the moſt part is not perfectly underſtood, Superſtition is apt to impute unto them greater vertue then indeed they have. For prevention whereof, when we uſe this Ceremony we alwayes plainly expreſſe the end whereunto it ſerveth, namely, for a ſigne of remembrance to put us in minde of our dutie. But by this mean they ſay we make it a great deal [b] worſe. For why? Seeing God hath no where commanded to draw two lines in token of the duty which we owe to Chriſt, our practice with this expoſition publiſheth a new *Goſpell*, and cauſeth another *word* to have place in the Church of Chriſt; where no voice ought to be heard but his. By which good reaſon the authors of thoſe grave admonitions to the Parliament are well holpen up, which held that *ſitting* at Communions *betokeneth reſt and full accompliſhment of legal Ceremonies in our Saviour Chriſt.* For although it be the Word of God that ſuch Ceremonies are expired, yet ſeeing it is not the word of God that men to ſignifie ſo much ſhould ſit at the Table of our Lord, theſe have their doom as wel as others, *Guilty of a new deviſed Goſpel in the Church of Chriſt.* Which ſtrange imagination is begotten of a ſpeciall diſlike they have to heare, that Ceremonies now in uſe ſhould be thought ſignificant, whereas in truth ſuch as are not ſignificant muſt needs be vain. Ceremonies deſtitute of ſignification are no better then the idle geſtures of men, whoſe broken wits are not maſters of that they do. For if we look but into ſecular & civil complements, what other cauſe can there poſſibly be given why to omit them where of courſe they are looked for; for where they are not ſo due, to uſe them, bringeth mens ſecret intents oftentimes into great jealouſie: I would know I ſay what reaſon we are able to yeeld why things ſo light in their own nature ſhould weigh in the opinions of men ſo much, ſaving only in regard of that which they uſe to ſignifie or betoken? Doth not our Lord Ieſus Chriſt [c] himſelf impute the omiſſion of ſome courteous Ceremonies even in domeſticall entertainment to a colder degree of loving affection, and take the contrary in better part, not ſo much reſpecting what was leſſe done, as what was ſignified leſſe by the one then by the other? For to that very end he referreth in part thoſe gracious expoſtulations, *Simon, ſeeſt thou this woman? ſince I entred into thine houſe thou gaveſt me no water for my feet, but ſhe hath waſhed my feet with teares, and wiped them with the haires of her head; thou gaveſt me no kiſſe, but this woman ſince the time I came*

[a] *T.C.l.1.p.10.*

[b] *T.C.l.1.p.170* The profitable ſignification of the Croſſe maketh the thing a great deale worſe, and bringeth in a new word into the Church, whereas there ought to be no Doctor heard in the Church but only our Saviour Chriſt. For although it be the Word of God that we ſhould not be aſhamed of the Croſſe of Chriſt, yet is it not the Word of God that we ſhould be kept in remembrance of that by two lines drawn a croſſe one over another in the childes forehead.

[c] *Luc.7.44.*

came in hath not ceaſed to kiſſe my feet; mine head with oyle thou didſt not anoint, but this woman hath anointed my feet with ointment. Wherefore as the uſuall dumbe Ceremonies of common life are in requeſt or diſlike according to that they import, even ſo Religion having likewiſe her ſilent Rites, the chiefeſt rule whereby to judge of their quality is that which they mean or betoken. For if they ſignifie good things (as ſomewhat they muſt of neceſſity ſignifie becauſe it is of their very nature to be ſignes of imitation preſenting both themſelves unto outward ſenſe, and beſides themſelves ſome other thing to the underſtanding of beholders) unleſſe they be either greatly miſchoſen to ſignifie the ſame, or elſe applied where that which they ſignifie agreeth not, there is no cauſe of exception againſt them as againſt evill & unlawfull Ceremonies, much leſſe of excepting againſt them only in that they are not without ſenſe. And if every religious ceremony which hath bin invented of men to ſignifie any thing that God himſelf alloweth, were the publication of another Goſpell in the Church of Chriſt, ſeeing that no Chriſtian Church in the World, is, or can be without continuall uſe of ſome Ceremonies which men have inſtituted, and that to ſignifie good things (unleſſe they be vain and frivolous Ceremonies) it would follow that the World hath no Chriſtian Church which doth not daily proclaim new Goſpels, a ſequell, the manifeſt abſurdity whereof argueth the rawneſſe of that ſuppoſall out of which it groweth. Now the [a] cauſe why antiquity did the more *in actions of common life* honour the Ceremony of the Croſſe, might be for that they lived with Infidels. But that which they did in the Sacrament of Baptiſme was for the ſelf-ſame good of Beleevers which is thereby intended ſtill. The Croſſe is for us an admonition no leſſe neceſſary then for them to glory in the ſervice of Ieſus Chriſt, and not to hang down our heads as men aſhamed thereof, although it procure us reproach and obloquie at the hands of this wretched World. Shame is a kind of fear to incurre diſgrace and ignominy. Now whereas ſome things are worthy of reproach, ſome things ignominious only through a falſe opinion which men have conceived of them, nature that generally feareth opprobrious reprehenſion muſt by reaſon and Religion be [b] taught what it ſhould be aſhamed of, and what not. But be we never ſo well inſtructed what our duty is in this behalfe, without ſome preſent admonition at the very inſtant of practiſe, what we know is many times not called to minde till that be done whereupon our juſt confuſion enſueth. To ſupply the abſence of ſuch as that way might do us good when they ſee us in

[a] *T.C. lib. 1. pag. 170.* It is known to all that have read the Eccleſiaſtical ſtories, that the Heathen did object to Chriſtians in times paſt in reproch that the God which they beleeved on was hanged upon a Croſſe. And they thought good to teſtifie that they were not aſhamed therfore of the Sonne of God, by the often uſing of the ſigne of the Croſſe. Which carefulneſſe and good minde to keep amongſt them an open profeſſion of Chriſt crucified although it be to be commended, yet is not this meanes ſo. For they might otherwiſe have kept it and with leſſe danger then by this uſe of croſſing. And as it was brought in upon no good ground, ſo the Lord left a mark of his curſe of it, and whereby it might be perceived to come out of the forge of mans brain, in that it began forthwith while it was yet in the ſwadling clouts to be ſuperſtitiouſly abuſed. The Chriſtians had ſuch a ſuperſtition in it, that they would do nothing without Croſſing. But if it were granted that upon this conſideration which I have before mentioned, the ancient Chriſtians did well, yet it followeth not that we ſhould ſo do. For we live not amongſt thoſe Nations which do caſt us in the teeth or reproach us with the Croſſe of Chriſt. Now that we live amongſt Papiſts that do not contemne the Croſſe of Chriſt, but which eſteeme more the wooden Croſſe, then of the true Croſſe, which is his ſuffrings, we ought now to do clean contrariwiſe to the old Chriſtians, and aboliſh all uſe of theſe Croſſes. For contrary diſeaſes muſt have contrary remedies. If therefore the old Chriſtians to deliver the Croſſe of Chriſt from contempt did often uſe the Croſſe, the Chriſtians now to take away the ſuperſtitious eſtimation of it ought to take away the uſe of it.

[b] *Epheſ. 5. 12. Rom. 6. 23.*

in danger of ſliding, there are [a] judicious and wiſe men which think we may greatly relieve our ſelves by a bare imagined preſence of ſome, whoſe authority we feare and would be loath to offend, if indeed they were preſent with us. Witneſſes at hand are a bridle unto many offences. Let the minde have alwayes ſome whom it feareth, ſome whoſe authority may keep even ſecret thoughts under awe. Take *Cato*, or if he be too harſh and rugged, chooſe ſome other of a ſofter mettle, whoſe gravity of life and ſpeech thou loveſt, his minde and countenance carry with thee, ſet him alwayes before thine eyes either as a watch or as a pattern. That which is crooked we cannot ſtreighten but by ſome ſuch level*l*. If men of ſo good experience & inſight in the maimes of our weak fleſh, have thought theſe fancied remembrances availeable to awaken ſhamefaſtneſſe, that ſo the boldneſſe of ſinne may be ſtayed ere it look abroad, ſurely the wiſdome of the Church of Chriſt which hath to that uſe converted the Ceremony of the Croſſe in Baptiſme, it is no Chriſtian mans part to deſpiſe, eſpecially ſeeing that by this mean, where nature doth earneſtly import aide, Religion yeeldeth her that ready aſſiſtance, than which there can be no help more forcible, ſerving only to relieve memory, and to bring to our cogitation that which ſhould moſt make aſhamed of ſin. The minde while we are in this preſent life [b] whether it contemplate, meditate, deliberate, or howſoever exerciſe it ſelf, worketh nothing without continuall recourſe unto imagination the only ſtore-houſe of wit, and peculiar chaire of memory. On this anvile it ceaſeth not day and night to ſtrike, by meanes whereof, as the pulſe declareth how the heart doth work, ſo the very [c] thoughts and cogitations of mans minde, be they good or bad, do no where ſooner bewray themſelves, than through the creveſſes of that wall wherewith nature hath compaſſed the Cels and Cloſets of fancy. In the forehead nothing more plain to be ſeen than the feare of contumely and diſgrace. For which cauſe the Scripture (as with great probability it may be thought) deſcribeth them [d] marked of God in the forehead, whom his mercy hath undertaken to keep from finall confuſion and ſhame. Not that God doth ſet any corporall mark on his choſen, but to note that he giveth his elect ſecurity of preſervation from reproach, the fear whereof doth uſe to ſhew it ſelf [e] in that part. Shall I ſay that the ſigne of the croſſe (as we uſe it) is in ſome ſort a mean to work out our [f] preſervation from reproach? Surely the minde which as yet hath not hardned it ſelf in ſin is ſeldome provoked thereunto in any groſſe & grievous manner, but natures ſecret ſuggeſtion objected againſt it ignominie as a bar. Which conceit being entred into that Palace of mans fancy, the gates whereof have imprinted in them that holy ſigne which bringeth forthwith to mind whatſoever Chriſt hath wrought & we vowed againſt ſin, it commeth hereby to paſſe, that Chriſtian men never want a moſt effectuall though a ſilent teacher to avoid whatſoever may deſervedly procure ſhame. So that in things w[h] we ſhould be aſhamed of we are by the croſſe admoniſhed faithfully of our duty at the very moment when admonition doth moſt need. Other things there are which deſerve honour & yet do purchaſe many times our diſgrace in this preſent World, as of old the very truth of Religion it ſelf, till God by his own out-ſtretched arme made the glory thereof to ſhine over all the earth.

Where-

a *Sen. Epiſt. 11. lib. 1.*

b Τὸ νοεῖν ἢ φαντασία τὶς ἢ οὐκ ἄνευ φαντασίας. *Ariſt. de anim. lib. 1. cap. 1.* Ἡμὲν διανοητικὴ φαντασία ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις ὑπάρχει, ἢ δὲ βουλευτικὴ ἐν τοῖς λογιστικοῖς *lib. 3. cap.* Τὸ μὲν οὖν εἶδος τὸ νοητικὸν ἐν τοῖς φαντάσμασι νοεῖ ἢ ὡς ἐν ἐκείνοις ὥρισαι αὐτῷ τὸ διωκτὸν ἢ φευκτὸν, ἢ ἁπλῶς τῆς αἰσθήσεως ὅν, ὅταν ἐκ τῶν φαντασμάτων ᾖ, κινεῖται. *lib. 3. cap. 8.*

c *Frons hominis triſtitiæ, hilaritatis, clementiæ, ſeveritatis index eſt. Plin. lib. 11.*

d *Ezek. 9. 4. Apoc. 7. 3. 9. 4.*

e Ἐρυθραίνονται γὰρ οἱ αἰσχυνόμενοι. *Ariſt. Eth. 4. c 9*

f *Caro ſignatur ut et anima muniatur: Tert. de reſur. car.*

a Cypr. epist. 56 ad Thibaritanos

Whereupon a Saint *Cyprian* exhorting to martyrdome in times of heathenish perſecution and crueltie, thought it not vaine to alleage unto them with other arguments the very Ceremony of that Croſſe wherof we ſpeak. Never let that hand offer ſacrifice to Idols which hath already received the body of our Saviour Chriſt, and ſhall hereafter the Crowne of his glorie; *arme your foreheads* unto all boldneſſe, that *the ſigne of God* may be kept ſafe. Againe, when it pleaſed God that the fury of their enemies being bridled the Church had ſome little reſt and quietneſſe, (if ſo ſmall a libertie but onely to breath betweene troubles may bee termed quietneſſe and reſt) to ſuch as fell not away from Chriſt through former perſecutions, he giveth due & deſerved praiſe in the ſelfe-ſame manner, b *You that were readie to indure impriſonment, and were reſolute to ſuffer death; you that have couragiouſly withſtood the world, yee have made your ſelves a both glorious ſpectacle for God to behold, and a worthy example for the reſt of your brethren to follow. Thoſe mouthes which had ſanctified themſelves with food comming down from Heaven, loathed after Chriſts owne bodie and bloud to taſte the poyſoned and contagious ſcraps of Idols; thoſe foreheads which the ſigne of God had purified, kept themſelves to bee crowned by him, the touch of the* c *garlands of Satan they abhorred.* Thus was the memorie of that ſigne which they had in Baptiſme a kind of barre or prevention to keepe them even from apoſtaſie, whereunto the frailtie of fleſh and bloud overmuch fearing to indure ſhame, might peradventure the more eaſily otherwiſe have drawne them. Wee have not now through the gracious goodneſſe of Almighty God, thoſe extreme conflicts which our fathers had with blaſphemous contumelies every-where offered to the Name of Chriſt, by ſuch as profeſſed themſelves infidels and unbeleevers. Howbeit, unleſſe wee bee ſtrangers to the age wherein we live, or elſe in ſome partiall reſpect diſſemblers of that we hourely both heare and ſee, there is not the ſimpleſt of us but knoweth with what diſdain & ſcorne Chriſt is honoured farre and wide. Is there any burden in the world more heavie to bear than contempt? Is there any contempt that grieveth as theirs doth, whoſe quality no way making them leſſe worthy than others are of reputation, only the ſervice which they do to Chriſt in the daily exerciſe of Religion treadeth them down? Doth any contumely which we ſuſtain for Religions ſake, pierce ſo deeply as that which would ſeem of meere conſcience religiouſly ſpitefull? when they that honour God are deſpiſed; when the chiefeſt ſervice of honour that man can do unto him is the cauſe why they are deſpiſed; when they which pretend to honour him, and that with greateſt ſincerity, do with more than heatheniſh petulancy trample under foot almoſt whatſoever either we or the whole Church of God by the ſpace of ſo many ages have been accuſtomed unto for the comelier and better exerciſe of our Religion, according to the ſoundeſt rules that wiſdome, directed by the Word of God and by long experience confirmed, hath been able with common advice, with much deliberation and exceeding great diligence to comprehend; when no man fighting under Chriſts banner can be alwayes exempted from ſeeing or ſuſtaining thoſe indignities, the ſting whereof not to feele, or feeling, not to be moved thereat, is a thing impoſſible to fleſh and blood: if this be any object for patience to work on, the

b Cypr. de laps.

c Erant enim ſupplices coronarii. Tert. lib. de coro. mil.

In the ſervice of Idols the doores of their Temples, the ſacrifices, the Altars, the Prieſts and the Suppliants that were preſent were Garlands.

the ſtricteſt bond that thereunto tieth us in our vowed obedience to Chriſt; the ſolemneſt vow that we ever made to obey Chriſt and to ſuffer willingly all reproaches for his ſake was made in Baptiſme: and amongſt other memorials to keep us mindfull of that vow, we cannot think that the ſigne which our new baptized foreheads did there receive is either unfit or unforcible, the reaſons hitherto alleaged being weighed with indifferent ballance. It is not (you will ſay) the Croſſe in our fore-heads, but in our hearts the faith of Chriſt that armeth us with patience, conſtancy and courage. Which as we grant to be moſt true, ſo neither dare we deſpiſe, no not the meaneſt helps that ſerve, though it be but in the very loweſt degree of furtherance towards the higheſt ſervices that God doth require at our hands. And if any man deny that ſuch Ceremonies are availeable at the leaſt as memorials of duty, or do think that himſelf hath no need to be ſo put in minde what our duties are; it is but reaſonable that in the one the publick experience of the World overweigh ſome few mens perſwaſion, and in the other the rare perfection of a few condeſcend unto common imbecillity. Seeing therefore that to feare ſhame which doth worthily follow ſin, and to bear undeſerved reproach conſtantly is the generall duty of all men profeſſing Chriſtianity; ſeeing alſo that our weakneſſe while we are in this preſent World doth need towards ſpirituall duties the help even of corporall furtherances, and that by reaſon of naturall intercourſe between the higheſt and the loweſt powers of mans minde in all actions, his fancy or imagination carrying in it that ſpeciall note of remembrance than which there is nothing more forcible, where either too weak or too ſtrong a conceit of infamy and diſgrace might do great harme, ſtandeth alwayes ready to put forth a kind of neceſſary helping hand; we are in that reſpect to acknowledge the [a] good and profitable uſe of this Ceremony, and not to think it ſuperfluous that Chriſt hath his mark applyed [b] unto that part where baſhfulneſſe appeareth, in token that they which are Chriſtians ſhould be at no time aſhamed of his ignominy. But to prevent ſome inconveniencies which might enſue, if the over ordinary uſe thereof (as it fareth with ſuch rites when they are too common) ſhould cauſe it to be of leſſe obſervation or regard where it moſt availeth, we neither omit it in that place, nor altogether make it ſo vulgar as the cuſtome heretofore hath been: although to condemne the whole Church of God when it moſt flouriſhed in zeal and piety, to mark that age with the brand of error and ſuperſtition only, becauſe they had this Ceremony more in uſe than we now think needfull, boldly to affirme that this their practiſe grew ſo ſoon through a fearfull malediction of God upon the Ceremony of the Croſſe, as if we knew that his purpoſe was thereby to make it manifeſt in all mens eyes how execrable thoſe things are in his ſight which have proceeded from humane invention, is as we take it a cenſure of greater zeale than knowledge. Men whoſe judgements in theſe caſes are grown more moderate, although they retain not as we do the uſe of this ceremony, perceive notwithſtanding very well ſuch cenſures to be out of ſquare, and do therefore not only [c] acquit the Fathers from ſuperſtition therein, but alſo think it ſufficient to anſwer in excuſe of themſelves, [d] *This Ceremonie which was but a thing indifferent even of old, we judge not at this day a matter neceſſary*

a Ἔστω δὴ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ φυλακτικὸν τῶν τοιούτων καὶ ᾧ ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ τὰ κωλυτικὰ τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ τὰ φθαρτικά. Ariſt Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 6.

b Ozias *lex lepræ varietate in fronte maculatus eſt, ea parte corporis notatus offenſo Domino ubi ſignantur qui Dominũ promerentur.* Cypr. de unit. Eccleſ. cap. 16.

c Goulart. *Annot. in* Cypr. *li. ad* Demetr. ca. 19.

Quamvis veteres Chriſtiani extrno ſigno crucis uſi ſunt id tamen fuit ſine ſuperſtitione, et doctrina de Chriſti merito ab errore qui poſtea irrepſit pios ſervavit immunes.

d Idem annot. in Cypr. Ep. 56. cap. 7.

neceſſary for all Chriſtian men to obſerve. As for their laſt upſhot of all towards this mark, they are of opinion that if the auncient Chriſtians to deliver the Croſſe of Chriſt from contempt did well and with good conſideration uſe often the ſigne of the Croſſe in teſtimony of their faith and profeſſion before infidels which upbraided them with Chriſts ſufferings, now that we live with ſuch as contrariwiſe adore the ſigne of the Croſſe (becauſe contrary diſeaſes ſhould alwayes have cõtrary remedies) we ought to take away all uſe thereof. In which conceipt they both wayes greatly ſeduce themſelves, firſt for that they imagine the Fathers to have had no uſe of the Croſſe, but with reference unto infidels, which miſperſwaſion we have before diſcovered at large; and ſecondly by reaſon that they think there is not any other way beſides univerſall extirpation to reforme ſuperſtitious abuſes of the Croſſe. Wherein becauſe there are that ſtand very much upon the example of *Ezechias*, as if his [a] *breaking to peeces that Serpent* of braſſe wherunto the children of Iſrael had *burnt incenſe*, did enforce the utter abolition of this Ceremonie, the fact of that vertuous Prince is by ſo much the more attentively to bee conſidered. Our lives in this world are partly guided by rules, & partly directed by examples. To conclude out of generall rules and axiomes by diſcourſe of wit our duties in every particular action, is both troubleſome and many times ſo full of difficultie, that it maketh diliberations hard and tedious to the wiſeſt men. Whereupon we naturally all incline to obſerve examples, to marke what others have done before us, and in the favour of our own eaſe rather to follow them than to enter into new conſultation, if in regard of their vertue and wiſedome wee may but probably think they have waded without errour. So that the willingneſſe of men to be led by example of others both diſcovereth and helpeth the imbecillitie of our judgement. Becauſe it doth the one, therefore inſolent and proud wits would alwayes ſeeme to be their own guides; and becauſe it doth the other, we ſee how hardly the vulgar ſort is drawne unto any thing for which there are not as well examples as reaſons alleaged. Reaſons prooving that which is more particular by things more generall and farther from ſenſe are with the ſimpler ſort of men leſſe truſted, for that they doubt of their owne judgment in thoſe things; but of examples which proove unto them one doubtfull particular by an other more familiarly and ſenſibly known, they eaſily perceive in themſelves ſome better abilitie to judge. The force of examples therefore is great, when in matter of action being doubtfull what to doe wee are informed what others have commendably done whoſe deliberations were like. But whoſoever doth perſwade by example, muſt as well reſpect the fitnes as the goodnes of that he alleageth. To *Ezechias* God himſelfe in this fact giveth teſtimonie of wel-doing. So that nothing is here queſtionable but onely whether the example alleaged be pertinent, pregnant and ſtrong. The Serpent ſpoken of was firſt erected for the extraordinary and *miraculous cure* of the Iſraelites in the Deſart. This uſe having preſently an end when the cauſe for which God ordained it was once remooved, the thing it ſelfe they notwithſtanding kept for a *monument of Gods mercie*, as in like conſideration they did the pot of Manna, the rod of *Aaron*, and the Sword which *David* tooke from *Goliah*. In proceſſe of time they made a monument of divine

[a] 2 *Reg.* 18. 3.

power

power a plaine Idoll, they burnt incenſe before it contrarie to the Law of God, and did it the ſervices of honor due unto God only. Which groſſe and grievous abuſe continued till *Ezechias* reſtoring the puritie of ſound Religion, deſtroyed utterly that which had been ſo long and ſo generally a ſnare unto them. It is not amiſſe which the [a] Canon Law hereupon concludeth, namely, that *if our Predeceſſors have done ſome things which at that time might be without fault, and afterward be turned to Errour and Superſtition, wee are taught by* Ezechias *breaking the brazen Serpent that Poſterity may deſtroy them without any delay, and with great auctoritie.* But may it be ſimply and without exception hereby gathered, that Poſterity *is bound to deſtroy* whatſoever hath been either at the firſt invented, or but afterwards turned to like ſuperſtition and errour? No, it cannot bee. The Serpent therefore and the ſigne of the Croſſe although ſeeming equall in this point, that ſuperſtition hath abuſed both, yet being herein alſo unequall, that neither they have been both ſubject to the like degree of abuſe, nor were in hardneſſe of redreſſe alike, it may be that even as the one for abuſe was religiouſly taken away, ſo now, when Religion hath taken away abuſe from the other, we ſhould by utter abolition thereof deſerve hardly his commendation, whoſe example there is offered us no ſuch neceſſary cauſe to follow. For by the words of *Ezechias* in terming the Serpent but *a lumpe of braſſe*, to ſhew that the beſt thing in it now was the metall or matter whereof it conſiſted, we may probably conjecture, that the people whoſe errour is therein controld had the ſelfe-ſame opinion of it which the Heathens had of Idols, they thought that the power of Deitie was with it, and when they ſaw it diſſolved, happily they might to comfort themſelves imagine as *Olympius* the Sophiſter did beholding the diſſipation of Idols, [b] *Shapes, and counterfets they were, faſhioned of matter ſubject unto corruption, therefore to grind them to duſt was eaſie, but thoſe celeſtiall powers which dwelt and reſided in them are aſcended into Heaven.* Some difference there is betweene theſe opinions of palpable Idolatrie, and that which the Schooles in ſpeculation have boulted out concerning the Croſſe. Notwithſtanding for as much as the Church of *Rome* hath hitherto practiſed, and doth profeſſe the ſame adoration to the ſigne of the Croſſe, and neither leſſe nor other than is due unto Chriſt himſelfe, howſoever they varniſh and qualifie their ſentence, pretending that the Croſſe, which to outward ſenſe preſenteth viſible it ſelfe alone, is not by them apprehended alone, but hath in their ſecret ſurmiſe or conceit a reference to the perſon of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, ſo that the honour which they joyntly doe to both, reſpecteth principally his perſon, and the Croſſe but onely for his perſons ſake, the people not accuſtomed to trouble their wits with ſo nice and ſubtle differences in the exerciſe of religion are apparently no leſſe inſnared by adoring the Croſſe, than the Iewes by burning incenſe to the brazen Serpent. It is by [c] *Thomas* ingeniouſly granted, that becauſe unto reaſonable creatures a kind of reverence is due for the excellencie which is in them, and whereby they reſemble God, therefore if reaſonable Creatures, Angels, or Men ſhould receive at our hands holy and divine honour as the ſigne of the Croſſe doth at theirs, to pretend that we honour not them alone, but we honour God with them, would not ſerve the turne, neither would

a *Diſt. 6. 3 c. Quia.*

b *Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 15.*

c *Th. p. 3. q. 25. art. 3. reſp ad. tert.*

would this be able to prevent the errour of men or cauſe them alwaies to reſpect God in their adorations, and not to finiſh their intents in the object next before them. But unto this he addeth that no ſuch error can grow by adoring in that ſort a dead Image, which every man knoweth to be void of excellencie in it ſelfe, and therefore will eaſily conceive that the honour done unto it hath an higher reference. Howbeit, ſeeing that wee have by over-true experience been taught how often, eſpecially in theſe caſes, the light even of common underſtanding faileth, ſurely their uſuall adoration of the Croſſe is not hereby freed. For in actions of this kind wee are more to reſpect what the greateſt part of men is commonly prone to conceive, than what ſome few mens wits may deviſe in conſtruction of their owne particular meanings. Plaine it is, that a falſe opinion of ſome perſonall divine excellencie to be in thoſe things which either Nature or Art hath framed, cauſeth alwayes religious adoration. And as plaine that the like adoration applyed unto things ſenſible argueth to vulgar capacities, yea leaveth imprinted in them the very ſame opinion of Deitie from whence all idolatrous worſhip groweth. Yea the meaner and baſer a thing worſhipped is in it ſelfe, the more they incline to thinke that every man which doth adore it, knoweth there is in it or with it a preſence of divine power. Bee it therefore true that Croſſes purpoſely framed or uſed for receipt of divine honour, bee even as ſcandalous as the brazen Serpent it ſelfe, where they are in ſuch ſort adored. Should wee hereupon thinke our ſelves in the ſight of God, and in conſcience charged to aboliſh utterly the very *Ceremonie* of the Croſſe, neither meant at the firſt, nor now converted unto any ſuch offenſive purpoſe? Did the Iewes which could never be perſwaded to admit in the Citie of Ieruſalem that [a] Image of *Cæſar* which the Romanes were accuſtomed [b] to adore, make any ſcruple of [c] *Cæſars* Image in the Coine which they knew very well that men were not wont to worſhip? Betweene the Croſſe which Superſtition honoureth as Chriſt, and that Ceremonie of the Croſſe which ſerveth onely for a ſigne of remembrance, there is as plaine and as great a difference as betweene thoſe [d] brazen Images which *Salomon* made to beare up the Ceſterne of the Temple, and (ſith both were of like ſhape but of unlike uſe) [e] that which the Iſraelites in the Wilderneſſe did adore; or betweene the [f] Altars which *Ioſias* deſtroyed becauſe they were inſtruments of meere Idolatrie, and [g] that which the Tribe of *Reuben* with others erected neere to the River Iordan, for which alſo they grew at the firſt into ſome diſlike, and were by the reſt of their brethren ſuſpected, yea hardly charged with open breach of the Law of God, accuſed of backwardneſſe in Religion, upbraided bitterly with the fact of *Peor*, and the odious example of *Achan*, as if the building of their Altar in that place had given manifeſt ſhew of no better than intended Apoſtaſie, till by a true declaration made in their owne defence, it appeared that ſuch as miſliked miſunderſtood their enterprize, in as much as they had no intent to build any Altar for Sacrifice which God would have no where offered ſaving in Ieruſalem onely, but to a farre other end and purpoſe, which being opened, ſatisfied all parts, and ſo delivered them from cauſeleſſe blame. In this particular ſuppoſe the worſt, imagine

a *Ioſeph. Antiq. lib. 17. c. 8. & li. 18. c. 3. & de bell. lib. 2. c. 8.*

b Their Eagles their Enſignes, and the Images of their Princes they carried with them in all their Armies, and had alwayes a kind of Chappell wherein they placed, and adored them as their Gods. *Dio. lib. 40. Herodia l 4.*

c *Mat. 22. 20.*

d *2 Chron. 4. 3.*

e *Exod. 32. 4.*

f *2 Chron. 34 7.*

g *Ioſhu. 22. 10.*

imagine that the immateriall Ceremony of the Croſſe had been the ſubject of as groſſe pollution as any Heatheniſh or profane Idoll. If we think the example of *Ezechias* a prooſe, that things which Error and Superſtition hath abuſed, may in no conſideration be tolerated, although we preſently find them not ſubject to ſo vile abuſe, the plain example of *Ezechias* proveth the contrary. The Temples and Idols which under *Salomon* [a] had been of very purpoſe framed for the honour of forraine Gods, *Ezechias* deſtroyed not, becauſe they ſtood as forlorne things and did now no harme, although formerly they had done harme. [b] *Ioſias*, for ſome inconvenience afterwards, razed them up. Yet to both there is one commendation given even from God himſelfe, that touching [c] matter of Religion they walked in the ſteps of *David*, and did no way diſpleaſe God. Perhaps it ſeemeth that by force and vertue of this example, although it bare deteſtation and hatred of Idolatry, all things which have been at any time worſhipped are not neceſſarily to bee taken out of the World, nevertheleſſe for remedy and prevention of ſo great offences, wiſdome ſhould judge it the ſafeſt courſe to remove altogether from the eyes of men that which may put them in mind of evill. Some kinds of evill, no doubt, there are very quick in working on thoſe affections that moſt eaſily take fire, which evils ſhould in that reſpect no oftner than need requireth be brought in preſence of weak minds. But neither is the Croſſe any ſuch evill, nor yet the brazen Serpent it ſelfe ſo ſtrongly poyſoned, that our eyes, eares, and thoughts ought to ſhun them both, for feare of ſome deadly harme to enſue the only repreſentation thereof by geſture, ſhape, ſound, or ſuch like ſignificant meanes. And for mine own part, I moſt aſſuredly perſwade my ſelf, that had *Ezechias* (till the daies of whoſe moſt vertuous Reign they ceaſed not continually to burne Incenſe to the brazen Serpent) had he found the Serpent, though ſometime adored; yet at that time recovered from the evill of ſo groſſe abuſe, and reduced to the ſame that was before in the time of *David*, at which time they eſteemed it only as a memoriall, ſigne, or monument of Gods miraculous goodneſſe towards them, even as we in no other ſort eſteeme the Ceremony of the Croſſe, the due conſideration of an uſe ſo harmleſſe, common to both, might no leſſe have wrought their equall preſervation, than different occaſions have procured, notwithſtanding the ones extinguiſhment, the others lawfull continuance. In all perſwaſions, which ground themſelves upon example, wee are not ſo much to reſpect what is done, as the cauſes and ſecret inducements leading thereunto. The queſtion being therfore, whether this Ceremony ſuppoſed to have been *ſometimes* ſcandalous and offenſive, ought for that cauſe to bee *now* removed, there is no reaſon we ſhould forthwith yeeld our ſelves to be carried away with example, no not of them whoſe acts the higheſt judgement approveth for having reformed in that maner any publike evill: but before we either attempt any thing or reſolve, the ſtate and condition as well of our own affaires as theirs whoſe example preſſeth us, is adviſedly to be examined, becauſe ſome things are of their own nature ſcandalous, and cannot chooſe but breed offence, as thoſe [d] Sinkes of execrable filth which *Ioſias* did overwhelme; ſome things, albeit not by nature of themſelves, are not-

[a] 1 *Reg.* 11. 17.
[b] 2 *Reg.* 23. 13.
[c] 2 *Reg.* 18. 3, 6. 2 *Reg.* 22. 2.
[d] 2 *Reg* 23. 7.

withſtanding ſo generally turned to evill, by reaſon of an evill corrupt habit grown, and through long continuance incurably ſetled in the minds of the greateſt part, that no redreſſe can bee well hoped for, without removall of that wherein they have ruined themſelves, which plainely was the ſtate of the Jewiſh people and the cauſe why *Ezechias* did with ſuch ſuddaine indignation deſtroy what hee ſaw worſhipped; finally, ſome things are as the ſigne of the Croſſe, though ſubject either almoſt or altogether to as great abuſe, yet curable with more facility and eaſe. And to ſpeake as the truth is, our very nature doth hardly yeeld to deſtroy that which may be fruitfully kept, and without any great difficulty clean ſcowred from the ruſt of evill, which by ſome accident hath growne into it. Wherfore to that which they build in this queſtion upon the example of *Ezechias*, let this ſuffice. When Heathens deſpiſed Chriſtian Religion, becauſe of the ſufferings of Jeſus Chriſt, the Fathers, to teſtifie how little ſuch contumelies & contempts prevailed with them, choſe rather the ſigne of the Croſſe, than any other outward mark, wherby the world might moſt eaſily diſcerne always what they were. On the contrary ſide now, wheras they which do all profeſſe the Chriſtian Religion are divided amongſt themſelvs, & the fault of the one part is, that the zeale to the ſufferings of Chriſt they admire too much, and over-ſuperſtitiouſly adore the viſible ſigne of his Croſſe, if you aske, what we that miſlike them, ſhould do, we are here adviſed to cure one contrary by another. Which Art or Method is not yet ſo currant as they imagine. For if, as their practice for the moſt part ſheweth, it bee their meaning that the ſcope and drift of Reformation, when things are faulty, ſhould bee to *ſettle* the Church in the contrary, it ſtandeth them upon to beware of this rule, becauſe ſeeing Vices have not only Vertues, but other Vices alſo in nature oppoſite unto them, it may bee dangerous in theſe caſes to ſeeke but that which we find contrary to preſent evils. For in ſores and ſickneſſes of the mind wee are not ſimply to meaſure good by diſtance from evill, becauſe one Vice may in ſome reſpect bee more oppoſite to another, than either of them to that Vertue which holdeth the meane betweene them both. Liberality and Covetouſneſſe, the one a Vertue and the other a Vice, are not ſo contrary as the vices of Covetouſneſſe and Prodigality; Religion and Superſtition have more affiance, though the one bee Light and the other Darkneſſe, than Superſtition and Profaneneſſe, which both are vicious extremities. By meanes whereof it commeth alſo to paſſe, that the meane, which is Vertue, ſeemeth in the eyes of each extreme and extremity; the liberall hearted man is by the opinion of the Prodigall miſerable, and by the judgement of the Miſerable laviſh; Impiety for the moſt part upbraideth Religion as ſuperſtitious, which Superſtition often accuſeth as impious, both ſo conceiving thereof becauſe it doth ſeeme more to participate each extreame, than one extreame doth another, and is by conſequent leſſe contrary to either of them, than they mutually betweene themſelves. Now, if hee that ſeeketh to reforme Covetouſneſſe or Superſtition, ſhould but labour to induce the contrary, it were but to draw men out of Lime into Cole-duſt. So that their courſe which will remedy

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the ſuperſtitious abuſe of things profitable in the Church is not ſtill to aboliſh utterly the uſe therof, becauſe not uſing at all is moſt oppoſite to ill uſing, but rather if it may be, to bring them back to a right perfect and religious uſage, which albeit leſſe contrary to the preſent ſore, is notwithſtanding the better and by many degrees the ſounder way of recovery. And unto this effect that very precedent it ſelfe which they propoſe may be beſt followed. For as the Fathers, when the Croſſe of Chriſt was in utter contempt, did not ſuperſtitiouſly adore the ſame, but rather declare that they ſo eſteemed it as was meet: in like manner where we find the Croſſe to have that honour which is due to Chriſt, is it not as lawfull for us to retaine it in that eſtimation which it ought to have, and in that uſe which it had of old without offence, as by taking it clean away to ſeeme followers of their Example, which cure wilfully by abſciſion that which they might both preſerve and heale? Touching therefore the Signe and Ceremony of the Croſſe, we no way find our ſelves bound to relinquiſh it, neither becauſe the firſt Inventors thereof were but mortall men, nor leſt the ſenſe and ſignification we give unto it ſhould burthen us as Authors of a new Goſpell in the Houſe of God, nor in reſpect of ſome cauſe which the Fathers had more than we have to uſe the ſame, nor finally for any ſuch offence or ſcandall as heretofore it hath been ſubject unto by errour now reformed in the minds of men.

Of Confirmation after Baptiſme.

66 The ancient cuſtome of the Church was, after they had baptized to adde therunto Impoſition of hands, with effectuall Prayer for the [a] illumination of Gods moſt holy Spirit, to confirme and perfect that which the grace of the ſame Spirit had already begun in Baptiſme. For our meanes to obtaine the graces which God doth beſtow, are our Prayers. Our Prayers to that intent are avaylable as well for others as for our ſelves. To pray for others, is *to bleſſe* them for whom we pray, becauſe Prayer procureth the bleſſing of God upon them, eſpecially the Prayer of ſuch as God either moſt reſpecteth for their Piety & Zeale that way, or elſe regardeth, for that their place & calling bindeth them above others unto this duty, as it doth both naturall and ſpirituall Fathers. With Prayers of ſpirituall and perſonall Benediction, the manner hath been in all Ages to uſe *Impoſition of hands*, as a Ceremony betokening our *reſtrained deſires* to the party, whom we preſent unto God by Prayer. Thus when [b] *Iſrael bleſſed Ephraim* and *Manaſſes, Ioſephs* Sons, he *impoſed* upon them his hands and praied, *God in whoſe ſight my Fathers* Abraham *and* Iſaac *did walk, God which hath fed me all my life long unto this day, and the Angell which hath delivered mee from all evill, bleſſe theſe children*. The Prophets which healed diſeaſes by Prayer, uſed therein the ſelf-ſame Ceremony. And therfore [c] when *Elizeus* willed *Naaman* to waſh himſelfe ſeven times in *Iordan* for cure of his foule diſeaſe, it much offended him: *I thought* (ſaith he) *with my ſelfe, Surely the man will come forth & ſtand and call upon the Name of the Lord his God, and put his hand on the place, to the end he may ſo heale the Leproſie*. In [d] Conſecrations and Ordinations of men unto rooms of divine calling, the like was uſually done from the time of *Moſes* to Chriſt. Their ſutes that came unto Chriſt for help were alſo tendred oftentimes, and are expreſſed in ſuch [e] formes or phraſes of ſpeech, as ſhew that he was himſelfe an obſerver of the ſame cuſtome. He which

[a] *Caro manus impoſitione adumbratur, ut & anima ſpiritu illuminetur.* Tertull. de Reſurrect. car.

[b] *Gen.* 48.14.

[c] 2 *Reg.* 5.11.

[d] *Numb.* 27.18.

[e] *Mat.* 9.18. *Mar.* 5.23. 8.22.

with Impoſition of Hands and Prayer did ſo great Works of Mercy for reſtauration of bodily health, was worthily judged as able to effect the infuſion of Heavenly grace into them, whoſe age was not yet depraved with that malice which might be ſuppoſed a barre to the goodneſſe of God towards them. They [a] brought him therfore young children to put *his hands* upon them and *pray*. After the Aſcenſion of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, that which hee had begun continued in the daily practice of his Apoſtles, whoſe Prayer and Impoſition of Hands, were a meane whereby thouſands became partakers of the wonderfull gifts of God; The Church had received from Chriſt [b] a promiſe, that ſuch as beleeved in him, theſe ſignes and tokens ſhould follow them, *To caſt out Devils, to ſpeake with tongues, to drive away Serpents, to be free from the harme which any deadly poyſon could work, and to cure diſeaſes by Impoſition of Hands*; Which power, common at the firſt in a manner unto *all Beleevers*, all Beleevers had not power to derive or communicate unto all other men, but whoſoever was the inſtrument of God to inſtruct, convert and baptize them, [c] the gift of miraculous operations by the power of the Holy Ghoſt they had not, but only at the Apoſtles own hands. For which cauſe [d] *Simon Magus* perceiving that power to be in none but them, and preſuming that they which had it might ſell it, ſought to purchaſe it of them with money. And as miraculous graces of the Spirit continued after the Apoſtles times (for ſaith [e] *Irenæus*) *They which are truly his Diſciples, do in his Name and through grace received from him, ſuch works for the benefit of other men, as every of them is by him inabled to work; Some caſt out Devils, in ſo much as they which are delivered from wicked ſpirits have been thereby won unto Chriſt, & do conſtantly perſevere in the Church and ſociety of faithfull men; Some excell in the knowledge of things to come, in the grace of Viſions from God and the gift of Prophetical Predictions; Some by laying on their hands, reſtore them to health which are grievouſly afflicted with ſickneſſe; yea there are that of dead have been made alive, and have afterwards many yeares converſed with us; What ſhould I ſay? the gifts are innumerable wherewith God hath inriched his Church throughout the world, and by vertue whereof in the Name of Chriſt crucified under* Pontius Pilate, *the Church every day doth many Wonders for the good of Nations, neither fraudulently nor in any reſpect of lucre and gaine to her ſelfe, but as freely beſtowing as God on her hath beſtowed his divine Graces*: ſo it no where appeareth, that ever any did by Prayer & Impoſition of Hands ſithence the Apoſtles times, make others partakers of the like *miraculous gifts* & graces as long as it pleaſed God to continue the ſame in his Church, but only Biſhops the Apoſtles Succeſſors for a time, even in that power. [f] Saint *Auguſtin* acknowledgeth, that ſuch gifts were not permitted to laſt alwayes, leſt men ſhould waxe cold with the commonneſſe of that, the ſtrangeneſſe whereof at the firſt inflamed them. Which word of S. *Auguſtin* declaring how the vulgar uſe of thoſe Miracles was then expired, are no prejudice to the like extraordinary graces more rarely obſerved in ſome, either then or of later daies. Now whereas the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles had but only for a time ſuch power as by Prayer and Impoſition of Hands to beſtow the Holy Ghoſt; The reaſon wherefore Confirmation, nevertheleſſe by Prayer and Laying on of hands hath hitherto alwayes continued, is for other very ſpeciall benefits which

a *Mat.* 19.13. - *Marke* 10.13. *Luke* 18.15.

b *Mark.* 16.17.

c *Acts* 19.6.
d *Acts* 8.17,18.

e *Iren.l.*2.c.57.

f *Aug. de vera Relig.cap.*25.

which the Church thereby injoyeth. The Fathers every where impute unto it that gift of grace of the Holy Ghoſt, not which maketh us firſt Chriſtian men, but when we are made ſuch, aſſiſteth us in all vertue, armeth us againſt temptation and ſin. For after Baptiſm adminiſtred, *there followeth* (ſaith [a] *Tertullian*) *Impoſition of hands with invocation and invitation of the Holy Ghoſt, which willingly commeth down from the Father to reſt upon the purified and bleſſed bodies, as it were acknowledging the waters of Baptiſme a fit ſeat.* S. [b] *Cyprian* in more particular manner alluding to that effect of the Spirit which here eſpecially was reſpected, *How great* (ſaith he) *is that power and force wherwith the mind is here* (he meaneth in Baptiſm) *inabled, being not only withdrawn from that pernicious hold which the World before had of it, nor only ſo purified and made clean that no ſtaine or blemiſh of the Enemies invaſion doth remaine, but over and beſides* (namely, through Prayer and Impoſition of Hands) *becommeth yet greater, yet mightier in ſtrength, ſo farre as to raigne with a kind of Imperiall dominion over the whole Band of that roming and ſpoyling Adverſary.* As much is ſignified by [c] *Euſebius Emiſſenus*, ſaying, *The Holy Ghoſt which deſcendeth with ſaving influence upon the waters of Baptiſme, doth there give that fulneſſe which ſufficeth for innocency, and afterwards exhibiteth in Confirmation an augmentation of further grace.* The Fathers therefore being thus perſwaded, held Confirmation as [d] an Ordinance Apoſtolike *alwayes profitable* in Gods Church, although not alwayes accompanied with equall largeneſſe of thoſe externall effects which gave it countenance at the firſt. The cauſe of ſevering Confirmation from Bapriſme (for moſt commonly they went together) was ſometimes in the Miniſter, which being of inferiour degree might Baptize but not Confirme, as in [e] their caſe it came to paſſe whom *Peter* and *Iohn* did confirme, whereas *Philip* had before baptized them; and in theirs of whom [f] S. *Ierome* hath ſaid, *I deny not but the cuſtomes of the Churches is that the Biſhop ſhould go abroad, and impoſing his hands pray for the gift of the Holy Ghoſt on them whom Presbyters and Deacons farre off in leſſer Cities have already baptized.* Which ancient cuſtome of the Church, S. *Cyprian* groundeth upon the Example of *Peter* and *Iohn* in the eight of the *Acts* before alleaged. The [g] faithfull in Samaria (ſaith he) *Had already obtained Baptiſme: Only that which was wanting*, Peter *and* John *ſupplyed by Prayer and Impoſition of Hands, to the end the Holy Ghoſt might be powred upon them. Which alſo is done amongſt our ſelves, when they which bee already Baptized are brought to the Prelates of the Church, to obtaine by our Prayer and Impoſition of Hands the Holy Ghoſt.* By this it appeareth that when the Miniſters of Baptiſm were perſons of inferiour degree, the Biſhops did after confirme whom ſuch had before baptized. Somtimes they which by force of their Eccleſiaſticall calling might do as well the one as the other, were notwithſtanding men whom hereſie had disjoyned from the fellowſhip of true Beleevers. Wherupon when any man by them baptized and confirmed, came afterwards to ſee and renounce their errour, there grew in ſome Churches very hot contention about the manner of admitting ſuch into the boſome of the true Church, as hath been declared already in the queſtion of rebaptization. But the generall received cuſtome was only to admit them with Impoſition of Hands and Prayer. Of which cuſtome while ſome imagined the reaſon to be for that

a *Tertull. de Baptiſ.*

b *Cyp. Epiſt. 2. ad Donat. cap. 2.*

c *Euſeb Emiſ. Ser. de Pent.*

d *Aug. de Trin. lib 15. cap. 26. Heb. 6. 2.*

e *Acts 8. 12. 15*

f *Hieron. adv. ſ. Lucif. cap. 4.*

g *Cyp. Epiſt. 73. ad Iubajanum.*

Hereticks might give remiſſion of ſinnes by Baptiſme, but not the Spirit by Impoſition of Hands, becauſe themſelves had not Gods Spirit, and that therefore their Baptiſme might ſtand, but Confirmation muſt be given again: the imbecility of this ground gave *Cyprian* occaſion to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the practice of the Church herein, labouring many wayes to prove that Heretickes could do neither, and conſequently, that their Baptiſme in all reſpects, was as fruſtrate as their Chriſme, for the manner of thoſe times was in Confirming to uſe anoynting. On the other ſide, againſt Luciferians which ratified only the Baptiſme of Heretickes, but diſanulled their Confirmations and Conſecrations, under pretence of the reaſon which hath been before ſpecified, *Heretickes cannot give the Holy Ghoſt*. Saint *Ierome* proveth at large, that if Baptiſme by Heretickes bee granted available to remiſſion of ſinnes, which no man receiveth without the Spirit, it muſt needs follow that the reaſon taken from diſability of beſtowing the Holy Ghoſt, was no reaſon wherefore the Church ſhould admit Converts with any new Impoſition of Hands. Notwithſtanding, becauſe it might be objected, that if the gift of the Holy Ghoſt do alwayes joyne it ſelfe with true Baptiſme, the Church, which thinketh the Biſhops Confirmation after other mens Baptiſme needfull for the obtayning of the Holy Ghoſt, ſhould hold an error; Saint *Ierom* hereunto maketh anſwer, that the cauſe of this obſervation is not any abſolute impoſſibility of receiving the Holy Ghoſt by the Sacrament of Baptiſme, unleſſe a Biſhop adde after it the Impoſſition of Hands, but rather a certain congruity and fitneſſe to honour Prelacy with ſuch preeminences, becauſe the ſafety of the Church dependeth upon the dignity of her chiefe Superiours, to whom if ſome eminent Offices of power above others ſhould not be given, there there would be in the Church as many Schiſmes as Prieſts. By which anſwer it appeareth his opinion was, that the Holy Ghoſt is received in Baptiſme; that Confirmation is only a Sacramentall complement; that the reaſon why Biſhops alone did ordinarily confirme, was not becauſe the benefit, grace, and dignity therof is greater than of Baptiſme, but rather for that by the Sacrament of Baptiſm men being admitted into Gods Church, it was both reaſonable and convenient that if hee baptize them not unto whom the chiefeſt authority and charge of their ſoules belongeth, yet for honour ſake, and in token of his ſpirituall ſuperiority over them, becauſe to [a] bleſſe is an Act of authority, the performance of this annexed ceremony ſhould be ſought for at his hands. Now what effect their Impoſition of hands, either after Baptiſme adminiſtred by Heretickes or otherwiſe, S. *Ierome* in that place hath made no mention, becauſe all men underſtood that in Converts it tendeth to the fruits of Repentance, and craveth in behalfe of the Penitent, ſuch grace as [b] *David* after his fall deſired at the hands of God; in others the fruit and benefit therof is that which hath been before ſhewed. Finally, ſometime the cauſe of ſevering Confirmation from Baptiſme, was in the parties that received Baptiſme being Infants, at which age they might bee very well admitted to live in the Family; but becauſe to fight in the Aamy of God, to diſcharge the duties of a Chriſtian man, to bring forth the fruits, and to do the Works of the Holy Ghoſt, their time of ability was not yet come (ſo that

[a] *Heb.* 6.3.

[b] *Pſal.* 51.10. 11,12.

Baptiſme

Baptiſme were not deferd) there could by ſtay of their Confirmation no harme enſue but rather good. For by this meanes it came to paſſe that Children in expectation thereof, were ſeaſoned with the principles of true Religion, before malice and corrupt examples depraved their minds; a good foundation was laid betimes for direction of the courſe of their whole lives, the ſeed of the Church of God was preſerved ſincere and ſound, the Prelates and Fathers of Gods Family, to whom the cure of their ſoules belonged, ſaw by triall and examination of them a part of their own heavy burthen diſcharged, reaped comfort by beholding the firſt beginnings of true godlineſſe in tender yeares, glorified him whoſe praiſe they they found in the mouths of Infants, and neglected not ſo fit opportunity of giving every one Fatherly incouragement and exhortation. Whereunto impoſition of hands and prayer being added, our warrant for the great good effect thereof is the ſame which Patriarkes, Prophets, Prieſts, Apoſtles, Fathers, and men of God have had for ſuch their particular Invocations and Benedictions, as no man, I ſuppoſe, profeſſing truth of Religion, will eaſily think to have been without fruit. No, there is no cauſe wee ſhould doubt of the benefit, but ſurely great cauſe to make complaint of the deep neglect of this Chriſtian duty, almoſt with all them to whom by right of their place and calling the ſame belongeth. Let them not take it in evill part, the thing is true, their ſmall regard hereunto hath done harme to the Church of God. That which [a] error raſhly uttereth in diſgrace of good things may peradventure bee ſpunged out, when the print of thoſe evils which are grown through neglect will remain behind. Thus much therefore generally ſpoken, may ſerve for anſwer unto their demands that require us to tell them, *why there ſhould be any ſuch Confirmation* in the Church, ſeeing wee are not ignorant how earneſtly they have proteſted againſt it, & how directly (although untruly, for ſo they are content to acknowledge) it hath by ſome of them been ſaid, to be *firſt brought in by the fained Decretall Epiſtles of the Popes*; or why it ſhould not bee *utterly aboliſhed, ſeeing that no one tittle therof can be once found in the whole Scripture*, except the Epiſtle to the [b] Hebrewes bee Scripture, and again, ſeeing that how free ſoever it bee now from abuſe, if wee look back to the times paſt, which wiſe men do alwayes more reſpect than the preſent, it *hath been* abuſed, and is found at the length *no* ſuch *profitable*

[a] *T. C. Lib. pag. 199.* Tell me why there ſhould be any ſuch confirmation in the Church, being brought in by the fained Decretall Epiſtles of the Popes (this is retracted by the ſame, *T. C. lib. 3. pag. 232.* That it is ancienter than the fained Decretall Epiſtles, I yeeld unto) and no one tittle therof being once found in the Scripture, and ſeeing that it hath been ſo horribly abuſed, and not neceſſary; why ought it not to bee utterly aboliſhed? And thirdly, this Confirmation hath many dangerous points in it. The firſt ſtep of Popery in this Confirmation, is in the laying of Hands upon the head of the Child, whereby the opinion of it that it is a Sacrament, is confirmed, eſpecially when as the Prayer doth ſay, that it is done according to the Example of the Apoſtles, which is a manifeſt untruth, and taken indeed from the Popiſh Confirmation. The ſecond is, for that the Biſhop, as hee is called, muſt bee the only Miniſter of it, whereby the Popiſh opinion, which eſteemeth it above Baptiſme, is Confirmed. For whileſt Baptiſme may bee miniſtred of of the Miniſter, and not Confirmation but only of the Biſhop, there is great cauſe of ſuſpition given to think that Baptiſme is not ſo precious a thing as Confirmation, ſeeing this was one of the principall reaſons whereby that wicked opinion was eſtabliſhed in Popery. I do not here ſpeake of the inconvenience, that men are conſtrained with charges to bring their children often-times halfe-a ſcore miles for that which if it were needfull might bee as well done at home in their own Pariſhes. The third is, for that the Book ſaith, a cauſe of uſing Confirmation is, that by impoſition of Hands and Prayer, the Children may receive ſtrength and defence againſt all temptations; whereas there is no promiſe, that by the laying on of Hands upon Children any ſuch gift ſhall bee given, and it maintaineth the Popiſh diſtinction, that the Spirit of God is given at Baptiſme, unto remiſſion of ſins, and in Confirmation, unto ſtrength. [b] *Heb. 6. 3.*

Ceremony

Ceremony as the whole ſilly Church of Chriſt for the ſpace of theſe ſixteen hundred years hath through want of experience imagined: laſt of all, *ſeeing* alſo beſides the cruelty which is ſhewed towards poore Country people, who are faine ſometimes to let their Ploughs ſtand ſtill, and with incredible wearieſome toyle of their feeble bodies to wander over Mountains and thorow Woods; it may be now and then little leſſe than a whole *halfe-ſcore of miles* for a Biſhops bleſſing, *which if it were needfull, might as well be done at home in their own Pariſhes*, rather than they to purchaſe it with ſo great loſſe & ſo intolerable pain, there are they ſay in Confirmation beſides this, *three* terrible *points*. The firſt is, *laying on of hands with pretence that the ſame is done to the example of the Apoſtles*, which is not only as they ſuppoſe *a manifeſt untruth* (for all the World doth know that the Apoſtles did never after Baptiſm lay hands on any, and therefore [a] S. *Luke* which ſaith they did was much deceived) but farther alſo wee thereby teach men to think *impoſition of Hands a Sacrament*, belike becauſe it is a principle ingrafted by common light of Nature in the minds of men, that all things done by Apoſtolike example muſt needs be Sacraments: the ſecond high point of danger is, that by *tying Confirmation to the Biſhop alone, there is great cauſe of ſuſpicion given to think that Baptiſm is not ſo precious a thing as Confirmation*, for will any man think that a velvet Cote is of no more price than a linnen Coife, knowing the one to be an ordinary garment, the other an ornament which only Sergeants at Law do weare? Finally, to draw to an end of perils, the laſt and the waightieſt hazzard is, where the Book it ſelfe doth ſay that children by *impoſition* of hands and prayer may receive *ſtrength* againſt all temptation; which ſpeech as a two-edged ſword doth both wayes dangerouſly wound, partly, becauſe it aſcribeth grace to impoſition of hands wherby we are able no more to aſſure our ſelves in the warrant of *any promiſe from God* that his Heavenly grace ſhall be given, than the Apoſtle was that himſelfe ſhould obtaine grace by the [b] bowing of his knees to God; and partly, becauſe by uſing the very word *ſtrength* in this matter, a word ſo apt to ſpread infection, we *maintain* with Popiſh Euangeliſts, an old forlorne *diſtinction* of the Holy Ghoſt, [c] beſtowed upon Chriſts Apoſtles before his Aſcenſion into Heaven, and [d] *augmented* upon them afterwards, a diſtinction of *grace* infuſed into Chriſtian men by degrees, planted in them *at the firſt* by Baptiſm, *after* cheriſhed, watred, and (be it ſpoken without offence) *ſtrengthened* as by other vertuous offices which Piety and true Religion teacheth, even ſo by this very ſpeciall Benediction whereof we ſpeake, the Rite or Ceremony of Confirmation.

a *Acts* 8.15.17.

b *Epheſ.* 3.14.

c *Iohn* 20.22.

d *Acts* 1.8.

Of the Sacrament of the Body and Bloud of Chriſt.

67 The grace which we have by the holy Euchariſt, doth not begin but continue life. No man therfore receiveth this Sacrament before Baptiſm, becauſe no dead thing is capable of nouriſhment. That which groweth muſt of neceſſity firſt live. If our bodies did not daily waſte, food to reſtore them were a thing ſuperfluous. And it may be that the grace of Baptiſm would ſerve to eternall life, were it not that the ſtate of our ſpiritual being is daily ſo much hindered and impaired after Baptiſm. In that life therfore where neither body nor ſoul can decay, our ſouls ſhal as little require this Sacrament as our bodies corporall nouriſhment. But as long as the daies of our warfar laſt, during the time that we are both ſubject to diminution and capable of augmen-

augmentation in grace, the Words of our Lord and Saviour Chriſt will remaine forceable, [a] *Except yee eat the Fleſh of the Son of man, and drink his Bloud, ye have no life in you.* Life being therfore propoſed unto all men as their end, they which by Baptiſme have laid the foundation and attained the firſt beginning of a new life, have here their nouriſhment and food preſcribed for *continuace of life* in them. Such as will live the life of God, muſt eat the Fleſh and drink the Bloud of the Sonne of man, becauſe this is a part of that dyet, which if we want, we cannot live. Whereas therefore in our Infancy we are incorporated into Chriſt, and by Baptiſme receive the grace of his Spirit without any ſenſe or feeling of the gift which God beſtoweth, in the Euchariſt we ſo receive the gift of God, that wee know by grace what the grace is which God giveth us, the degrees of our own increaſe in holineſſe and vertue we ſee and can judge of them, we underſtand that the ſtrength of our life begunne in Chriſt is Chriſt, that his Fleſh is meat, and his Bloud drink, not by ſurmiſed imagination, but truely, even ſo truely that through Faith we perceive in the Body and Bloud ſacramentally preſented the very taſte of eternall life, the grace of the Sacrament is here as the food which we eat and drink. This was it that ſome did exceedingly feare, leaſt *Zwinglius* and *OEcolampadius* would bring to paſſe, that men ſhould account of this Sacrament but only as of a ſhadow, deſtitute, empty, and voyd of Chriſt. But ſeeing that by opening the ſeverall opinions which have been held, they are grown, for ought I can ſee, on all ſides at the length to a generall agreement, concerning that which alone is materiall, namely, the *reall participation* of Chriſt, and of life in his Body and Bloud *by meanes of this Sacrament*, wherefore ſhould the World continue ſtill diſtracted and rent with ſo manyfold contentions, when there remaineth now no Controverſie ſaving only about the ſubject *where* Chriſt is? Yea, even in this point no ſide denieth, but that *the ſoule of man* is the receptacle of Chriſts preſence. Whereby the queſtion is yet driven to a narrower iſſue, nor doth any thing reſt doubtfull but this, whether when the Sacrament is adminiſtred, Chriſt bee whole *within man only* or elſe his Body and Bloud bee alſo externally ſeated in the very conſecrated Elements themſelves: which opinion they that defend, are driven either to *Conſubſtantiate* and incorporate Chriſt with Elements Sacramentall, or to *Tranſubſtantiate* and change their ſubſtance into his, and ſo the one to hold him really but inviſibly moulded up with the ſubſtance of thoſe Elements, the other to hide him under the only viſible ſhow of Bread and Wine, the ſubſtance whereof, as they imagine, is aboliſhed, and his ſucceeded in the ſame room. All things conſidered and compared with that ſucceſſe, which truth hath hitherto had by ſo bitter conflicts with errours in this point, ſhall I whiſh that men would more give themſelves to meditate with ſilence what we have by the Sacrament, and leſſe to diſpute of the manner how? If any man ſuppoſe that this were too great ſtupidity and dulneſſe, let us ſee whether the Apoſtles of our Lord themſelves have not done the like. It appeareth by many examples, that they of their own diſpoſition were very ſcrupulous and inquiſitive, yea, in other Caſes of leſſe importance and leſſe difficulty alwayes apt to move queſtions. How commeth it to paſſe that ſo few words of ſo high a myſtery being uttered, they receive

[a] *John 6.53.*

receive with gladneſſe the gift of Chriſt, and make no ſhew of doubt or ſcruple? The reaſon hereof is not dark to them which have any thing at all obſerved how the powers of the mind are wont to ſtir, when that which we infinitely long for, preſenteth it ſelfe above and beſides expectation. Curious and intricate ſpeculations do hinder, they abate, they quench ſuch inflamed motions of delight and joy, as divine graces uſe to raiſe when extraordinarily, they are preſent. The mind therefore feeling preſent joy, is alwayes marvellous unwilling to admit any other cogitation, and in that caſe caſteth off thoſe diſputes whereunto the intellectuall part at other times eaſily draweth. A manifeſt effect whereof may be noted, if we compare with our Lords Diſciples in the twentieth of *Iohn*, the people that are ſaid in the ſixt of *Iohn* to have gone after him to Capernaum. Theſe leaving him on the one ſide the Sea of Tiberias, and finding him againe as ſoone as themſelves by ſhip were arrived on the contrary ſide, whether they knew that by ſhip he came not, and by Land the journey was longer than according to the time he could have to travaile, as they wondred, ſo they asked alſo, *Rabbi, when cameſt thou hither?* The Diſciples, when Chriſt appeared to them in far more ſtrange and miraculous manner, moved no queſtion, but rejoyced greatly in that they ſaw. For why? The one ſort beheld only that in Chriſt which they knew was more than naturall, but yet their affection was not rapt therewith through any great extraordinary gladneſſe; the other when they looked on Chriſt, were not ignorant that they ſaw the Well-ſpring of their own everlaſting felicity; the one, becauſe they injoyed not, diſputed; the other diſputed not, becauſe they enjoyed. If then the preſence of Chriſt with them did ſo much move, judge what their thoughts and affections were at the time of this new preſentation of Chriſt, not before their eyes, but within their ſoules. They had learned before, that his Fleſh and Bloud are the true cauſe of eternall Life, that this they are not by the bare force of their own ſubſtance, but through the dignity and worth of his Perſon, which offered them up by way of Sacrifice for the life of the whole World, and doth make them ſtill effectuall thereunto; finally, that to us they are life in particular, by being particularly received. Thus much they knew, although as yet they underſtood not perfectly to what effect or iſſue the ſame would come, till at the length being aſſembled for no other cauſe which they could imagine, but to have eaten the Paſſeover only that *Moſes* appointed, when they ſaw their Lord and Maſter with hands and eyes lifted up to Heaven firſt bleſſe and conſecrate for the endleſſe good of all generations till the Worlds end, the choſen Elements of Bread and Wine, which Elements made for ever the inſtruments of life by vertue of his Divine Benediction, they being the firſt that were commanded to receive from him, the firſt which were warranted by his promiſe, that not only unto them at the preſent time, but to whomſoever they and their Succeſſors after them did duely adminiſter the ſame, thoſe myſteries ſhould ſerve as conducts of life and conveyances of his Body and Bloud unto them, was it poſſible they ſhould heare that voyce, *Take, eat, this is my Body, drink yee all of this, this is my Bloud*; poſſible that doing what was required, and beleeving what was promiſed, the ſame ſhould have preſent effect in them, and not fill them with a

Iohn 6.26.

kind

a kind of fearefull admiration at the Heaven which they ſaw in themſelves? They had at that time a Sea of comfort and joy to wade in, and we by that which they did are taught, that this Heavenly Food is given for the ſatisfying of our empty ſoules, and not for the exerciſing of our curious and ſubtle wits. If we doubt what thoſe admirable words may import, let him bee our Teacher for the meaning of Chriſt, to whom Chriſt was himſelfe a Schoolemaſter, let our Lords Apoſtle bee his Interpreter, content we our ſelvs with his explication, My Body, *The communion of my body*; My Bloud, *The communion of my Bloud*. Is there any thing more expedite, cleere and eaſie, than that as Chriſt is termed our life, becauſe through him we obtaine life, ſo the parts of this Sacrament are his Body and Bloud, for that they are ſo to us, who receiving them, receive that by them which they are termed? The Bread and Cup are his Body and Bloud, becauſe they are cauſes inſtrumentall, upon the receit whereof the *participation* of his Body and Bloud enſueth. For that which produceth any certain effect, is not vainly nor improperly ſaid to bee that very effect whereunto it tendeth. Every cauſe is in the effect which groweth from it. Our ſoules and bodies quickned to eternall Life are effects, the cauſe whereof is the Perſon of Chriſt, his Body and his Bloud are the true Well-ſpring out of which this life floweth. So that his Body and his Bloud are in that very ſubject whereunto they miniſter life, not only by effect or operation, even as the influence of the Heavens is in Plants, Beaſts, Men, and in every thing which they quicken, but alſo by a far more divine and myſticall kind of Vnion, which maketh us one with him, even as Hee and the Father are one. The reall preſence of Chriſts moſt bleſſed Body and Bloud, is not therfore to be ſought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy Receiver of the Sacrament. And with this the very order of our Saviours words agreeth, firſt, *Take and eate*; then, *This is my Body which was broken for you*: firſt, *Drink yee all of this*, then followeth, *This is my Bloud of the new Teſtament, which is ſhed for many for the remiſſion of ſinne*. I ſee not which way it ſhould be gathered by the Words of Chriſt, when and where the Bread is his Body, or the Cup his Bloud, but only in the very heart and ſoule of him which receiveth them. As for the Sacraments they really exhibit, but for ought wee can gather out of that which is written of them, they are not really, nor do really contain in themſelves that grace which with them or by them it pleaſeth God to beſtow. If on all ſides it be confeſt, that the grace of Baptiſm is poured into the ſoule of man, that by Water wee receive it, although it be neither ſeated in the water, nor the water changed into it, what ſhould induce men to think that the grace of the Euchariſt muſt needs be in the Euchariſt, before it can be in us that receive it? The fruit of the Euchariſt is the participation of the Body and Bloud of Chriſt. There is no ſentence of holy Scripture which ſaith, that wee cannot by this Sacrament bee made partakers of his Body and Bloud, except they bee firſt contained in the Sacrament, or the Sacrament converted into them. *This is my Body*, and *This is my Bloud*, being words of promiſe, ſith wee all agree, that by the Sacrament Chriſt doth really and truly in us performe his promiſe, why do wee vainely trouble our ſelves with ſo fierce contentions, whether by Conſubſtantiation, or elſe by Tranſubſtantiation the Sacra-

Marke 14. 22.

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ment it ſelfe be firſt poſſeſſed with Chriſt or no? A thing which no way can either further or hinder us howſoever it ſtand, becauſe our participation of Chriſt in this Sacrament dependeth on the co-operation of his Omnipotent Power, which maketh it his Body and Bloud to us, whether with change or without alteration of the Element ſuch as they imagine, we need not greatly to care nor inquire. Take therefore that wherein all agree, and then conſider by it ſelfe what cauſe why the reſt in queſtion ſhould not rather be left as ſuperfluous than urged as neceſſary. It is on all ſides plainely confeſt, firſt, That this Sacrament is a true and a reall participation of Chriſt, who thereby imparteth himſelfe even his whole intire Perſon, *as a myſticall head*, unto every ſoule that receiveth him, and that every ſuch Receiver doth thereby incorporate or unite himſelfe unto Chriſt as *a myſticall member* of him, yea of them alſo whom he acknowledgeth to be his own: ſecondly, That to whom *the Perſon of Chriſt* is thus communicated, to them he giveth by the ſame Sacrament his holy Spirit to ſanctifie them, as it ſanctifieth him which is their Head: thirdly, That what *merit, force, or vertue ſoever there is in his ſacrificed body and bloud*, wee freely, fully, and wholly have it by this Sacrament: fourthly, That *the effect thereof in us is a reall tranſmutation of our ſoules and bodies* from ſin to righteouſneſſe, from death and corruption to immortallity and life: fiftly, That becauſe the Sacrament being of it ſelfe but a corruptible and earthly Creature, muſt needs be thought an unlikely inſtrument to work ſo admirable effects in Man, we are therefore to reſt our ſelves altogether upon *the ſtrength of his glorious power*, who is able and will bring to paſſe that the Bread and Cup which he giveth us ſhall be truly the thing he promiſeth. It ſeemeth therefore much amiſſe, that againſt them whom they terme Sacramentaries, ſo many invective Diſcourſes are made, all running upon tow points, that the Euchariſt is not a bare ſigne or figure only, and that the efficacy of his Body and Bloud is not all we receive in this Sacrament. For no man, having read their Books and Writings which are thus traduced, can bee ignorant that both theſe Aſſertions they plainly confeſſe to bee moſt true. They do not ſo interpret the Words of Chriſt as if the name of his Body did import but the figure of his Body, and to be, were only to ſignifie his Bloud. They grant that theſe holy myſteries received in due manner, do inſtrumentally both make us partakers of the grace of that Body and Bloud which were given for the life of the World, and beſides alſo impart unto us even in true and reall, though myſticall manner, the very Perſon of our Lord himſelfe, whole, perfect, and intire, as hath been ſhewed. Now whereas all three opinions do thus farre accord in one, that ſtrong conceit which two of the three have imbraced as touching a Literall, Corporall, and Orall manducation of the very ſubſtance of his Fleſh and Bloud, is ſurely an opinion no where delivered in Holy Scripture, whereby they ſhould think themſelves bound to beleeve it, and (to ſpeake with the ſofteſt termes wee can uſe) greatly prejudiced in that when ſome others did ſo conceive of eating his Fleſh, our Saviour to abate that errour in them, gave them directly to underſtand how his Fleſh ſo eaten could profit them nothing, becauſe the words which he ſpake were Spirit, that is to ſay, they had a reference to a myſticall participation, which myſticall participation giveth

giveth life. Wherein there is ſmall appearance of likelihood, that his meaning ſhould be only to make them Marcionites by inverſion, & to teach them that as *Marcion* did think, Chriſt ſeemed to be man, but was not, ſo they contrariwiſe ſhould beleeve that Chriſt in truth would ſo give them as they thought his fleſh to eat, but yet leſt the horrour thereof ſhould offend them, he would not ſeeme to do that he did. When they which have this opinion of Chriſt in that bleſſed Sacrament go about to explaine themſelves, and to open after what manner things are brought to paſſe, the one ſort lay the Vnion of Chriſts Deity with his Man-hood, as their firſt foundation and ground; from thence they inferre a power which the Body of Chriſt hath thereby to preſent it ſelfe in all places; out of which ubiquity of his Body they gather the preſence thereof with that ſanctified Bread and Wine of our Lords Table; the conjunction of his Body and Bloud with thoſe Elements they uſe as an Argument, to ſhew how the Bread may as well in that reſpect be termed his Body, becauſe his Body is therewith joyned, as the Sonne of God may be named Man, by reaſon that God and Man in the perſon of Chriſt are united; to this they adde, how the Words of Chriſt commanding us to eat, muſt needs import that as he hath coupled the ſubſtance of his Fleſh, and the ſubſtance of Bread together, ſo we together ſhould receive both; Which Labyrinth as the other ſort doth juſtly ſhun, ſo the way which they take to the ſame Inne is ſomewhat more ſhort, but no whit more certaine. For through Gods Omnipotent Power they imagine that Tranſubſtantiation followeth upon the words of Conſecration, and upon Tranſubſtantiation the participation of Chriſts both Body and Bloud, in the only ſhape of Sacramentall Elements. So that they all three do plead Gods omnipotency, Sacramentaries to that alteration, which the reſt confeſſe hee accompliſheth; the Patrons of Tranſubſtantiation over and beſides that to the change of one ſubſtance into another; the followers of Conſubſtantiation, to the kneading up of both ſubſtances, as it were into one lump. Touching the ſentence of Antiquity in this cauſe: Firſt, for as much they knew that the force of this Sacrament doth neceſſarily preſuppoſe the Verity of Chriſts both Body and Bloud, they uſed oftentimes the ſame as an Argument to prove that Chriſt hath as truly the ſubſtance of Man as of God, becauſe here we receive Chriſt and thoſe graces which flow from him in that hee is Man. So that if hee have no ſuch being, neither can the Sacrament have any ſuch meaning as we all confeſſe it hath. Thus [a] *Tertullian*, thus [b] *Ireney*, thus [c] *Theodoret* diſputeth. Again, as evident it is how they teach that Chriſt is *perſonally* there preſent whole, albeit a part of Chriſt bee *corporally* abſent from thence, that [d] Chriſt aſſiſting this Heavenly Banquet with his perſonall and true preſence, [e] doth by his own Divine Power adde to the naturall ſubſtance therof ſupernaturall efficacy which [f] addition to the nature of thoſe con-

a *Acceptum panem & diſtributum Diſcipulis corpus ſuum illum fecit, hoc eſt corpus meum dicendo, id eſt, figura corporis mei. Figura autem non fuiſſet niſi veritatis eſſet corpus, cum vacua res quod eſt phantaſma figuram capere non poſſet.* Tertul. contra Marc. lib. 4. cap. 40. b *Secundum hoc* (that is to ſay, if it ſhould be true which Hereticks have taught denying that Chriſt tooke upon him the very nature of man) *nec Dominus ſanguine ſuo redemit nos, neque calix Euchariſtiæ communicatio ſanguinis ejus eſt, nec panis quem frangimus communicatio corporis ejus eſt. Sanguis enim non eſt, niſi à venis & carnibus & à reliqua quæ eſt ſecundum hominem ſubſtantia.* Irenæus lib. 5. cap. 1. c Εἰ τοίνυν τῷ ἀληθῶς σώματος ἀντίτυπα ἐστὶ τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια, σῶμα ἄρα ἐστὶ καὶ νῦν τὸ διατόπτε τὸ σῶμα, ἐκεῖσε θεότητος φύσιν μεταλαβόν, ἀλλὰ θείας δόξης ἀναπλεσθὲν. Theodor. Dialog. Ἀσύγχυτος.

 ſecrated

d *Sacramenta quidam quantum in se est sine propria virtute esse non possunt, nec ullo modo se absentat majestas mysteriis.* Cypr. de Cœn. cap. 7. e *Sacramento visibili ineffabiliter divina se infudit essentia ut esset Religioni circa Sacramenta devotio.* Idem cap. 6. *Invisibilis Sacerdos visibiles creaturas in substantiam corporis & sanguinis sui verbo suo secreta potestate convertit. In spiritualibus Sacramentis verbi præcipit virtus & servit effectus.* Eus. Emissen. hom. 5. de Pasch. f Τὰ συμβολα τῆ δεσποτικῆ σώματος τε καὶ αἵματος ἄλλα μὲν ἐστὶ πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως, μετὰ δὲ γε τὴν ἐπίκλησιν μεταβάλλεται καὶ ἕτερα γίνεται. Αλλ' ἐκ ἀνθίας ἐξίσταται φύσεως. Μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ εἴδους, καὶ ὁρατὰ ἐστὶ καὶ ἁπτὰ οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν, νοεῖται δὲ ἅπερ ἐγένετο καὶ πιστεύεται καὶ προσκυνεῖται ὡς ἐκεῖνα ὄντα ἅπερ πιστεύεται. Theodor. *Ex quo à Domino dictum est, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, hæc est caro mea, & hic est sanguis meus, quotiescunque his verbis & hac fide actum est, panis iste supersubstantialis, & calix benedictione solemni sacratus, ad totius hominis vitam salutemque proficit.* Cypr. de Cœn. cap. 3. *Immortalitatis alimonia datur, à communibus cibis differens, corporalis substantiæ retinens speciem, sed virtutis divinæ invisibili efficientia probans adesse præsentiam.* Ibidem cap. 2. g *Sensibilibus Sacramentis inest vitæ æternæ effectus, & non tam corporali quàm spirituali transitione Christo unimur. Ipse enim & panis & caro & sanguis, idem cibus & substantia & vita factus est Ecclesiæ suæ quam corpus suum appellat, dans ei participationem spiritus.* Ibidem cap. 5. *Nostra & ipsius conjunctio nec miscet personas, nec unit substantias, sed effectus consociat & confœderat voluntates,* cap. 6. *Mansio nostra in ipso est manducatio & potus quasi quædam incorporatio,* cap. 9. *Ille est in patre per naturam divinitatis, nos in eo per corporalem ejus Nativitatem, ille rursus in nobis per Sacramentorum mysterium,* Hilar. de Trinit. lib. 8. h *Panis hic ac omnis cibus verus & sincerus per speciem & Sacramentum nos tactu sanctificat, fide illuminat, veritate Christo conformat.* Cypr. de Cœn. cap. 6. *Non aliud agit participatio corporis & sanguinis Christi, quàm ut id in quod sumimus transeamus, & in quo mortui & sepulti & corresuscitati sumus, ipsum per omnia & spiritu & carne gestemus.* Leo de Pas. Serm. 14. *Quemadmodum qui est à certa panis persistens Dei vocationem* (id est, facta invocatione divini numinis) *jam non communis panis est, sed Eucharistia ex duabus rebus constans, terrena & cœlesti: Sic & corpora nostra percipientia Eucharistiam, jam non sunt corruptibilia spem resurrectionis habentia,* Irenæus lib. 4. cap. 34. *Quoniam salutaris caro verbo Dei quod naturaliter vita est conjuncta, vivifica effecta est, quando eam comedimus, tunc vitam habemus in nobis illi carni conjuncti, quæ vita effecta est.* Cyril. in Iohan. lib. 4. cap. 14.

secrated Elements, changeth them and maketh them that unto us, which otherwise they could not be, that to us they are thereby made such instruments, as g mystically, yet truely; invisibly, yet really work our communion or fellowship with the person of Jesus Christ, as well in that hee is Man as God, our participation also in the fruit, grace and efficacy of his Body and Bloud; whereupon there ensueth a kind of Transubstantiation in us, a true h change both of soule and body, an alteration from death to life. In a word it appeareth not, that of all the ancient Fathers of the Church, any one did ever conceive or imagine other than only a mysticall participation of Christs both Body and Bloud in the Sacrament, neither are their speeches concerning the change of the Elements themselves into the Body and Bloud of Christ such, that a man can thereby in conscience assure himselfe it was their meaning to perswade the world either of a corporall Consubstantiation of Christ with those Sanctified and Blessed Elements before wee receive them, or of the like Transubstantiation of them into the Body and Bloud of Christ. Which both to our mysticall Communion with Christ are so unnecessary, that the Fathers, who plainly hold but this mysticall Communion, cannot easily bee thought to have meant any other change of Sacramentall Elements, then that which the same Spirituall Communion, did require them to hold. These things considered, how should that mind which loving Truth and seeking comfort out of Holy Mysteries hath not perhaps the leisure, perhaps not the wit nor capacity to tread out so endlesse Mazes, as the intricate Disputes of this cause have led men into, how should a vertuously disposed mind better resolve with it selfe then thus? "Variety of judge-
"ments and opinions argueth obscurity in those things whereabout they
"differ. But that which all parts receive for Truth, that which every one
"having sifted, is by no one denied or doubted of, must needs be matter of
"infallible certainty. Whereas therefore there are but three Expositions
"made of, *This is my Body*, the first, This is in it selfe before participation
"*really and truely the naturall substance of my Body, by reason of the*
"co-

"*coexiſtence which my Omnipotent Body hath with the ſanctified Element of*
"*Bread which is the Lutherans interpretation:* the ſecond, This in it ſelf and
"before participation *the very true and naturall ſubſtance of my Body, by force of*
"*that Deity which with the words of conſecration aboliſheth the ſubſtance of*
"*Bread, and ſubſtituteth in the place thereof my Body which is the Popiſh conſtru-*
"*ction:* the laſt, *This hallowed food through concurrence of divine power, is in*
"*verity and truth, unto faithfull Receivers, inſtrumentally a cauſe of that myſti-*
"*call participation, wherby as I make my ſelfe wholy theirs, ſo I give them in hand*
"*an actuall poſſeſſion of all ſuch ſaving grace as my ſacrificed body can yeeld, and*
"*as their ſoules do preſently need: this is* to them, and in them *my Body.* Of theſe
"three reherſed Interpretations, the laſt hath in it nothing but what the reſt
"do all approve and acknowledge to be moſt true, nothing but that which
"the words of Chriſt are on all ſides confeſt to inforce, nothing but that
"which the Church of God hath alwayes thought neceſſary, nothing but
"that which alone is ſufficient for every Chriſtian man to beleeve concer-
"ning the uſe and force of this Sacrament, finally, nothing but that where-
"with the writings of all Antiquity are conſonant, and all Chriſtian Con-
"feſſions agreable. And as truth in what kind ſoever is by no kind of truth
"gain-ſaid, ſo the mind which reſteth it ſelfe on this, is never troubled with
"thoſe perplexities wᶜʰ the other do both find, by meanes of ſo great con-
"tradiction between their opinions, and true principles of reaſon ground-
"ed upon Experience, Nature and Senſe. Which albeit with boyſterous
"courage and breath they ſeem oftentimes to blow away, yet who ſo obſer-
"veth, how again they labour and ſweat by ſubtility of wit to make ſome
"ſhew of agreement between their peculiar conceits, & the generall Edicts
"of Nature, muſt needs perceive they ſtruggle with that which they can-
"not fully maſter. Beſides, ſith of that which is proper to themſelves, their
"Diſcourſes are hungry and unpleaſant, full of tedious and irkſome labour,
"heartleſſe and hitherto without fruit, on the other ſide read wee them, or
"heare we others, be they of our own or of ancienter times to what part ſoe-
"ver they be thought to incline touching that whereof there is controver-
"ſie, yet in this where they all ſpeake but one thing, their Diſcourſes are
"Heavenly, their words ſweet as the Honey-Comb, their tongues melodi-
"ouſly tuned Inſtruments, their ſentences meere conſolation and joy: are
"we not hereby almoſt even with voyce from Heaven admoniſhed which
"we may ſafeſt cleave unto? He which hath ſaid of the one Sacrament,
"*Waſh and be clean*, hath ſaid concerning the other likewiſe, *Eat and Live.*
"If therfore without any ſuch particular and ſolemn warrant as this is, that
"poore diſtreſſed Woman comming unto Chriſt for health, could ſo con-
"ſtantly reſolve her ſelfe, *May I but touch the skirt of his garment, I ſhall be*
"*whole*, what moveth us to argue of the manner how life ſhould come by
"bread, our duty being here but to take what is offered, and moſt aſſuredly to
"reſt perſwaded of this, that can we but eat we are ſafe? when I behold with
"mine eyes ſome ſmall and ſcarce diſcernable Graine or Seed wherof Na-
"ture maketh a promiſe that a tree ſhall come, and when afterwards of that
"tree any skillfull Artificer undertaketh to frame ſome exquiſite and cu-
"rious Work, I look for the event, I move no queſtion about performance
"either of the one or of the other. Shall I ſimply credit Nature in things

"naturall, ſhall in things artificiall relie my ſelfe on Art, never offering "to make doubt, and in that which is above both Art and Nature refuſe to "beleeve the Authour of both, except he acquaint me with his wayes, and "lay the ſecret of his skill before me? Where God himſelf doth ſpeak "thoſe things which either for height and ſublimity of matter, or elſe "for ſecrecy of performance we are not able to reach unto; as we may be "ignorant without danger, ſo it can be no diſgrace to confeſſe we are ig-"norant. Such as love Piety will as much as in them lieth, know all things "that God commandeth, but eſpecially the duties of ſervice which they "owe to God. As for his dark and hidden works, they preferre, as becom-"meth them in ſuch caſes, ſimplicity of Faith before that knowledge, "which curiouſly ſifting what it ſhould adore, and diſputing too boldly of "that which the wit of man cannot ſearch, chilleth for the moſt part all "warmth of zeale, & bringeth ſoundneſſe of beliefe many times into great "hazard. Let it therefore be ſufficient for me preſenting my ſelfe at the "Lords Table, to know what there I receive from him, without ſearching "or inquiring of the manner how Chriſt performeth his promiſe; let diſ-"putes and queſtions, enemies to Piety, abatements of true devotion, and "hitherto in this cauſe but over-patiently heard, let them take their reſt; "let curious and ſharp-witted men beat their heads about what Queſtions "themſelves will, the very letter of the Word of Chriſt giveth plain ſecu-"rity, that theſe myſteries do as nayles faſten us to his very Croſſe, that by "them we draw out, as touching efficacy, force and vertue, even the blood "of his gored ſide, in the wounds of our Redeemer we there dip our "tongues, we are died red both within and without, our hunger is ſatisfied "and our thirſt for ever quenched, they are things wonderfull which "he feeleth, great which he ſeeth, and unheard of which he uttereth, "whoſe ſoul is poſſeſt of this Paſcall Lambe, and made joyfull in the "ſtrength of this new wine, this bread hath in it more than the ſubſtance "which our eyes behold, this Cup hallowed with ſolemne Benediction, "availeth to the endleſſe life and welfare both of Soule and Bodie, in that "it ſerveth as well for a Medicine to heal our infirmities, & purge our ſins, "as for a ſacrifice of Thankſgiving, with touching it ſanctifieth, it enlight-"neth with beliefe, it truly conformeth us unto the Image of Ieſus Chriſt; "what theſe Elements are in themſelves it skilleth not, it is enough that to "me which take them, they are the Body and Blood of Chriſt, his promiſe "in witneſſe hereof ſufficeth, his Word he knoweth which way to accom-pliſh, why ſhould any cogitation poſſeſſe the minde of a faithfull Communicant but this, *O my God thou art true, O my ſoul thou art happy.* Thus therefore we ſee, that howſoever mens opinions do otherwiſe varie, nevertheleſſe touching Baptiſme and the Supper of the Lord, we may with conſent of the whole Chriſtian world conclude they are neceſſary, the one to initiate or begin, the other to conſummate or make perfect our life in Chriſt.

Of faults noted in the form of adminiſtring the holy Communion.

68 In adminiſtring the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, the ſuppoſed faults of the Church of *England* are not greatly material, and therefore it ſhall ſuffice to touch them in few words. *The firſt is that we do not uſe in a generality once for all to ſay to Communicants*, Take, eat, and drink, *but unto every particular perſon*, Eat thou, drink thou, *which is according to the*

Popiſh

Popiſh manner; and not the forme that our Saviour did uſe. Our ſecond overſight is by geſture. For in kneeling there hath been Superſtition; ſitting agreeth better to the action of a Supper; and our Saviour uſing that which was moſt fit, did himſelfe not kneele. A third accuſation is for not examining all Communicants, whoſe knowledge in the myſtery of the Goſpell ſhould that way be made manifeſt, a thing every where they ſay uſed in the Apoſtles times, becauſe all things neceſſary were uſed, and this in their opinion, is neceſſary, yea, it is commanded, in as much as the [a] *Levits are commanded to prepare the people for the Paſſeover, and examination is a part of their preparation, our Lords Supper in place of the Paſſeover. The fourth thing miſliked is, that againſt the Apoſtles* [b] *prohibition to have any familiarity at all with notorious offenders, Papiſts being not of the Church are admitted to our very Communion, before they have by their Religious and Goſpellike behaviour purged themſelves of that ſuſpition of Popery which their former life hath cauſed. They are Dogs, Swine, unclean beaſts, forreiners and ſtrangers from the Church of God, and therefore ought not to bee admitted though they offer themſelves. Wee are ſitly condemned, in as much as when there have beene ſtore of people to heare Sermons and Service in the Church, wee ſuffer the Communion to be miniſtred to a few. It is not enough that our Book of Common Prayer hath godly Exhortations to move all thereunto which are preſent. For it ſhould not ſuffer a few to Communicate, it ſhould by Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline and Civill puniſhment provide, that ſuch as would with-draw themſelves, might bee brought to Communicate according both to the* [c] *Law of God and the ancient Church Canons. In the ſixt and laſt place commeth the enormity of imparting this Sacrament privatly unto the ſick.* Thus far accuſed, wee anſwer briefly to the [d] first, that ſeeing God by Sacraments doth apply in particular unto every mans perſon the grace which himſelfe hath provided for the benefit of all Man-kind, there is no cauſe, why adminiſtring the Sacraments we ſhould forbeare to expreſſe that in our forms of ſpeech, which he by his Word and Goſpell teacheth all to beleeve. In the one Sacrament, *I baptize thee* diſpleaſeth them not. If *Eat thou* in the other offend them, their fancies are no Rules for Churches to follow. Whether Chriſt at his laſt Supper did ſpeak generally once to all, or to every one in particular, is a thing uncertain. His words are recorded in that forme which ſerveth beſt for the ſetting down with Hiſtoricall brevity what was ſpoken, they are no manifeſt proofe that hee ſpake but once unto all which did then Communicate, much leſſe that we in ſpeaking unto every Communicant ſeverally do amiſſe, although it were cleere that wee herein do otherwiſe than Chriſt did. Our imitation of him conſiſteth not in tying ſcrupulouſly our ſelves unto his ſyllables, but rather in ſpeaking by the Heavenly direction of that inſpired Divine Wiſdome, which teacheth divers wayes to one end, and doth therein controule their boldneſſe, by whom any profitable way is cenſured as reproveable, only under colour of ſome ſmall difference from great Examples going before, to do throughout every the like Circumſtance, the ſame which Chriſt did in this action, were by following his footſteps in that ſort to erre more from the purpoſe he aimed at, than we now do by not following them with ſo nice and ſevere ſtrictneſſe. They little weigh with themſelvs how dull, how heavy, & almoſt how without ſenſe the greateſt part of the common multitude every-where is, who think it either*

a 2 *Chron.* 35. 6.

b 1 *Cor.* 5. 11.

c *Numb.* 3. 13. *Can.* 9. *Apoſt. Concil.* 2. *Braca. cap.* 83.

d *T. C. l.* 3. *p.* 166 Beſides that it is good to leave the Popiſh forme in thoſe things which we may ſo conveniently do, it is beſt to come as neere the manner of celebration of the Supper which our Saviour Chriſt uſed as may be. And if it be a good Argument to prove that therefore we muſt rather ſay, Take thou, than Take ye, becauſe the Sacrament is an application of the benefits of Chriſt it behoveth that the Preacher ſhould direct his Admonitions particularly one after another unto all thoſe which heare his Sermons, which is a thing abſurd.

either unmeet or unneceſſary to put them even man by man, eſpecially at that time in mind whereabout they are. It is true that in Sermons we do not uſe to repeat our ſentences ſeverally to every particular hearer, a ſtrange madneſſe it were if we ſhould. The ſoftneſſe of wax may induce a wiſeman to ſet his ſtampe or image therein; it perſwadeth no man that becauſe Wooll hath the like quality, it may therefore receive the like impreſſion. So the reaſon taken from the uſe of Sacraments in that they are inſtruments of grace unto every particular man, may with good congruity lead the Church to frame accordingly her words in adminiſtration of Sacraments, becauſe they eaſily admit this forme, which being in Sermons a thing impoſſible, without apparent ridiculous abſurdity, agreement of Sacraments with Sermons in that which is alleaged as a reaſonable proofe of conveniency; for the one proveth not the ſame allegation impertinent, becauſe it doth not inforce the other to be adminiſtred in like ſort. For equall principles do then availe unto equall concluſions, when the matter whereunto we apply them is equa[illegible]d not elſe. [a] Our kneeling at Communions is the geſture of Piety. [illegible] we did there preſent our ſelves but to make ſome ſhew or dumb reſemb[illegible]ance of a Spirituall Feaſt, it may be that ſitting were the fitter Ceremony; but comming as Receivers of ineſtimable grace at the hands of God, what doth better beeſeem our bodies at that houre, than to be ſenſible Witneſſes of minds unfainedly humbled? Our Lord himſelf did that which cuſtome and long uſage had made fit; we, that which fitnes and great decency hath made uſuall. The triall of our ſelves before we eat of this Bread and drink of this Cup, is by expreſſe Commandement every mans preciſe duty. As for neceſſity of calling others unto account beſides our ſelves, albeit we be not thereunto drawn by any great ſtrength which is in the Arguments, who firſt preſſe us with it as a thing neceſſary, by affirming that the Apoſtles did uſe it, and then prove [b] the Apoſtles to have uſed it, by affirming it to be neceſſary; again, albeit we greatly muſe how they can avouch, that God did command the Levites to prepare their Brethren againſt the Feaſt of Paſſeover, and that the Examination of them was a part of their preparation, when the place alleaged to this purpoſe doth but charge the Levit, ſaying, *Make ready Laahhechem for your Brethren*, to the end they may do according to the Word of the Lord by *Moſes*. Wherefore in the ſelfe-ſame place it followeth how Lambs, and Kids, and Sheep, and Bullocks were delivered unto the Levits, and that thus *the ſervice was made ready*: it followeth likewiſe how the Levits having in ſuch ſort provided for the people, they made proviſion for *themſelves, and for the Prieſts, the Sons of Aaron*, ſo that confidently from hence to conclude the neceſſity of Examination, argueth their wonderfull great forwardneſſe in framing all things to ſerve their turne, nevertheleſſe the Examination of Communicants when need requireth, for the profitable uſe it may have, in ſuch caſes we reject not. Our fault in admitting Popiſh Communicants, is it in that we are [c] forbidden to eat and therefore much more to communicate with notorious Malefactors? The name of a Papiſt is not given unto any man for being a notorious Malefactor. And the crime wherewith wee are charged, is ſuffering of Papiſts to communicate, ſo that bee their life and converſation whatſoever in the ſight of men, their Popiſh opi-

[a] *T.C.l.1.p.165* Kneeling carrieth a shew of worship sitting agreeth better with the action of the Supper, Christ and his Apostles kneeled not.

[b] *T.C.l.1 p.164.* All things necessary were used in the Churches of God in the Apostles times, but examination was a necessary thing, therefore used In the Book of *Chronicles*, *2 Chron.* 35.6. the Levites were commanded to prepare the people to the receiving of the Passeover, in place whereof wee have the Lords Supper. Now Examination being a part of preparation, it followeth that here is commandement of the Examination.

[c] *1 Cor.* 5.11. *T.Cd.1.f.167.*

nions are in this caſe laid as barres and exceptions againſt them, yea thoſe opinions which they have held in former times,[a] although they now both profeſſe by word, and offer to ſhew by fact the contrarie. All this doth not juſtifie us which ought not (they ſay) to admit them in any wiſe, till their Goſpel-like behaviour have remooved all ſuſpition of Poperie from them, becauſe Papiſts are *Dogs, Swine, Beaſts, Forrainers and Strangers* from the houſe of God, in a word, they are *not of the Church*. What the termes of Goſpel-like behaviour may include, is obſcure and doubtfull: But of the *viſible Church* of Chriſt in this preſent world, from which they ſeparate all Papiſts, we are thus perſwaded: *Church* is a word which Art hath deviſed, thereby to ſever and diſtinguiſh that ſocietie of men, which profeſſeth the true Religion from the reſt which profeſſe it not. There have beene in the world from the very firſt foundation thereof, but three Religions, *Paganiſme*, which lived in the blindneſſe of corrupt and depraved nature; *Iudaiſme*, imbracing the Law which reformed Heathenniſh impietie, and taught ſalvation to be looked for through One, whom God in the laſt dayes would ſend and exalt to be Lord of all; finally, *Chriſtian beliefe*, which yeeldeth obedience to the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, and acknowledgeth him the Saviour whom God did promiſe. Seeing then that *the Church* is a name, which Art hath given to *Profeſſors of true Religion*, as they which will define a man, are to paſſe by thoſe qualities wherein one man doth excell another, and to take onely thoſe eſſentiall properties, whereby a man doth differ from creatures of other kinds: ſo he that will teach what *the Church* is, ſhal never rightly performe the worke wherabout he goeth, till *in matter of Religion* he touch that difference which ſevereth the *Churches Religion* from theirs, who are not the Church. *Religion* being therefore a matter partly of *contemplation*, partly of *action*, wee muſt define the Church, which is a religious ſocietie, by ſuch differences as doe properly explaine the eſſence of ſuch things, that is to ſay, by the object or matter wherabout the contemplations and actions of the Church are properly converſant. For ſo all knowledges and all vertues are defined. Whereupon, becauſe the *onely object* which ſeparateth ours from other Religions, is *Ieſus Chriſt*, in whom none but the Church doth beleeve, and whom none but the Church doth worſhip; wee find that accordingly the Apoſtles doe every-where diſtinguiſh hereby the Church from Infidels and from Iewes, accounting *them which call upon the name of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt to bee his Church*. If wee goe lower, wee ſhall but adde unto this certaine caſuall and variable accidents, which are not properly of the being, but make onely for the happier and better being of the Church of God, either indeed, or in mens opinions and conceits. This is the error of all Popiſh definitions that hitherto have beene brought. They define not the Church by that which the Church eſſentially is, but by that wherein they imagine their owne more perfect than the reſt are. Touching parts of eminencie and perfection, parts likewiſe of imperfection and defect in the Church of God, they are infinite, their degrees and differences, no way poſſible to be drawne unto any certaine account. There is not the leaſt contention and variance, but it blemiſheth ſomewhat the Vnitie that ought to be in the Church of Chriſt, which notwithſtanding may have not onely without offence or breach

[a] Although they would receive the communion, yet may ought to be kept backe until ſuch time as by their Religious and Goſpell like behaviour, they have purged themſelves of that ſuſpition of Poperies, which their former life and converſation hath cauſed to be conceived, *T.C.l.1.p.167.*

Rom.15.5. 1.Cor.1.10.

breach of concord her manifold varieties in Rites and Ceremonies of Religion, but alſo her ſtrifes and contentions many times, and that about matters of no ſmall importance, yea, her ſchiſmes, factions, and ſuch other evils whereunto the Body of the Church is ſubject, ſound and ſick remaining both of the ſame body, as long as both parts retaine by outward profeſſion that vitall ſubſtance of truth, which maketh Chriſtan Religion to differ from theirs which acknowledge not our Lord Ieſus Chriſt the bleſſed Saviour of mankind, give no credit to his glorious Goſpel, and have his Sacraments the ſeales of eternall life in deriſion. Now the priviledge of the viſible Church of God (for of that wee ſpeake) is to be herein like the Ark of *Noah*, that, for any thing we know to the contrary, all without it are loſt ſheep; yet in this was the Ark of *Noah* priviledged above the Church, that whereas none of them which were in the one could periſh, numbers in the other are caſt away, becauſe to eternall life our profeſſion is not enough. Many things exclude from the Kingdome of God, although from the Church they ſeparate not. In the Church there ariſe ſundrie grievous ſtormes, by meanes whereof whole Kingdomes and Nations profeſſing Chriſt, both have beene heretofore, and are at this preſent day divided about Chriſt. During which diviſions and contentions amongſt men, albeit each part doe juſtifie it ſelfe, yet the one of neceſſitie muſt needs erre, if there bee any contradiction betweene them, bee it great or little, and what ſide ſoever it bee that hath the truth, the ſame wee muſt alſo acknowledge alone to hold *with the true Church in that point*, and conſequently, reject the other as an enemy, *in that caſe fallen away from the true Church*. Wherfore of Hypocrites and Diſſemblers whoſe profeſſion at the firſt was but only from the teeth outward, when they afterwards took occaſion to opugne certain principle Articles of Faith, the Apoſtles which defended the truth againſt them, pronounce them *gone out* from the fellowſhip of ſound and ſincere Beleevers, when as yet the Chriſtian Religion they had not utterly caſt off. In like ſenſe and meaning throughout all ages, *Heretickes* have juſtly been hated, as branches cut off from the body of the true Vine, yet only ſo farre forth cut off as their Hereſies have extended. Both Hereſie and many other crimes, which *wholly ſever from God*, do ſever from God the Church of God in *part only*. The Myſtery of Piety, ſaith the Apoſtle, is without peradventure great, *God hath beene manifeſted in the Fleſh, hath been juſtified in the Spirit, hath been ſeen of Angels, hath been preached to Nations, hath been beleeved on in the world, hath been taken up into Glory*. The Church a pillar and foundation of this truth, which no where is known or profeſt, but only within the Church, & they all of the Church that profeſſe it. In the meane while it cannot be denied, that many profeſſe this, who are not therefore cleered ſimply from all either faults or errors which make ſeparation between us and the Wel-ſpring of our happineſſe. Idolatry ſevered of old the Iſraelites; Iniquity, thoſe Scribes and Phariſies from God, who notwithſtanding were a part of the ſeed of *Abraham*, a part of that very ſeed which God did himſelfe acknowledge to be his Church. The Church of God may therfore contain both them which indeed are not his, yet muſt bee reputed his by us that know not their inward thoughts, and them whoſe apparent wickedneſſe teſtifieth even in the

1 *Iohn* 2. 19.

1 *Tim.* 3. 14

ſight

ſight of the whole world that God abhorreth them. For to this and no other purpoſe are meant theſe Parables, which our Saviour in the Goſpel hath concerning mixture of Vice with Vertue, Light with Darkneſſe, Truth with Error, as well and openly knowyn and ſeen as a cunningly cloked mixture. That which ſeparateth therefore *utterly*, that which cutteth off *clean* from the viſible Church of Christ, is plain Apoſtaſie, *direct* denyall, utter rejection of the whole Chriſtian Faith, as far as the ſame is profeſſedly different from Infidelity. Hereticks, as touching thoſe points of doctrine where in they faile: Schiſmaticks as touching the quarrels for which, or the duties wherein they divide themſelves from their Brethren: Looſe, licentious and wicked perſons, as touching their ſeverall offences or crimes, have all forſaken the true Church of God, the Church which is ſound and ſincere in the doctrine that they corrupt; the Church that keepeth the bond of Vnity, which they violate; the Church that walketh in the Lawes of righteouſnes, which they tranſgreſſe; this very true Church of Chriſt they have left, howbeit not altogether left, nor forſaken ſimply the Church upon the main foundations whereof they continue built, notwithſtanding theſe breaches whereby they are *rent at the top* aſunder. Now becauſe for redreſſe of profeſſed errours and open Schiſmes, it is, and muſt be the Churches care that all may in outward conformity be one, as the laudible Polity of former Ages, even ſo our own to that end and purpoſe hath eſtabliſhed divers Lawes, the moderate ſeverity whereof is a mean both to ſtay the reſt, and to reclaime ſuch as heretofore have been led awry. But ſeeing that the offices which Lawes require, are alwayes definite, and when that they require is done, they go no farther, whereupon ſundry ill affected perſons to ſave themſelves from danger of Lawes, pretend obedience, albeit inwardly they carry ſtill the ſame hearts which they did before, by meanes whereof it falleth out, that receiving unworthily the bleſſed Sacrament at our hands, they eat and drink their own damnation; it is for remedy of this miſchiefe [a] here determined, that whom the Law of the Realme doth puniſh unleſſe they communicate, ſuch if they offer to obey Law, the Church notwithſtanding ſhould not admit without probation before had of their Goſpel-like behaviour. Wherein they firſt ſet no time how long this ſuppoſed probation muſt continue; again, they nominate no certain judgement, the verdict whereof ſhall approve mens behaviour to be Goſpel-like; and that which is moſt materiall, whereas they ſeek to make it more hard for diſſemblers to be received into the Church, than Law and Polity as yet hath

Mat. 13. 24. 47.

a *T. C. l. 1. p.* 167. If the place of the fift to the Corinthians, doe forbid that wee ſhould have any familiarity with notorious offenders, it doth much more forbid that they ſhould be received to the Communion. And therefore Papiſts being ſuch as which are notoriouſly knowne to hold hereticall opinions, ought not to bee admitted, much leſſe cõpelled to the Supper. For ſeeing that our Saviour Chriſt did inſtitute his Supper amongſt his Diſciples, and thoſe only which were, as S. *Paul* ſpeaketh, within, it is evident, that the Papiſts being without, & Forrayners & ſtrangers from the Church of God, ought not to be received if they would offer themſelves:

and that Miniſter, that ſhall give the Supper of the Lord to him, which is known to be a Papiſt, and which hath never made any cleere renouncing of Popery, with which he hath been defiled, doth profane the Table of the Lord, and doth give the meat that is prepared for the children, unto Dogs, and he bringeth into the paſture, which is provided for the Sheep, Swine, and unclean Beaſts contrary to the faith and truſt that ought to be in a Steward of the Lords houſe, as he is. For albeit that I doubt not but many of thoſe which are now Papiſts, pertain to the election of God, which God alſo in his good time will call to the knowledge of his truth: yet notwithſtanding they ought to be unto the Miniſter and unto the Church, touching the miniſtring of Sacraments, as ſtrangers and as unclean beaſts. The miniſtring of the holy Sacraments unto them, is a declaration and ſeal of Gods favour and reconciliation with them, and a plain preaching, partly that they be waſhed already from their ſinne, partly, that they are of the houſhold of God, and ſuch as the Lord will feed to eternall life, which is not lawfull to be done unto thoſe which are not of the houſhold of Faith. And therefore I conclude, that the compelling of Papiſts unto the Communion, and the diſmiſſing and letting of them go, when as they be to be puniſhed for their ſtubbornneſſe in Popery (with this condition, If they will receive the Communion) is very unlawfull, when as although they would receive it, yet they ought to be kept backe till ſuch time as by their Religious and Goſpel-like behaviour, &c.

hath

hath done, they make it in truth more eaſie for ſuch kind of perſons, to wind themſelves out of the Law, and to continue the ſame they were. The Law requireth at their hands that duty which in conſcience doth touch them neareſt, becauſe the greateſt difference between us and them is the Sacrament of the Body and Bloud of Chriſt, whoſe name in the ſervice of our Communion we celebrate with due honour, which they in the errour of their Maſſe prophane. As therfore on our part to heare Maſſe, were an open departure from that ſincere profeſſion wherein we ſtand, ſo if they on the other ſide receive our Cõmunion, they give us the ſtrongeſt pledge of fidelity that man can demand. What their hearts are, God doth know. But if they which minde trechery to God and man, ſhall once apprehend this advantage given them, whereby they may ſatisfie Law, in pretending themſelves conformable (for what can Law with Reaſon or Juſtice require more?) And yet be ſure the Church will accept no ſuch offer, till their Goſpel-like behaviour bee allowed. After that our own ſimplicity hath once thus fairely eaſed them from ſting of Law; it is to be thought they will learne the myſtery of Goſpel-like behaviour when leiſure ſerveth them. And ſo while without any cauſe we feare to profane Sacraments, we ſhall not only defeat the purpoſe of moſt wholſome Laws, but loſe or wilfully hazzard thoſe ſoules, from which the likelieſt meanes of full and perfect recovery, are by our indiſcretion with-held. For neither doth God thus bind us to dive into mens conſciences, nor can their fraud and deceit hurt any man but themſelves. To him they ſeeme ſuch as they are, but of us they muſt be taken for ſuch as they ſeeme. In the eye of God are againſt Chriſt, that are not truely and ſincerely with him; in our eyes they muſt bee received as with Chriſt, that are not to outward ſhow againſt him. The caſe of impenitent and notorious ſinners is not like unto theirs, whoſe only imperfection is errour, ſevered from pertinacy, Errour in appearance content to ſubmit it ſelfe to better inſtruction, Errour ſo far already cured, as to crave at our hands that Sacrament, the hatred and utter refuſall whereof was the waighteſt point wherein heretofore they ſwarved and went aſtray. In this caſe therefore they cannot reaſonably charge us with remiſſe dealing, or with careleſneſſe to whom we impart the myſteries of Chriſt, but they have given us manifeſt occaſion to think it requiſite, that we earneſtly adviſe rather and exhort them to conſider as they ought, their ſundry over-ſights, firſt, in equalling undiſtinctly crimes with errours, as touching force to make uncapable of this Sacrament: ſecondly, in ſuffering indignation at the faults of the Church of Rome, to blind and with-hold their judgements from ſeeing that which withall they ſhould acknowledge, concerning ſo much nevertheleſſe ſtill due to the ſame Church, as to be held and reputed a part of the Houſe of God, a limme of the viſible Church of Chriſt: thirdly, in impoſing upon the Church a burthen to enter farther into mens hearts, and to make a deeper ſearch of their conſciences, than any Law of God or reaſon of man inforceth: fourthly and laſtly, in repelling under colour of longer triall ſuch from the myſteries of heavenly grace, as are both capable thereof by the Laws of God, for any thing wee heare to the contrary, and ſhould in divers conſiderations be cheriſhed according to the merciful examples

amples and Precepts whereby the Goſpell of Chriſt hath taught us towards ſuch to ſhew compaſſion, to receive them with lenity and all meekeneſſe, if any thing be ſhaken in them to ſtrengthen it; not to quench with delayes and jealouſies that feeble ſmoke of conformity which ſeemeth to breathe from them, but to build whereſoever there is any foundation, to adde perfection unto ſlender beginnings, and that as by other offices of piety, even ſo by this very food of Life, which Chriſt hath left in his Church, not only for preſervation of ſtrength, but alſo for reliefe of weakneſſe: but to returne to our own ſelves, in whom the next thing ſeverely reproved is the paucity of Communicants, if they require at Communions frequency, we wiſh the ſame, knowing how acceptable unto God ſuch ſervice is, when multitudes cheerfully concurre unto it; if they incourage men thereunto, wee alſo (themſelves acknowledge it) are not utterly forgetfull to do the like; if they require ſome publike coaction for remedy of that, wherein by milder and ſofter meanes little good is done, they know our Laws and Statutes provided in that behalfe, wherunto whatſoever convenient help may be added more by the wiſdome of man, what cauſe have wee given the World to think that we are not ready to hearken to it, and to uſe any good meanes of ſweet compulſion, to have this high and Heavenly Banquet largely furniſhed? Only wee cannot ſo farre yeeld as to judge it convenient, that the holy deſire of a competent number ſhould bee unſatisfied, becauſe the greater part is careleſſe and undiſpoſed to joyne with them. Men ſhould not (they ſay) be permitted a few by themſelves to communicate, when ſo many are gone away, becauſe this Sacrament is a token of our conjunction with our Brethren, and therefore by communicating a part from them, we make an apparent ſhew of diſtraction. I aske then, on which ſide Vnity is broken, whether on theirs that depart, or on theirs who being left behind do communicate? Firſt, in the one it is not denied, but that they may have reaſonable cauſes of departure, and that then even they are delivered from juſt blame. Of ſuch kind of cauſes two are allowed, namely, danger of impairing health, and neceſſarie buſineſſe requiring our preſence otherwhere. And may not a third cauſe, which is *unfitneſſe*, at the preſent time detaine us as lawfully back as either of theſe two? True it is, that wee cannot hereby altogether excuſe our ſelves, for that wee ought to prevent this and doe not. But if wee have committed a fault in not preparing our minds before, ſhall wee therefore aggravate the ſame with a worſe, the crime of unworthy participation? He that abſtaineth, doth want for the time that grace and comfort which religious Communicants have, but hee that eateth and drinketh unworthily, receiveth death; that which is life to others, turneth in him to poyſon. Notwithſtanding whatſoever be the cauſe for which men abſtaine, were it reaſon that the fault of one part ſhould any way abridge their benefit that are not faultie? There is in all the Scripture of God no one ſyllable which doth condemne communicating amongſt a few, when the reſt are departed from them. As for the laſt thing, which is our imparting this Sacrament privately unto the ſicke, whereas there have beene of old (they grant) two kinds of neceſſity, wherein this Sacrament might bee privately adminiſtred, of which two, the one being erroniouſly imagined,

T.C.l.1.p.147

2 *Chron.30.13.*

Pſal.122.1.

Luke14.23.

T.C.l.1.p.146.

imagined, and the other (they ſay) continuing no longer in uſe, there remaineth unto us no neceſſitie at all, for which that cuſtome ſhould bee retained. The falſly ſurmiſed neceſſitie is that, whereby ſome have thought all ſuch excluded from poſſibilitie of ſalvation, as did depart this life, and never were made partakers of the holy Euchariſt. The other caſe of neceſſitie was, when men, which had fallen in time of perſecution, and had afterwards repented them, but were not as yet received againe unto the fellowſhip of this Communion, did at the houre of their death requeſt it, that ſo they might reſt with greater quietneſſe and comfort of mind, being thereby aſſured of departure in unitie of Chriſts Church, which vertuous deſire the Fathers did thinke it great impietie not to ſatisfie. This was *Serapions* caſe of neceſſitie. *Serapion* a faithfull aged perſon, and alwayes of very upright life, till feare of perſecution in the end cauſed him to ſhrink back, after long ſorrow for the ſcandalous offence, and ſute often times made to be pardoned of the Church, fell at length into grievous ſickneſſe, and being readie to yeeld up the Ghoſt, was then more inſtant than ever before to receive the Sacrament. Which Sacrament was neceſſarie in this caſe, not that *Serapion* had beene deprived of everlaſting Life without it, but that his end was thereby to him made the more comfortable. And do wee thinke that all caſes of *ſuch neceſſitie* are cleane vaniſhed? Suppoſe that ſome have by miſperſwaſion lived in Schiſme, withdrawn themſelves from holy and publike Aſſemblies, hated the Prayers, and lothed the Sacraments of the Church, falſly preſuming them to be fraught with impious and Antichriſtian corruptions, which errour the God of mercy and truth opening at the length their eyes to ſee, they doe not onely repent them of the evill which they have done, but alſo in token thereof deſire to receive comfort by that whereunto they have offered diſgrace (which may bee the caſe of many poore ſeduced ſoules even at this day) God forbid wee ſhould thinke that the Church doth ſinne, in permitting the wounds of ſuch to bee ſupplied with that Oile, which this gracious Sacrament doth yeeld, and their bruſed minds not onely need but begge. There is nothing which the ſoule of man doth deſire in that laſt houre ſo much, as comfort againſt the naturall terrors of death, and other ſcruples of conſcience, which commonly doe then moſt trouble and perplex the weake, towards whom the very Law of God doth exact at our hands all the helps that Chriſtian lenitie and indulgence can affoord. Our generall conſolation departing this life, is the hope of that [a] glorious and bleſſed Reſurrection, which the Apoſtle [b] *S. Paul.* nameth ἐξανάστασιν, [c] to note that as all men ſhall have their ἀνάστασιν, and be rayſed againe from the dead, ſo the juſt ſhall bee taken up and exalted above the reſt, whom the power of God doth but raiſe and not exalt. This Life & this Reſurrection our Lord Ieſus Chriſt is for all men, as touching the ſufficience of that he hath done, but that which maketh us partakers thereof, is our particular communion with Chriſt, and this Sacrament a principall meane, as well to ſtrengthen the bond, as to multiply in us the fruits of the ſame Communion, for which cauſe [d] Saint *Cyprian* termeth it a joyfull ſolemnitie of expedite and ſpeedie Reſurrection; [e] *Ignatius*, a medicine which procureth immortalitie and preventeth death; [f] *Irenæus*, the nouriſhment of our bodies

to

a 1. Cor. 15.
b Philip. 3. 11.
c Διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ ἐξαναστάσει. Theophil.
πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀναστήσονται, μόνοι δὲ πιστοὶ ἀξιωθήσονται τῶν ἀγαθῶν, Ammon, vide. 1. Theſ. 4 17.
d *Maturate reſurrectionis lætabunda ſolemnia* Cypr. de Cœn. Dom. cap. 10.
e φάρμακον ἀθανασίας ἀντίδοτον μὴ ἀποθανεῖν, ignat. Epiſt. ad Ephe.
Iren. l. 4. c. 34.
f *Et ſi nihil facile mutandum eſt ex ſolēnibus, tamen ubi æquitas evidēs poſcit ſubveniendum eſt*, Lib. 183. ff. de Reg. Iur.

to eternall life and their preſervative from corruption. Now becauſe that Sacrament, which at all times we may receive unto this effect, is then moſt acceptable and moſt fruitfull, when any ſpeciall extraordinary occaſion neerly, and preſently urging kindleth our deſires towards it, their ſeveritie, who cleave unto that alone which is generally fit to be done, and ſo make all mens conditions alike, may adde much affliction to divers troubled and grieved mindes, of whoſe particular eſtate, particular reſpect being had, according to the charitable order of the Church wherein we live, there inſueth unto God that glory, which his righteous Saints comforted in their greateſt diſtreſſes doe yeeld, and unto them which have their reaſonable Petitions ſatisfied, the ſame contentment, tranquillitie and joy, that others before them by meanes of like ſatisfaction have reaped, and wherein we all are or ſhould be deſirous finally to take our leave of the World, whenſoever our owne uncertaine time of moſt aſſured departure ſhall come. Concerning therefore both Prayers and Sacraments, together with our uſuall and received forme of adminiſtring the ſame in the Church of *England*, let thus much ſuffice.

Of Feſtivall Daies, and the naturall cauſes of their convenient inſtitution.

69 As the ſubſtance of God alone is infinite, & hath *no kind* of limitation, ſo likewiſe his continuance is from everlaſting to everlaſting, & knoweth neither beginning nor end. Which demonſtrable concluſion being preſuppoſed, it followeth neceſſarily, that beſides him all things are finite, both in ſubſtance & in continuance. If in ſubſtance all things be finite, it cannot be, but that there are bounds without the compaſſe wherof their ſubſtance doth not extend; if in continuance alſo limited, they all have, it cannot be denied, but their ſet and their certaine termes, before which they had no being at all. This is the reaſon, why firſt wee doe moſt admire thoſe things which are greateſt, & ſecondly, thoſe things which are ancienteſt, becauſe the one are leaſt diſtant from the infinite ſubſtance, the other from the infinite continuance of God. Out of this we gather, that onely God hath true immortality or eternity, that is to ſay, continuance wherein there groweth no difference by addition of hereafter unto now, whereas the nobleſt and perfecteſt of all things beſides, have continually through continuance the time of former continuance lengthened, ſo that they could not heretofore be ſaid to have continued ſo long as now, neither now ſo long as hereafter. Gods own eternitie is the hand which leadeth Angels in the courſe of their Perpetuitie; their Perpetuitie the hand that draweth out celeſtiall Motion, the Line of which Motion and the Threed of Time are ſpun together. Now as Nature bringeth forth Time with Motion, ſo we by Motion have learned how to divide Time, and by the ſmaller parts of Time, both to meaſure the greater, and to know how long all things elſe indure. For Time conſidered in it ſelfe, is but the flux of that very inſtant, wherein the Motion of the Heaven began, being coupled with other things, it is the quantitie of their continuance meaſured by the diſtance of two inſtants: As the time of a man is a mans continuance from the inſtant of his firſt breath, till the inſtant of his laſt gaſpe. Hereupon, ſome have defined Time to bee the Meaſure of the Motion of Heaven, becauſe the firſt thing which Time doth meaſure, is that Motion wherewith it began, and by the helpe whereof it meaſureth other things, as when the Pro-

phet *David* ſaith, that a mans continuance doth not commonly exceed threeſcore and ten yeeres, hee uſeth the helpe both of Motion and Number to meaſure Time. They which make Time an effect of Motion, and Motion to bee in Nature before Time, ought to have conſidered with themſelves, that albeit wee ſhould deny as *Meliſſus* did all Motion, wee might notwithſtanding acknowledge Time, becauſe Time doth but ſignifie the quantitie of continuance, which continuance may be in things that reſt and are never moved. Beſides, we may alſo conſider in reſt both that which is paſt, and that which is preſent, and that which is future, yea, farthe, reven length and ſhortneſſe in every of theſe, although wee never had conceit of Motion. But to *define* without Motion, *how* long or *how* ſhort ſuch cõtinuance is, were impoſſible. So that herein we muſt of neceſſity uſe the benefit of Yeeres, Dayes, Houres, Minutes, which all grow from Celeſtiall Motion. Againe, for as much as that Motion is Circular, whereby we make our diviſions of Time, & the Compaſſe of that Circuit ſuch, that the Heavens which are therin continually mooved, and keep in their Motions uniforme celeritie, muſt needs touch often the ſame points, they cannot chooſe but bring unto us by equal diſtances frequent returnes of the ſame times. Furthermore whereas Time is nothing but the meere quantitie of that continuance which all things have that are not as God is without beginning, that which is proper unto all quantities agreeth alſo to this kind, ſo that Time doth but meaſure other things, and neither worketh in them any reall effect, nor is it ſelfe ever capable of any. And, therefore when commonly wee uſe to ſay, that Time doth eat or fret out all things, that Time is the wiſeſt thing in the World, becauſe it bringeth forth all Knowledge, and that nothing is more fooliſh then Time, which never holdeth any thing long, but whatſoever one Day learneth, the ſame another Day forgetteth againe, that ſome men ſee proſperous and happy Dayes, and that ſome mens Dayes are miſerable, in all theſe & the like ſpeeches that which is uttered of the Time is not verified of Time it ſelfe, but agreeth unto thoſe things which are in Time, & do by means of ſo neere conjunction either lay their burthen upon the back, or ſet their Crown upon the head of time. Yea the very, opportunities which we aſcribe to Time doe in truth cleave to the things themſelves wherewith time is joyned, as for Time it neither cauſeth things nor opportunities of things, although it comprise and containe both. All things whatſoever having their time, the Works of God have alwayes that time which is ſeaſonableſt & fitteſt for them. His Workes are ſome ordinary, ſome more rare, all worthy of obſervation, but not all of like neceſſitie to be often remembred, they all have their times, but they all do not adde the ſame eſtimation and glory to the times wherein they are. For as God by being every where, yet doth not give unto all places one and the ſame degree of holineſſe, ſo neither one and the ſame dignitie to all times by working in all. For if all either places or times, were in reſpect of God alike, wherfore was it ſaid unto *Moſes* by particular deſignation, *This very place wherein thou ſtandeſt is holy ground*? Why doth the Prophet *David* chooſe out of all the dayes of the yeere but one, wherof he ſpeaketh by way of principall admiration, *This is the day the Lord hath made*? No doubt, as Gods extraordinary preſence hath hallowed and ſan-

a χρόνος ἔστιν ἐν ᾧ καιρὸς, καὶ καιρὸς ἐν ᾧ χρόνος ὐ πολύς. Hippo. lib. qui Præceptiones inſcribitur.

Exod. 3. 5.

Pſal 118. 24.

ſanctified certaine places, ſo they are his extraordinary works that have truly and worthily advanced certaine times, for which cauſe they ought to be with all men that honour God more holy then other dayes. The Wiſeman therefore compareth herein not unfitly the times of God with the perſons of men. If any ſhould aske how it commeth to paſſe, that one day doth excell another, ſeeing the light of all the dayes in the yeere proceedeth from one Sunne, to this he anſwereth, that, *The knowledge of the Lord hath parted them aſunder, he hath by them diſpoſed the times and ſolemne Feaſts, ſome he hath choſen out and ſanctified, ſome he hath put among the dayes, to number:* even as *Adam* and all other men are of one ſubſtance, all created of the Earth: *but the Lord hath divided them by great knowledge, and made their wayes divers, ſome hee hath bleſſed and exalted, ſome hee hath ſanctified and appropriated to himſelfe, ſome he hath curſed, humbled and put them out of their dignitie.* So that the cauſe being naturall and neceſſarie, for which there ſhould be a difference in dayes, the ſolemne obſervation whereof declareth Religious thankfulneſſe towards him whoſe works of principall reckoning we thereby admire and honour, it commeth next to be conſidered what kinds of duties and ſervices they are wherewith ſuch times ſhould be kept holy.

Pſal. 118. 14.

Eccleſ. 33. 7.

70 The ſanctification of dayes and times is a token of that thankfulneſſe, and a part of that publike honour which wee owe to God for admirable benefits, whereof it doth not ſuffice that wee keepe a ſecret Kalender, taking thereby our private occaſions as we liſt our ſelves to thinke how much God hath done for all men, but the dayes which are choſen out to ſerve as publike Memorials of ſuch his mercies, ought to bee clothed with thoſe outward Robes of holineſſe, whereby their difference from other dayes may bee made ſenſible. But becauſe time in it ſelfe, as hath beene already proved, can receive no alteration, the hallowing of Feſtivall Dayes muſt conſiſt in the ſhape or countenance which wee put upon the affaires that are incident into thoſe Dayes. This is the day which the Lord hath made, ſaith the Prophet *David*, *Let us rejoyce and be glad* in it. So that generally offices and duties of [b] religious joy are they wherein the hallowing of Feſtivall times conſiſteth. The moſt naturall teſtimonies of our rejoycing in God, are firſt his Prayſes ſet forth with cheerfull alacritie of mind, ſecondly, our comfort and delight expreſſed by a [c] charitable largeneſſe of ſomewhat more then common bountie, thirdly, ſequeſtration from ordinary labours, the toyles and cares whereof are not meet to bee companions of ſuch gladneſſe. Feſtivall ſolemnitie therfore is nothing but the due mixture as it were of theſe three Elements, praiſe, and bounty, and reſt. Touching praiſe, for as much as the Iewes, who alone knew the way how to magnifie God aright, did commonly (as appeared by their wicked lives) more of cuſtome and for faſhion ſake execute the ſervices of their Religion, then with heartie and true devotion (which God eſpecially requireth) hee therefore proteſteth againſt their Sabbaths and ſolemne Dayes, as being therewith much offended. Plentifull and liberall expence is required in them that abound, partly

Themanner of celebrating feſtivall Dayes.

[b] *Grande videlicet efficium ſocos & choros in publicum educere, vicatim epulari, civitatem tabernæ habitu obſolefacere, vino lutum cogere, catervatim curſitare ad injurias, ad impudicitias, ad libidinis illecebras. Siccine exprimitur publicum gaudium per publicum ded cus?* Ter. Apol. c. 35.

Dies feſtos Majeſtati altiſſimæ dedicatos nul it volumus voluptatibus occupari. C. l. 12. tit. 12. l. 1.

Ἀντὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς θυμηδίας καὶ διαχυσμῳδίας καὶ διαχορδήμοσύνης σώφρονες ἑορτάζοντας παννυχίδες,

ἃ μέθλω ἔχουσι καὶ κῶμοι καὶ γέλωτα, ἀλλ' ὕμνοι θεῖοι καὶ ἱερῶν λογίων ἀκρόασιν, καὶ προσευχὴ ἀξιεπαίνοις κοσμουμένην διακρύσεσι, Theod. ad Græc. Infidel. Ser. 9. c. Τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς φύσεως ἐστιν εὐσεβῆ τὰ εἶναι καὶ φιλάνθρωπον, Philo lib. de Abraha-

as a signe of their owne joy in the goodnesse of God towards them, and partly as a meane whereby to refresh those poore and needy, who being especially at these times made partakers of relaxation and joy with others do the more religiously blesse God, whose great mercies were a cause thereof, & the more contentedly indure the burthen of that hard estate wherein they continue. Rest is the end of all Motion, and the last perfection of all things that labour. Labours in us are journeys, & even in them which feele no wearinesse by any worke, yet they are but wayes whereby to come unto that which bringeth not happinesse till it do bring rest. For as long as any thing which we desire is unattained, we rest not. Let us not here take rest for idlenesse. They are idle, whom the painfulnesse of action causeth to avoid those labours, whereunto both God and Nature bindeth them: they rest, which either cease from their worke when they have brought it unto perfection, or else give over a meaner labour, because a worthier and better is to be undertaken. God hath created nothing to be idle or ill imployed. As therefore, man doth consist of different and distinct parts, every part indued with manifold abilities, which all have their severall ends and actions therunto referred; so ther is in this great variety of duties which belong to men, that dependency and order, by means whereof the lower sustaining alwayes the more excellent, and the higher perfecting the more base, they are in their times and seasons continued with most exquisite correspondence, labours of bodily & daily toile purchase freedome for actions of religious joy, which benefit these actions requite with the gift of desired rest: a thing most naturall & fit to accompany the solemne Festivall duties of honour which are done to God. For if those principall works of God, the memorie wherof we use to celebrate at such times, be but certain tastes and sayes, as it were of that finall benefit, wherein our perfect felicitie and blisse lieth folded up, seeing that the presence of the one doth direct our cogitations, thoughts and desires towards the other, it giveth surely a kind of life, and addeth inwardly no small delight to those so comfortable expectations, when the very outward countenance of that we presently doe, representeth after a sort that also wherunto we tend, as Festival rest doth that Celestiall estate whereof the very [a] Heathens themselves which had not the meanes whereby to apprehend much, did notwithstanding imagine that it needs must consist in rest, and have therefore taught, that above the highest moveable Sphere there is nothing which feeleth alteration, motion or change, but all things immutable, unsubject to passion, blest with eternall continuance in a life of the highest perfection, and of that complete abundant sufficiency within it selfe, which no possibilitie of want, maime or defect can touch. Besides, whereas ordinarie labours are both in themselves painfull, and base in comparison of Festivall Services done to God, doth not the naturall difference betweene them shew that the one as it were by way of submission & homage should surrender themselves to the other, wherewith they can neither easily concurre, because painfulnesse and joy are opposite, nor decently, because while the minde hath just occasion to make her abode in the House of gladnesse, the Weed of ordinarie toyle and travell becommeth her not? Wherefore even Nature hath taught the

Deut. 16. 14. *Nehem.* 8. 9.

[a] Οὐδ' ἔστιν ἀδιενὲς ἀδιεμὲς μεταβολὴ τῶν ὑπὲρ ἐξωτάτω φερομένην φορὰν ἀλλ' ἀλλοίωτα καὶ ἀπαθῆ τὴν οὐσίαν ἔχοντα ζωὴν καὶ τὴν ἀϊδιαφερεστάτην διαπελεῖ τε ἄπονα ἀϊδῆα. Arist.

the Heathens,and God the Iewes,and Chriſt us,firſt,that Feſtivall Solemnities are a part of the publike exerciſe of Religion; ſecondly,that Praiſe, Liberalitie,and Reſt are as naturall Elements whereof Solemnities conſiſt. But theſe things the Heathens converted to the honour of their falſe gods, and as they failed in the end it ſelfe, ſo neither could they diſcerne rightly what forme and meaſure Religion therein ſhould obſerve. Whereupon, when the Iſraelites impiouſly followed ſo corrupt example, they are in every degree noted to have done amiſſe, their Hymnes or Songs of praiſe were Idolatrie,their bountie exceſſe,and their reſt wantonneſſe. Therefore the Law of God which appointed them dayes of Solemnitie,taught them likewiſe in what manner the ſame ſhould be celebrated: According to the patterne of which Inſtitution, *David* eſtabliſhing the ſtate of Religion, ordained praiſe to be given unto God in the Sabbaths,Moneths,& appointed times,as their cuſtom had bin alwaies before the Lord. 1.*Chro.*23.30. Now,beſides the times which God himſelfe in the Law of *Moſes* particularly ſpecified,there were, through the wiſedome of the Church, certaine other deviſed by occaſion of like occurrents to thoſe,wherupon the former had riſen,as namely,that which *Mardocheus* and *Eſter* did firſt celebrate in memory of the Lords moſt wonderfull protection, when *Haman* had laid his inevitable plot, to mans thinking, for the utter extirpation of the Iewes even in one day. *Heſt.*9.27. This they call the Feaſt of *Lots*,becauſe *Haman* had caſt their life and their death,as it were upon the hazard of a Lot. To this may be added,that other alſo of *Dedication*, mentioned in the tenth of Saint *Johns* Goſpell, the inſtitution whereof is declared in the Hiſtory of the *Maccabees*. *Ioh.*10.22. 1.*Mac.*4.52. But for as much as their Law by the comming of Chriſt is changed, and wee thereunto no way bound, Saint *Paul*, although it were not his purpoſe to favour invectives againſt the ſpeciall ſanctification of dayes and times to the ſervice of God,and to the honour of Ieſus Chriſt, doth notwithſtanding bend his forces againſt that opinion,which impoſed on the Gentiles the yoke of Iewiſh Legall obſervations, as if the whole world ought for ever,and that upon paine of condemnation,to keepe and obſerve the ſame. Such as in this perſwaſion hallowed thoſe Iewiſh Sabbaths, the Apoſtle ſharply reproveth, ſaying, [a] *Yee obſerve dayes and moneths, and times and yeeres,I am in feare of you, leſt I have beſtowed upon you labour in vaine.* Howbeit ſo far off was [b] *Tertullian* from imagining how any man could poſſible hereupon call in queſtion ſuch dayes as the Church of Chriſt doth obſerve, that the obſervation of theſe dayes he uſeth for an Argument whereby to prove,it could not be the Apoſtles intent and meaning to condemne ſimply all obſerving of ſuch times. Generally therfore touching Feaſts in the Church of Chriſt, they have that profitable uſe wherof St. *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh, *By Feſtivall Solemnities & ſet-dayes,we dedicate & ſanctifie to God the memory of his benefits,leſt unthankfull forgetfulnes thereof ſhould creepe upon us in courſe of time.* And concerning particulars, their Sabbath the Church hath changed into our Lords Day,that is,as the one did cõtinually bring to mind the former world finiſhed by creation, ſo the other might keepe us in perpetuall remembrance of a farre better World,begun by him which came to reſtore all things to make both Heaven & Earth new. For

a *Gal.*4.10.

b *Si omnem in totum devotionem temporum & dierum & menſium et annorum eraſit Apoſtolus,cur Paſcha celebramus annuo circuitu in menſe primo? Cur quinquageſima exinde diebus in omni exultatione deputamus? Lib.ad uerſ. Pſych. Aug.de Civit. Dei lib 10.c.4*

which cauſe they honoured the laſt day, we the firſt in every ſeven throughout the yeere. The reſt of the dayes and times which we celebrate, have relation all unto one head. We begin therefore our Eccleſiaſticall year with the glorious [c] Annuntiation of his birth by Angelicall Ambaſſage. There being hereunto added his bleſſed Nativity it ſelf, the myſterie of his legall [d] Circumciſion; the teſtification of his true Incarnation by the Purification of her which brought him into the world, his reſurrection, his Aſcenſion into Heaven, the admirable ſending down of his Spirit upon his choſen and (which conſequently enſued) the notice of that incomprehenſible Trinity therby given to the Church of God; again, for as much as we know that Chriſt hath not only been manifeſted great in himſelf, but great in other his Saints alſo, the dayes of whoſe departure out of the world are to the Church of Chriſt, as the Birth and Coronation dayes of Kings or Emperors, therfore eſpeciall choice being made of the very flowre of all occaſions in this kind, there are annual ſelected times to meditate of Chriſt glorified in them which had the honour to ſuffer for his ſake, before they had age and ability to know him; glorified in them which knowing him as *Stephen* had the ſight of that before death, whereinto ſo acceptable death did lead; glorified in thoſe Sages of the Eaſt, that came from far to adore him, & were conducted by ſtrange light; glorified in the ſecond *Elias* of the world, ſent before him to prepare his way; glorified in every of thoſe Apoſtles, whom it pleaſed him to uſe as Founders of his kingdome here; glorified in the Angels, as in *Michael*; glorified in all thoſe happy ſouls that are already poſſeſſed of Heaven. Over and beſides which number not great, the reſt be but foure other dayes heretofore annexed to the Feaſt of Eaſter and Pentecoſt, by reaſon of generall Baptiſme uſuall at thoſe two Feaſts, which alſo is the cauſe why they had not as other dayes any proper name given them. Their firſt inſtitution was therefore through neceſſity, and their preſent continuance is now for the greater honour of the principals, whereupon they ſtill attend. If it be then demanded, whether we obſerve theſe times as being thereunto bound by force of Divine Law, or elſe by the only Poſitive Ordinances of the Church, I anſwer to this, that the very Law of Nature it ſelfe, which all men confeſſe to be Gods Law, requireth in generall no leſſe the ſanctification of times than of places, perſons and things unto Gods honour. For which cauſe it hath pleaſed him heretofore as of the reſt, ſo of time likewiſe to exact ſome parts by way of perpetuall homage, never to be diſpenſed withall, nor remitted; again, to require ſome other parts of time with as ſtrict exaction but for leſſe continuance; and of the reſt which were left arbitrary, to accept what the Church ſhall in due conſideration conſecrate voluntarily unto like Religous uſes. Of the firſt kind amongſt the Iewes was the Sabbath-day; of the ſecond, thoſe Feaſts which are appointed by the Law of *Moſes*; the Feaſt of Dedication invented by the Church, ſtandeth in the number of the laſt kinde. The Morall Law requiring therefore a ſeventh part throughout the age of the whole world to be that way imploied, although with us the day be changed in regard of a new revolution begun by our Saviour Chriſt, yet the ſame proportion of time continueth which was before, becauſe in reference to the benefit of Creation, and now much more

d *Luke* 1.16.

d *Luke* 2.21.

more of Renovation thereunto added by him which was Prince of the world to come, we are bound to accompt the ſanctification of one day in ſeven, a dutie which Gods immutable Law doth exact for ever. The reſt, they ſay, we ought to aboliſh, becauſe the continuance of them doth nouriſh wicked ſuperſtition in the minds of men; beſides, they are all abuſed by Papiſts, the enemies of God, yea, certaine of them, as Eaſter and Pentecoſt, even by the Iewes.

71 Touching Iewes, their Eaſter and Pentecoſt have with ours as much affinitie, as *Philip* the Apoſtle with *Philip* the Macedonian King. As for *imitation of Papiſts*, & the *breeding of ſuperſtition*, they are now become ſuch common gheſts, that no man can thinke it diſcourteous to let them goe as they came. The next is a rare obſervation and ſtrange. You ſhall find if you marke it (as it doth deſerve to be noted well) that many thouſands there are, who if they havev ertuouſly during thoſe times behaved themſelves, if their devotion & zeale in prayer have beene fervent, their attention to the Word of God, ſuch as all Chriſtian men ſhould yeeld, imagine that herein they have performed a good dutie, which notwithſtanding to thinke is a very dangerous error, in as much as the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* hath taught, that wee ought not to keepe our Eaſter as the Iewes did for certain daies, but in the unleavened bread of ſinceritie and of truth to feaſt continually, whereas this reſtraint of Eaſter to a certaine number of dayes cauſeth us to reſt for a ſhort ſpace in that neere conſideration of our duties, which ſhould be extended throughout the courſe of our whole lives, & ſo pulleth out of our minds the Doctrine of Chriſts Goſpell ere wee bee aware. The Doctrine of the Goſpell which here they meane or ſhould meane, is, that Chriſt having finiſhed the Law, there is no Iewiſh Paſchall Solemnitie, nor abſtinence from ſowre Bread now required at our hands, there is no Leaven which we are bound to caſt out, but malice, ſinne and wickedneſſe, no Bread but the food of ſincere Truth, wherewith we are tied to celebrate our Paſſeover. And ſeeing no time of ſinne is granted us, neither any intermiſſion of ſound beliefe, it followeth that this kind of feaſting ought to endure alwaies. But how are ſtanding Feſtivall Solemnities againſt this? That which the Goſpell of Chriſt requireth, is the perpetuity of vertuous duties: not perpetuity of exerciſe or action, but diſpoſition perpetuall, and practice as oft as times and opportunities re-quire. Iuſt, valiant, liberall, temperate, and holy men are they, which can whenſoever they will, and will whenſoever they ought, execute what their ſeverall perfections import. If vertues did alwayes ceaſe to be when they ceaſe to work, there ſhould bee nothing more pernicious to Vertue than ſleepe;

Exceptions againſt our keeping of other feſtivall dayes beſides the Sabbath. *T.C.l.1.p.151.*

If they had been never abuſed, neither by the Papiſts, nor by the Iewes, as they have beene, and are daily, yet ſuch making of Holy dayes is never without ſome great danger of bringing in ſome evill and corrupt opinions into the minds of men. I will uſe an example in one, and that the chiefe of Holy dayes, and moſt generally, and of longeſt time obſerved in the Church, which is the feaſt of Eaſter, which was kept of ſome more dayes, of ſome fewer. How many thouſands are there, I will not ſay of the ignorant Papiſts, but of thoſe alſo which profeſſe the Goſpell which when they have celebrated thoſe dayes with diligent heed taken unto their life, and with ſome earneſt devotion in praying, and hearing the VVord of God, doe not by and by thinke that they have well celebrated the Feaſt of Eaſter, and yet have they thus notably deceived themſelves. For Saint *Paul* teacheth, *1.Cor.5.8.* that the celebrating of the Feaſt of the Chriſtians Eaſter, is not as the Iewes was for certaine dayes, but ſheweth that wee muſt keepe this Feaſt all the dayes of our life in the unleavened bread of ſinceritie and of truth. By which wee ſee that the obſerving of the Feaſt of Eaſter for certaine dayes in the yeere doth pull out of our mindes, ere ever we be aware, the Doctrine of the Goſpell, and cauſeth us to reſt in that neere conſideration of our duties, for the ſpace of a few dayes, which ſhould bee extended to all our life.

ſleepe : neither were it poſſible that men, as *Zacharie* and *Elizabeth* ſhould in all the Commandements of God walke unreprooveable, or that the Chaine of our converſation ſhould containe ſo many linkes of divine vertues, as the Apoſtles in divers places have reckoned up, if in the exerciſe of each vertue perpetuall continuance were exacted at our hands. Seeing therefore all things are done in time, and many offices are not poſſible at one and the ſame time to bee diſcharged, duties of all ſorts muſt have neceſſarily their ſeverall ſucceſſions and ſeaſons, in which reſpect the Schoole-men have well and ſoundly determined, that Gods affirmative Lawes and Precepts, the Lawes that injoyne any actuall dutie, as Prayer, Almes and the like, doe bind us *ad ſemper velle*, but not *ad ſemper agere*, wee are tyed to iterate and reſume them when need is, howbeit not to continue them without any intermiſſion. Feaſts, whether God himſelfe have ordained them, or the Church by that authoritie which God hath given, they are of Religion ſuch publike ſervices, as neither can, nor ought to bee continued otherwiſe than onely by iteration. Which iteration is a moſt effectuall meane to bring unto full maturitie & growth thoſe ſeedes of godlineſſe, that theſe very men themſelves doe grant to be ſowne in the hearts of many thouſands, during the while that ſuch feaſts are preſent. The conſtant habite of well doing is not gotten without the cuſtome of doing well, neither can vertue bee made perfect, but by the manifold workes of vertue often practiſed. Before the powers of our minds bee brought unto ſome perfection, our firſt aſſayes and offers towards vertue muſt needs bee raw, yet commendable, becauſe they tend unto ripeneſſe. For which cauſe the wiſedome of God hath commended eſpecially this circumſtance amongſt others in ſolemne feaſts, that to Children and Novices in religion, they miniſter the firſt occaſion to aske & inquire of God. Whereupon if there follow but ſo much pietie as hath beene mentioned, let the Church learne to further imbecillitie with prayer, *Preſerve, Lord, theſe good and gracious beginnings, that they ſuddenly dry not up as the morning dew, but may proſper and grow as the trees which rivers of waters keepe alwayes flouriſhing*; let all mens acclamations bee, *Grace, Grace unto it*, as to that firſt laid corner ſtone in *Zerubbabels* building. For who hath deſpiſed the day of thoſe things which are ſmall? Or how dare wee take upon us to condemne that very thing which voluntarily we grant, maketh us of nothing ſomewhat, ſeeing all wee pretend againſt it is onely that as yet this ſomewhat is not much? The dayes of ſolemnitie which are but few, cannot chooſe but ſoone finiſh that outward exerciſe of godlineſſe, which properly appertaineth to ſuch times, howbeit mens inward diſpoſition to vertue, they both augment for the preſent, and by their often returnes bring alſo the ſame at the length unto that perfection which wee moſt deſire. So that although by their neceſſarie ſhort continuance, they abridge the preſent exerciſe of pietie in ſome kinde, yet becauſe by repetition they enlarge, ſtrengthen and confirme the habites of all vertue, it remayneth that wee honour, obſerve and keepe them as ordinances, many wayes ſingularly profitable in Gods Church. This exception being taken againſt Holy dayes, for that they reſtraine the praiſes of God unto certaine

taine times, another followeth condemning reſtraint of men from their ordinarie Trades and labours at thoſe times. [a] It is not they ſay in the power of the Church to command reſt, becauſe God hath left it to all men at liberty, that if they think good to beſtow whole ſix dayes in labour they may, neither is it more lawfull for the Church to abridge any man of that libertie which God hath granted, then to take away the yoke which God hath laid upon them, and to countermand what he doth expreſly injoyne. They denie not but in times of publike calamitie, that men may the better aſſemble themſelves to faſt and pray, the Church, *becauſe it hath received Commandement* from God to proclaime a Prohibition from ordinarie workes, ſtandeth bound to doe it, as the Iewes afflicted did in Babylon. But without ſome expreſſe Commandement from God, there is no power they ſay under Heaven which may preſume by any Decree to reſtraine the libertie that God hath given. Which opinion, albeit applied here no farther then to this preſent cauſe, ſhaketh univerſally the Fabrick of Government, tendeth to Anarchie and meere confuſion, diſſolveth Families, diſſipateth Colledges, Corporations, Armies, overthroweth Kingdomes, Churches, and whatſoever is now, through the providence of God, by authoritie and power upheld. For whereas God hath foreprized things of the greateſt weight, and hath therein preciſely defined, as well that which every man muſt performe, as that which no man may attempt, leaving all ſorts of men in the reſt, either to bee guided by their owne good diſcretion, if they bee free from ſubjection to other, or elſe to bee ordered by ſuch Cõmandements and Lawes as proceed from thoſe Superiours under whom they live; the Patrons of libertie have here made Solemne Proclamation, that all ſuch Lawes and Commandements are void, in as much as every man is left to the freedome of his owne minde, in ſuch things as are not either exacted or prohibited by the Law of God; and becauſe onely in theſe things the Poſitive Precepts of men have place, which Precepts cannot poſſibly be given without ſome abridgement of their libertie,

[a] *T.C. lib. 1. pag.* 152. I confeſſe that it is in the power of the Church to appoint ſo many dayes in the Weeke, or in the Yeere (in the which the Congregation ſhall aſſemble to heare the Word of God, and receive the Sacraments, and offer up Prayers unto God) as it ſhall thinke good, according to thoſe rules which are before alleaged. But that it hath power to make ſo many *Holy daies* as we have, wherein men are commanded to ceaſe from their daily vocations of ploughing and exerciſing their handy-crafts, that I deny to be in the power of the Church. For proofe whereof, I will take the fourth commandement, and no other interpretation of it then M. Doct. alloweth of, which is, that God licenſeth and leaveth it at the libertie of every man, to work ſix dayes in the Week, ſo that he reſt the Seventh Day. Seeing therefore that the Lord hath left it to all men at libertie, that they might labour, if they thinke good, ſixe dayes, I ſay the Church, nor no man can take this libertie away from them, and drive them to a neceſſary reſt of the body. And if it be lawfull to abridge the libertie of the Church in this point, and in ſtead that the Lord ſaith, ſixe daies thou maiſt labour if thou wilt, to ſay thou ſhalt not labour ſix daies: I do not ſee why the Church may not as well, whereas the Lord ſaith, thou ſhalt reſt the Seventh Day, command that thou ſhalt not reſt the Seventh Day. For if the Church may reſtraine the liberty which God hath given them, it may take away the yoke alſo which God hath put upon them. And whereas you ſay that notwithſtanding this fourth Commandement, the Iewes had certaine other Feaſts which they obſerved, indeed the Lord which gave this generall Law, might make as many exceptions as he thought good, and ſo long as he thought good. But it followeth not, becauſe the Lord did it, that therefore the Church may do it, unleſſe it hath Commandement and Authority from God ſo to doe. As when there is any generall Plague or Iudgement of God either upon the Church or comming towards it, the Lord commandeth in ſuch a caſe, *Ioel* 2. 15. that they ſhould ſanctifie a generall Faſt, and proclaime *Gbratſarah*, which ſignifieth a Prohibition, or forbidding of ordinary works, and is the ſame Hebrew word wherewith thoſe Feaſt-dayes are noted in the Law wherein they ſhould reſt. The reaſon of which Commandement of the Lords was, that thy abſtained that day as much as might bee conveniently from meats, ſo they might abſtaine from their daily works to the end they might beſtow the whole day in hearing the word of God, & humbling themſelves in the Congregation, confeſſing their faults, and deſiring the Lord to turn away from his fierce wrath. In this caſe, the Church having Commandement to make a Holy day, may and ought to doe it, as the Church which was in Babylon, did during the time of their Captivity: but where it is deſtitute of a Commandement, it may not preſume by any Decree to reſtraine that libertie which the Lord hath given.

tie, to whom they are given: therefore if the Father command the Sonne, or the Husband the Wife, or the Lord the Servant, or the Leader the Souldier, or the Prince the Subject, to goe or ſtand, ſleepe or wake, at ſuch times a God himſelfe in particular commandeth, neither are they to ſtand in defence of the freedome which God hath granted, and to doe as themſelves liſt, knowing that men may as lawfully command them things utterly forbidden by the Law of God, as tie them to any thing which the Law of God leaveth free. The plaine contradictory whereunto is unfallibly certaine. Thoſe things which the law of God leaveth arbitrarie and at libertie, are all ſubject unto poſitive Lawes of men, which Laws for the common benefit abridge particular mens libertie in ſuch things, as farre as the rules of equitie will ſuffer. This wee muſt either maintaine, or elſe over-turne the world, and make every man his owne Commander. Seeing then that labour and reſt upon any one day of the ſixe throughout the yeere, are granted free by the Law of God, how exempt wee them from the force and power of Eccleſiaſticall Law, except we deprive the world of power to make any Ordinance or Law at all? Beſides, is it probaable that God ſhould not onely allow, but command concurrencie of reſt, with extraordinarie occaſions of dolefull events, befalling peradventure ſome one certaine Church, or not extending unto many, and not as much as permit or licenſe the like, when pietie triumphant with joy and gladneſſe, maketh ſolemne commemoration of Gods moſt rare and unwonted mercies, *ſuch eſpecially as the whole race of Mankind* doth or might participate? Of vacation from labour in times of ſorrow, the onely cauſe is, for that the generall publike prayers of the whole Church, and our own private buſineſſes, cannot both be followed at once; whereas of reſt in the famous ſolemnities of publique joy, there is both this conſideration the ſame, and alſo farther a kind of naturall repugnancie, which maketh labours (as hath beene proved) much more unfit to accompanie Feſtivall praiſes of God, then offices of humiliation and griefe. Againe, if we ſift what they bring for proofe and approbation of reſt with faſting, doth it not in all reſpects as fully warrant, and as ſtrictly command reſt, whenſoever the Church hath equall reaſon by feaſts, and gladſome ſolemnities to teſtifie publique thankefulneſſe towards God? I would know ſome cauſe, why thoſe words of the Prophet *Ioel*, *Sanctifie a faſt, call a ſolemne aſſembly*, which words were uttered to the Iewes, in miſerie and great diſtreſſe, ſhould more bind the Church to doat all times after the like, in their like perplexities, then the words of *Moſes*, to the ſame people in a time of joyfull deliverance from miſerie, *Remember this day*, may warrant any annuall celebration of benefits, no leſſe importing the good of men; and alſo iuſtifie as touching the manner and forme thereof, what circumſtance ſoever wee imitate onely in reſpect of naturall fitneſſe or decencie, without any Iewiſh regard to Ceremonies, ſuch as were properly theirs, and are not by us expedient to bee continued. According to the rule of which generall directions, taken from the Law of God, no leſſe in the one then the other, the practice of the Church commended unto us in holy Scripture, doth not onely make for the juſtification of black and diſmall dayes (as one of the Fathers termeth them) but plainely offereth

Ioel 2.15.

Exod. 13.3.

Heſt. 9.

offereth it ſelfe to be followed by ſuch ordinances (if occaſion require) as that which *Mardocheus* did ſometime deviſe, *Heſter* what lay in her power helpe forward, and the reſt of the Iewes eſtabliſh for perpetuitie, namely, that the fourteenth and fifteenth dayes of the moneth *Adar*, ſhould be every yeer kept throughout all Generations, as dayes of feaſting and joy, wherein they would reſt from bodily labour, and what by gifts of charitie beſtowed upon the poore, what by other liberall ſignes of amitie and love, all teſtifie their thankefull minds towards God, which almoſt beyond poſſibilitie had delivered them all, when they all were as men dead. But this decree, they[a] ſay, was Divine, not Eccleſiaſtiacal, as may appeare in that there is another decree in another Book of Scripture, which decree is plaine, not to have proceeded from the Churches authoritie, but from the mouth of the Prophet onely, and as a poore ſimple man ſometime was fully perſwaded, that if *Pontius Pilate* had not beene a Saint, the Apoſtles would never have ſuffered his name to ſtand in the Creede, ſo theſe men have a ſtrong opinion, that becauſe the Book of *Heſter* is Canonicall, the decree of *Heſter* cannot bee poſſibly Eccleſiaſticall: If it were, they aske how the Iewes could binde themſelves alwayes to keepe it, ſeeing Eccleſiaſticall Lawes are mutable? As though the purpoſes of men might never intend conſtancie in that, the nature whereof is ſubject to alteration. Doth the Scripture it ſelfe make mention of any divine Commandement? Is the Scripture witneſſe of more, then onely that *Mardocheus* was the Author of this cuſtome, that by Letters written to his brethren the Iewes, throughout all Provinces, under *Darius* the King of Perſia, hee gave them charge to celebrate yeerely thoſe two dayes, for perpetuall remembrance of Gods miraculous deliverance and mercy, that the Iewes hereupon under-tooke to doe it, and made it with generall conſent an order for perpetuitie, that *Heſter*, ſecondly, by her Letters confirmed the ſame, which *Mardocheus* had before decreed, and that finally, the ordinance was written to remaine for ever upon record? Did not the Iewes in Provinces abroad obſerve at the firſt the fourteenth day, the Iewes in Suſis the fifteenth? Were they not all reduced to an uniforme order by meanes of thoſe two decrees, and ſo every-where three dayes kept, the firſt with faſting, in memorie of danger; the reſt, in token of deliverance, as feſtivall and joyfull dayes? Was not the firſt of theſe three, afterwards the day of ſorrow and heavineſſe, abrogated, when the ſame Church ſaw it meete that a better day, a day in memorie of like deliverance, out of the bloudy hands

[a] *T.C.l.3.p.* 193. The example out of *Heſter* is no ſufficient warrant for theſe feaſts in queſtion. For firſt as in other caſes, ſo in this caſe of dayes, the eſtate of Chriſtians, under the Goſpell, ought not to bee ſo ceremonious, as was theirs under the law. Secondly that which was done there, was done by a ſpeciall direction of the ſpirit of God, either through the miniſtery of the Prophets, which they had, or by ſome other extraordinary meanes, which is not to be followed by us. This may appeare by another place. Zach. 8. where the Iewes changed their faſts into feaſts, onely by the mouth of the Lord, through the miniſtery of the Prophet. For further proof whereof firſt I take the 28. verſe, where it appeareth, that this was an order, to endure always, even as long as the other feaſt dayes, which were inſtituted by the Lord himſelfe. So that what abuſes ſoever were of that feaſt, yet as a perpetuall decree of God, it ought to have remained, whereas our Churches can make no ſuch decree, which may not upon change of times, and other circumſtances be altered. For the other proofe hereof I take the laſt verſe. For the Prophet contenteth not himſelf with that, that he had rehearſed the decree, as he doth ſometimes the decree of prophane Kings, but addeth preciſely that as ſoone as ever the decree was made, it was regiſtred in this book of Heſter which is one of the bookes of the canonicall Scripture, declaring thereby in what eſteeme they had it. If it had beene of no further authority then our decrees, or then a Canon of one of the councels, it had beene preſumption to have brought it into the Library of the holy Ghoſt. The ſumme of my anſwere is that this decree was divine and not Eccleſiaſticall onely.

hands of *Nicanor*, ſhould ſucceed in the roome thereof? But for as much as there is no end of anſwering fruitleſſe oppoſitions, let it ſuffice men of ſober mindes, to know that the Law both of God and Nature alloweth generally, dayes of reſt and feſtivall ſolemnitie, to bee obſerved by way of thankefull and joyfull remembrance, if ſuch miraculous favours bee ſhewed towards mankind as require the ſame; that ſuch graces God hath beſtowed upon his Church, as well in latter as in former times, that in ſome particulars, when they have fallen out, himſelfe hath demanded his owne honour, and in the reſt hath left it to the wiſedome of the Church, directed by thoſe precedents, and inlightned by other meanes, alwayes to judge when the like is requiſite. About queſtions therefore concerning Dayes and Times, our manner is not to ſtand at bay with the Church of God, demanding wherefore the memorie of [a] *Paul* ſhould bee rather kept than the memorie of [b] *Daniel*; wee are content to imagine, it may bee perhaps true that the leaſt in the Kingdome of Chriſt, is greater than the greateſt of all the Prophets of God that have gone before; wee never yet ſaw cauſe to deſpaire, but that the [c] ſimpleſt of the people might bee taught the right conſtruction of as great myſteries as the [d] name of a Saints day doth comprehend, although the times of the yeere goe on in their wonted courſe; wee had rather glorifie and bleſſe God, for the fruit wee daily behold, reaped by ſuch ordinances as his gracious Spirit maketh the ripe wiſedome of this Nationall Church to bring forth, than vainely boaſt of our own peculiar and private inventions, as if the skill of [e] profitable Regiment had left her publike habitation, to dwell in retired manner with ſome few men of one liverie; wee make not our childiſh [f] appeales ſometimes from our owne to forraine Churches, ſometime from both unto Churches ancienter than both are, in effect alwayes from all others to our owne ſelves, but as becommeth them that follow with all humilitie the wayes of peace, wee honour, reverence and obey, in the very next degree unto God, the voyce of the Church of God wherein wee live. They, whoſe wits are too glorious to fall to ſo low an ebbe, they which have riſen and ſwollen ſo high, that the walls of ordinarie Rivers are unable to keepe them in, they whoſe wanton contentions in the cauſe whereof wee have ſpoken, doe make all where they goe, a Sea, even they at their higheſt flote are conſtrained both to ſee and [g] grant, that what their fancie will not yeeld to like, their judgement cannot with reaſon condemne. Such is ever-more the finall victorie of all truth, that they which have not the hearts to love her, acknowledge, that to hate her they have no cauſe.

Touching thoſe feſtivall Dayes therefore which wee now obſerve, their number

2 *Mac.*15.36.

1. *Mat.*4.55. a *Commemoratio Apoſtolicæ paſſionis totius Chriſtianitatis magiſtra à cunctis jure celebratur*, Cod. l.3.tit.12.l.7.

b *T.C.l.*1.*p.*153. For ſo much as the old people did never keepe any Feaſt or Holy day for remembrances either of *Moſes*, &c. c *T. C. l.*1.*p.*153. The people, when it is called S. *Pauls* day, or the bleſſed Virgin *Maries* day, can vnderſtand nothing thereby, but that they are inſtituted to the honour of Saint *Paul*, or the Virgin *Marie*, unleſſe they be otherwiſe taught. And if you ſay, let them ſo be taught, I have anſwered, that the teaching in this land, cannot by any order which is yet taken, come to the moſt part of thoſe, which have drunke this poyſon, &c. d *Scilicet ignorant non nisi Chriſtum unquam relinquere, qui pro totius ſervandorum mundi ſalute paſſus eſt, nec alium quempiam colere poſſe. Nam hunc quidem tanquam filium Dei adoramus, martyres verò tanquam Diſcipulos et imitatores Domini digne propter inſuperabilem in Regem ipſorum ac Præceptorem benevolentiam diligimus, quorum et nos conſortes et diſcipulos fieri optamus.* Euſeb. hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 4 cap. 15.

e *T.C.l.*1.*p.*153. As for all the commodities, &c.

f *T.C.l.*1.*p.*154.

g *T.C.l.*1.*pag.* 154. Wee condemne not the Church of England, neither in this, nor in other things, which are meete to bee reformed. For it is one thing to miſlike, another thing to condemne, and it is one thing to condemne ſomething in the Church, and another thing to condemne the Church for it.

number being no way felt [a] diſcommodious to the Common-wealth, and their grounds ſuch as hitherto hath been ſhewed, what remaineth, but to keep them throughout all generations holy, ſevered by manifeſt notes of difference from other times, adorned with that which moſt may betoken true, vertuous, and celeſtiall joy? To which intent, becauſe ſurceaſe from labour is neceſſary, yet not ſo neceſſary, no not on the Sabbath or Seventh Day it ſelf, but that rarer occaſions in mens particular Affaires ſubject to manifeſt detriment, unleſſe they be preſently followed, may with very good conſcience draw them ſometimes aſide from the ordinary rule, conſidering the favourable diſpenſation which our Lord and Saviour groundeth on this Axiome, *Man was not made for the Sabbath, but the Sabbath ordained for man*; ſo far forth as concerneth Ceremonies annexed to the principall Sanctification thereof, howſoever the rigour of the Law of *Moſes* may be thought to import the contrary, if we regard with what ſeverity the violation of Sabbaths hath been ſometime puniſhed, a thing perhaps the more requiſite at that inſtant, both becauſe the Iewes by reaſon of their long abode in a place of continuall ſervile toile, could not ſuddenly be wained and drawn unto contrary offices, without ſome ſtrong impreſſion of terrour, and alſo for that there is nothing more needfull, than to puniſh with extremity the firſt tranſgreſſions of thoſe Lawes, that require a more exact obſervation for many Ages to come; therefore as the Iewes ſuperſtitiouſly addicted to their Sabbaths reſt for a long time, not without danger to themſelves, and [b] obloquie to their very Law, did afterwards perceive and amend wiſely their former errour, not doubting that bodily labours are made by [c] neceſſity veniall, though otherwiſe eſpecially on that day, reſt be more convenient, ſo at all times the voluntary ſcandalous contempt of that reſt from labour, wherewith publickly God is ſerved, we cannot too [d] ſeverely correct and bridle. The Emperour [e] *Conſtantine* having with over-great facility licenſed Sundayes labours in Country Villages, under that pretence, whereof there may juſtly no doubt ſometime conſideration be had, namely, leſt any thing which God by his providence hath beſtowed, ſhould miſcarry not being taken in due time, *Leo*, which afterwards ſaw that this ground would not bear ſo generall and large indulgence as had been granted, doth, by a contrary Edict, both reverſe and ſeverely cenſure his Predeceſſours remiſſeneſſe, ſaying, [f] *We ordaine according to the true meaning of the Holy Ghoſt, and of the Apoſtles thereby directed, that on the ſacred day, wherein our own integrity was reſtored, all do reſt and ſurceaſe labour, that neither Husband-man nor other on that day put their hands to forbidden works. For if the Iewes did ſo much reverence their Sabbath, which was but a ſhaddow of ours, are not we which inhabit the light and truth of grace, bound to honour that day which the Lord himſelfe hath honoured, and hath therein delivered us both from diſhonour and from death? are we not bound to keep it ſingular and inviolable, well contenting our ſelves with ſo liberall a grant of the reſt, and not incroching upon that one, which God hath choſen to his own honour? Were it not wretcheſſe neglect of Religion, to*

a πολλὰς μὲν ὑυσίας, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἑορτὰς ἐπαυσε τῷ τε γὰρ πλεῖσον τῶν ἔτους εἰς αὐλὰς ἀπολίσασθο καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ ζημίᾳ μοχθεῖν ἐγίγνετο, de Claudio dictũ apud Dion. lib. 60.

Mark. 2. 27. *Num.* 15. 32.

b *Hi vacare conſueti ſunt ſeptima die, & neq; arma portare in prædictis diebus, neque terræ culturam contingere, neq; alterius cujuſpiam curam habere patiuntur, ſed in templis extendentes manus adorare uſq; ad veſperam ſoliti ſunt. Ingrediente verò in civitatem* Ptolomæo Lago *cum exercitu & multis hominibus, cum cuſtodire debuerint civitatem, ipſis ſtultitiam obſervantibus provincia quidem Dominum ſuſcepit amariſſimum, lex verò manifeſtata eſt, malam habere ſolennitatem.* Agatharchid. apud Ioſeph. lib. 1. cont. Appion. vide & Dion. l. 37.

c 1 *Mac.* 2. 40.

d *Neh.* 13. 15.

e *Cod. l.* 3. *tit.* 12. *l.* 3.

f *Leo conſti.* 54.

make that very day common, and to think we may do with it as with the reſt? Imperiall Lawes which had ſuch care of hallowing, eſpecially, our Lords day, did not omit to provide that [a] other Feſtivall times might be kept with vacation from labour, whether they were dayes appointed on the ſudden, as extraordinary occaſions fell out, or dayes which were celebrated yeerly, for Politick and Civill conſiderations, or finally, ſuch dayes as Chriſtian Religion hath ordained in Gods Church. The joy that ſetteth aſide labour, diſperſeth thoſe things which labour gathereth. For gladneſſe doth alwayes riſe from a kinde of fruition and happineſſe, which happineſſe baniſheth the cogitation of all want, it needeth nothing but only the beſtowing of that it hath, in as much as the greateſt felicity that felicity hath, is to ſpread and inlarge it ſelf, it commeth hereby to paſſe, that the firſt effect of joyfulneſſe is to reſt, becauſe it ſeeketh no more, the next, becauſe it aboundeth to give. The root of both is the glorious preſence of that joy of minde which riſeth from the manifold conſiderations of Gods unſpeakable mercy, into which conſiderations we are led by occaſion of ſacred times. For how could the Iewiſh Congregations of old be put in minde by their weekly Sabbaths, what the World reaped through his goodneſſe, which did of nothing create the World; by their yeerely Paſſeover, what farewell they took of the Land of Egypt; by their Pentecoſt, what Ordinances, Lawes, and Statutes, their Fathers received at the hands of God; by their Feaſt of Tabernacles, with what protection they journeyed from place to place, through ſo many feares and hazards, during the tedious time of forty yeeres travell in the Wilderneſſe; by their Annuall Solemnity of Lots, how neare the whole ſeed of *Iſrael* was unto utter extirpation, when it pleaſed that great God which guideth all things in Heaven and Earth, ſo to change the counſels and purpoſes of men, that the ſame hand which had ſigned a Decree in the opinion both of them that granted, and of them that procured it, irrevocable, for the generall maſſacre of Man, Woman, and Childe, became the Buckler of their preſervation, that no one haire of their heads might be toucht, the ſame dayes which had been ſet for the powring out of ſo much innocent blood, were made the dayes of their execution, whoſe malice had contrived the plot thereof, and the ſelf-ſame perſons that ſhould have endured whatſoever violence and rage could offer, were imployed in the juſt revenge of cruelty, to give unto blood-thirſty men the taſte of their own Cup; or how can the Church of Chriſt now indure to be ſo much called on and preached unto by that which every [b] Dominicall Day throughout the yeere, that which yeere by yeere ſo many Feſtivall times, [c] if not commanded by the Apoſtles themſelves, whoſe care at that time was of greater things, yet inſtituted either by ſuch [d] univerſall authority, as no man, or at the leaſt ſuch as we with no reaſon may deſpiſe, do as ſometime the holy Angels did from Heaven ſing, [e] *glory be unto God on high, peace on earth, towards men good will* (for this in effect is the very Song that all Chriſtian Feaſts do apply as their ſeverall occaſions require) how ſhould the dayes and times continually thus inculcate what God hath done, and we

[a] *T. C. l. 3. tit. 12. Dies feſtos.*

[b] *Mat. 28. 1. Mark 16. 1. Luke 24. 1. Iohn 20. 1. 1 Cor. 16. 2. Apoc. 1. 10.*

[c] *Apoſtolis propoſitum fuit non ut leges de feſtis diebus celebrandis ſancirent, ſed ut, recte vivendi rationis & ſuetatis nobis authores eſſent.* Socrat. Hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 21.

[d] *Quæ toto terrarum orbe ſervantur, vel ab ipſis Apoſtolis vel Conciliis generalibus quorum eſt ſaluberrima Eccleſia authoritas, ſtatuta eſſe intelligere licet: ſicuti quod Dominici Paſſio & Reſurrectio, & in Cœlum Aſcenſus, & Adventus Spiritus ſancti anniverſaria ſolennitate celebrantur.* Aug. Ep. 118.

[e] *Luke 2. 14.*

refuſe

refuſe to agnize the benefit of ſuch remembrances, that very benefit which cauſed *Moſes* to acknowledge thoſe Guides of Day and Night, the Sunne and Moon which enlighten the World, not more profitable to nature by giving all things life, then they are to the Church of God, by occaſion of the uſe they have, in regard of the appointed Feſtivall Times? That which the head of all Philoſophers hath ſaid of Women, if they be good, the half of the Common-wealth is happy, wherein they are, the ſame we may fitly apply to times, well to celebrate theſe religious and ſacred dayes, is to ſpend the flower of our time happily. They are the ſplendor and outward dignity of our Religion, forcible Witneſſes of ancient Truth, provocations to the exerciſe of all Piety, ſhadowes of our endleſſe felicity in Heaven, on Earth everlaſting Records and Memorials, wherein they which cannot be drawn to hearken unto that we teach, may only by looking upon that we do, in a manner read whatſoever we beleeve.

Of Dayes appointed as wel for ordinary, as for extraordinary Faſts in the Church of God.

72 The matching of contrary things together, is a kinde of illuſtration to both. Having therefore ſpoken thus much of Feviſtall Dayes, the next that offer themſelves to hand, are dayes of penſive humiliation and ſorrow. Faſtings are either of mens own free and voluntary accord, as their particular devotion doth move them thereunto, or elſe they are publickly injoyned in the Church, and required at the hands of all men. There are which altogether diſallow not the former kinde, and the latter they greatly commend, ſo that it be upon extraordinary occaſions only, and after one certain manner exerciſed. But yeerly or weekly Faſts, ſuch as ours in the Church of *England*, they allow no farther, then as the Temporall State of the Land doth require the ſame, for the maintenance of Seafaring-men, and preſervation of Cattell, becauſe the decay of the one, and the waſte of the other could not well be prevented but by a Politik order, appointing ſome ſuch uſuall change of Diet as ours is. We ate therefore the rather to make it manifeſt in all mens eyes, that ſet times of Faſting appointed in ſpirituall conſiderations to be kept by all ſorts of men, took not their beginning either from *Montanus*, or any other, whoſe Hereſies may prejudice the credit and due eſtimation thereof, but have their ground in the Law of Nature, are allowable in Gods ſight, were in all Ages heretofore, and may till the Worlds end be obſerved, not without ſingular uſe and benefit. Much hurt hath growne to the Church of God, through a falſe imagination, that Faſting ſtandeth men in no ſtead for any ſpirituall reſpect, but only to take downe the frankneſſe of Nature, and to tame the wildeneſſe of fleſh. Whereupon the World being bold to ſurfet, doth now bluſh to faſt, ſuppoſing that men when they faſt, do rather bewray a Diſeaſe, then exerciſe a Vertue. I

T. C. l. 1. p. 30. I will not enter now to diſcuſſe whether it were well done to faſt in all places according to the cuſtome of the place. You oppoſe *Ambroſe* and *Auguſtine*, I could oppoſe *Ignatius* and *Tertullian*, whereof the one ſaith, it is *nefas*, a deteſtable thing to faſt upon the Lords Day, the other, that it is to kill the Lord. *Tertull. de Coron. mil. Ignatius, Epiſt. ad Philippen.* And although *Ambroſe* and *Auguſtine* being private men of Rome would have ſo done, yet it followeth not, that if they had been Citizens and Miniſters there that they would have done it. And if they had done ſo, yet it followeth not, but they would have ſpoken againſt that appointment of Dayes, and *νομοθεσίαν* of Faſting, whereof *Euſebius* ſaith, that *Montanus* was the firſt Author. I ſpeak of that which they ought to have done. For otherwiſe I know, they both thought corruptly of Faſting, when as the one ſaith it was a remedy or reward to faſt other dayes, but in Lent not to faſt, was ſinne: and the other asketh, what ſalvation we can obtain, if we blot not out our ſins by Faſting, ſeeing that the Scripture ſaith, that Faſting and Almes doth deliver from ſin, and therefore calleth them new Teachers, that ſhut out the merit of Faſting. *Aug. de temp. 62. Ser. Ambroſe lib. 10. Epiſt.*

much wonder what they who are thus perſwaded do think, what conceit they have concerning the Faſts of the Patriarks, the Prophets, the Apoſtles, our Lord Ieſus Chriſt himſelf. The affections of *Ioy* and *Grief* are ſo knit unto all the actions of mans life, that whatſoever we can do, or may be done unto us, the ſequell thereof is continually the one or the other affection. Wherefore conſidering that they which grieve and joy as they ought, cannot poſſibly otherwiſe live then as they ſhould, the Church of Chriſt, the moſt abſolute and perfect Schoole of all vertue, hath by the ſpeciall direction of Gods good Spirit hitherto alwayes inured men from their infancy, partly with dayes of Feſtivall exerciſe, for the framing of the one affection, & partly with times of a contrary ſort, for the perefecting of the other. Howbeit over and beſides this, we muſt note, that as reſting, ſo faſting likewiſe attendeth ſometimes no leſſe upon the Actions of the higher, than upon the affections of the lower part of the minde. Faſting, ſaith *Tertullian*, is a work of reverence towards God. The end thereof ſometimes elevation of minde; ſometime the purpoſe thereof clean contrary. The cauſe why *Moſes* in the Mount did ſo long faſt, was meere divine ſpeculation: the cauſe why *David*, [a] humiliation. Our life is [b] a mixture of good with evill. When we are partakers of good things, we joy, neither can we but grieve at the contrary. If that befall us which maketh glad, our Feſtivall Solemnities declare our rejoycing to be in him whoſe meere undeſerved mercy is the Authour of all happineſſe; if any thing be either imminent or preſent which we ſhun, our Watchings, Faſtings, Cryes, and Teares, are unfained teſtimonies, that our ſelves we condemne as the only cauſes of our own miſery, and do all acknowledge him no leſſe inclinable than able to ſave. And becauſe as the memory of the one, though paſt, reneweth gladneſſe; ſo the other called again to minde, doth make the wound of our juſt remorſe to bleed anew, which wound needeth often touching the more, for that we are generally more apt to Kalender Saints then ſinners dayes, therefore there is in the Church a care not to iterate the one alone, but to have frequent repetition of the other. Never to ſeek after God, ſaving only when either the Crib or the Whip doth conſtraine, were brutiſh ſervility, and a great derogation to the worth of that which is moſt predominant in man, if ſometime it had not a kind of voluntary acceſſe to God, and of conference as it were with God, all theſe inferiour conſiderations laid aſide. In which ſequeſtration for as much as [c] higher cogitations do naturally drown and bury all inferiour cares, the minde may as well forget naturall both food and ſleep, by being carried above it ſelf with ſerious and heavenly Meditation, as by being caſt down with heavineſſe, drowned and ſwallowed up of ſorrow. Albeit therefore concerning Iewiſh Abſtinence from certain kinds of meats, as being unclean, the Apoſtle doth teach that [d] the Kingdome of Heaven is not meat nor drink, that food commendeth us not unto God, whether we take it, or abſtain from it, that if we eat, we are not thereby the more acceptable in his ſight, nor the leſſe if we eat not; his purpoſe notwithſtanding was farre from any intent to derogate from that Faſting, which is no ſuch ſcrupulous Abſtinence, as onely refuſeth ſome kindes of meats and drinks, leſt they make them unclean that taſte them, but

[a] *Tertul. de jejun. Neque enim cibi tempus in periculo: Semper inedia materia ſequela eſt.*

[b] Μηδὲς δ' ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀχράντον καὶ ἀμιγῆ λύπης χαρὰν ἀπ' οὐρανὸν καταβάντα ἐπὶ τὸν γῆν ἀλλ' ἐγκίρναται ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, οὐ γὰρ ἔφυσεν ὁ πατὴρ τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος λυπαῖς καὶ ἐδωδαῖς καὶ ἀγθεσιν ἀναγκαίοις ἐμφέρεσθαι, παρέμιξε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀμείνονος φύσεως, ἐνδιαίσαι ποτὲ καὶ γαλωνιάσαι τὸν ψυχὸν δίκαιον σας. Philo lib. de Abrah.

[c] *Iohn* 4.34.

[d] *Rom.* 14.17.

an

an Abſtinence whereby we either interrupt or otherwiſe abridge the care of our bodily ſuſtenance, to ſhew by this kinde of outward exerciſe, the ſerious intention of our minds, fixed on Heavenlier and better deſires, the earneſt hunger and thirſt whereof depriveth the body of thoſe uſuall contentments, which otherwiſe are not denied unto it. Theſe being in Nature the firſt cauſes that induce faſting, the next thing which followeth to be conſidered, is the ancient practice thereof amongſt the Iewes. Touching whoſe private voluntary Faſts, the Precept which our Saviour gave them, was, *When ye faſt, look not ſowre, as Hypocrites: For they diſfigure their faces, that they might ſeeme unto men to faſt: Verily I ſay unto you, they have their reward. When thou faſteſt, anoint thy head, and waſh thy face, that thou ſeeme not unto men to faſt, but unto thy Father which is in ſecret, and thy Father which ſeeth in ſecret, will reward thee openly.* Our Lord and Saviour would not teach the manner of doing, much leſſe propoſe a reward for doing that, which were not both holy and acceptable in Gods ſight. The Phariſees weekly bound themſelves unto double Faſts, neither are they for this reprooved. Often faſting, which was a vertue in *Iohns* Diſciples, could not in them of it ſelf be a vice, and therefore not the oftenneſſe of their faſting, but their hypocriſie therein was blamed. Of [a] publick injoyned Faſts, upon cauſes extraordinary, the examples of Scripture are ſo frequent, that they need no particular rehearſall. Publick extraordinary Faſtings were ſometimes for [b] one only day, ſometimes for [c] three, ſometimes for [d] ſeven. Touching Faſts not appointed for any ſuch extraordinary cauſes, but either yeerely, or monethly, or weekly obſerved and kept; firſt, upon the [e] ninth day of that moneth, the tenth whereof was the Feaſt of Expiation, they were commanded of God, that every ſoul, yeere by yeere, ſhould afflict it ſelf. Their yeerely Faſts every fourth moneth in regard of the City of Ieruſalem, entred by the Enemy; every fifth, for the memory of the overthrow of their Temple; every ſeventh, for the treacherous deſtruction and death of *Godolias*, the very laſt ſtay which they had, to lean unto in their greateſt miſery; every tenth, in remembrance of the time when ſiege began firſt to be laid againſt them; all theſe not commanded by God himſelfe, but ordained by a publick Conſtitution of their own; the Prophet [f] *Zachary* expreſly toucheth, That Saint *Ierome*, following the tradition of the Hebrewes, doth make the firſt, a memoriall of the breaking of thoſe two Tables, when *Moſes* deſcended from Mount Sinai; the ſecond a memoriall as well of Gods indignation, condemning them to forty yeares travell in the Deſart, as of his wrath in permitting Chaldeans to waſte, burn and deſtroy their City; the laſt, a memoriall of heavie tydings, brought out of Iury, to *Ezechiel* and the reſt, which lived as Captives in forraine parts, the difference is not of any moment, conſidering that each time of ſorrow is naturally evermore a Regiſter of all ſuch grievous events as have happned, either in, or neere about the ſame time. To theſe I might adde [g] ſundry other Faſts, above twenty in number, ordained amongſt them by like occaſions, and obſerved in like manner, beſides their weekly Abſtinence, Mundayes and Thurſdayes, throughout the whole yeere. When men faſted, it was not alwayes after one and the ſame ſort, but either by depriving themſelves wholly of all food, during the time that their Faſts

Mat.6.16.

a 2 *Chro.20. Ier.36. Ezra 8.*
b 1 *Sam.7. Iud.20.26.*
c 2 *Mac.13.12.*
d 1 *Sam.31.13. 1 Chron.10.12.*
e *Levit.23. Levit.16. Philo de hujus feſtis ſolennitate loquitur.* Οὐ σῖτον οὐ πόσιν ἐξεστι προσενίγκασθαι καθαρᾶς ὄντως διανοίαις μηδενὸς ἐνοχλοῦντος μηδὲ εἱμαρμένου ζῶντος σωματικῶν πάθους δ. ποῖα φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν ἐκπλησσομένης ἑορτάζουσιν ἱλασκόμενοι τὸν πατέρα τῶν πάντων ὁσίοις ἱκεσίαις δι' ἃν ἀμνησείαν μὲν παλαιῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, κτῆσιν δὲ ἢ ἀπόλαυσιν νέων ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίζουσιν ἀλίσκεσθαι. pag. 447.
f *Zach.8.18. Exod.32. Num.14.*
g *Vide Kiber. l.5.c.21.*

continued, or by abating both the quantity and kind of Diet. We have o the one a plain Example in the Ninivites Faſting, and as plain a preſident for the other in the Prophet *Daniel*, *I was* (ſaith he) *in heavineſſe for three weekes of dayes, I ate no pleaſant bread, neither taſted fleſh, nor wine.* Their tables, when they gave themſelves to faſting, had not that uſuall furniture of ſuch Diſhes as do cheriſh blood with blood, but [a] for food they had bread, for ſuppage, ſalt, and for ſawce, herbs. Whereunto the Apoſtle may be thought to allude, ſaying, *One beleeveth he may eat all things, another which is weak* (and maketh a conſcience of keeping thoſe cuſtomes which the Iewes obſerve) *eateth herbs*. This auſtere repaſt they took in the Evening, after abſtinence the whole day. For, to forfeit a noons Meale, and then to recompence themſelves at night, was not their uſe. Nor did they ever accuſtome themſelves on Sabbaths, or Feſtivall dayes to faſt. And yet it may be a queſtion whether in ſome ſort they did not alwayes faſt the Sabbath. Their Faſtings were partly in token of penitency, humiliation, grief and ſorrow, partly in ſigne of devotion and reverence towards God. Which ſecond conſideration (I dare not peremptorily and boldly affirme any thing) might induce to abſtain till noon, as their manner was on faſting dayes to do till night. May it not very well be thought that hereunto the ſacred [b] Scripture doth give ſome ſecret kinde of Teſtimony? *Ioſephus* is plain, that the ſixth houre (the day they divided into twelve) was wont on the Sabbath alwayes to call them home unto meat. Neither is it improbable but that the [c] Heathens did therfore ſo often upbraid them with Faſting on that day. Beſides, they which found ſo great fault with our Lords Diſciples, for rubbing a few eares of corne in their hands on the Sabbath Day, are not unlikely to have aimed alſo at the ſame mark. For neither was the bodily pain ſo great that it ſhould offend them in that reſpect, and the very manner of defence which our Saviour there uſeth, is more direct and literall to Iuſtifie the breach of the Iewiſh cuſtome in Faſting, than in working at that time. Finally, the Apoſtles afterwards themſelves when God firſt gave them the gift of Tongues, whereas ſome in diſdain and ſpight termed grace drunkenneſſe, it being then the day of Pentecoſt, and but only a fourth part of the day ſpent, they uſe this as an argument againſt the other cavill, *Theſe men*, ſaith *Peter*, *are not drunk as you ſuppoſe, ſince as yet the third houre of the day is not over-paſt*. Howbeit, leaving this in ſuſpence, as a thing not altogether certainly known, and to come from Iewes to Chriſtians, we finde that of private voluntary Faſtings the Apoſtle S. *Paul* ſpeaketh [d] more than once. And (ſaith *Tertullian*) they are ſometime commanded throughout the Church, *ex aliqua ſollicitudinis Eccleſiaſticæ cauſa*, the care and fear of the Church ſo requiring. It doth not appeare that the Apoſtles ordained any ſet and certain dayes to be generally kept of all. Notwithſtanding for as much as Chriſt hath fore-ſignified, that when himſelf ſhould be taken from them, his abſence would ſoon make them apt to faſt, it ſeemeth that even as the firſt Feſtivall Day appointed to be kept of the Church was the Day of our Lords return from the dead, ſo the firſt ſorrowfull and mourning day was that which we now obſerve in memory of his departure out of this World. And becauſe there could be no abatement of griefe, till they ſaw him raiſed whoſe death

was

Dan. 10. 23.

a *Puram & ſine animalibus cænam. Paul. in Aſclep. in fine Paſtum & potum pura noſſe non ventris ſcilicet ſed animæ cauſa. Tertul. de pœnit. vide Phil lib. de vita contempl. Rom. 14. 2. Hieron. lib. 2. cont. Iovinian. Iudith 8. 6. R. Moſ. in Miſne. Tora. lib. 3. qui eſt de tempor. cap. de Sab. & cap. de Ieiun.*

b *Neh. 8. 3. 12. Hora ſexta quæ Sabbatis noſtris ad prandium vocare ſolet ſupervenit. Ioſeph. lib. de vita ſua.*

c *Sabbata Iudæorum à Moſe in omne ævum jejunio dicata. Iuſtin. lib. 36. Ne Iudæus quidem mi Tiberi tam libenter Sabbati jejunium ſervat, quàm ego hodie ſervavi. Sueton. in Octav. cap. 76. Acts 2. 15.*

d *1 Cor. 7. 5. 2 Cor. 6. 5. 11. 27. Col. 4. 4.*

was the occaſion of their heavineſſe; therefore the day he lay in the Sepulcher hath been alſo kept and obſerved as a weeping day. The cuſtome of faſting theſe two dayes before Eaſter is undoubtedly moſt ancient, in ſo much that *Ignatius* not thinking him a Catholick Chriſtian man which did not abhorre (and as the ſtate of the Church was then) avoid faſting on the Iewes Sabbath, doth notwithſtanding except for ever that one Sabbath or Satterday which falleth out to be the Eaſter-eve, as with us it alwayes doth, and did ſometimes alſo with them which kept at that time their Eaſter the fourteenth day of March as the cuſtome of the Iewes was. It came afterward to be an order, that even as the day of Chriſts reſurrection, ſo the other two, in memory of his death and buriall, were weekly. But this when S. *Ambroſe* lived, had not as yet taken place throughout all Churches, no not in *Millan* where himſelf was Biſhop. And for that cauſe he ſaith, that although at *Rome* he obſerved the Satterdayes faſt, becauſe ſuch was then the cuſtome in *Rome*, nevertheleſſe in his own Church at home he did otherwiſe. The Churches which did not obſerve that day, had another inſtead thereof, which was the Wedneſday, for that when they judged it meet to have weekly a day of humiliation, beſides that whereon our Saviour ſuffered death, it ſeemed beſt to make their choice of that day eſpecially, whereon the Iewes are thought to have firſt contrived their treaſon together with *Iudas* againſt Chriſt. So that the inſtituting and ordaining both of theſe and of all other times of like exerciſe, is as the Church ſhall judge expedient for mens good. And concerning every Chriſtian mans duty herein, ſurely that which *Auguſtine* and *Ambroſe* are before alleaged to have done, is ſuch, as all men favouring equity muſt needs allow, and follow, if they affect peace. As for their ſpecified errours, I will not in this place diſpute, whether voluntary faſting with a vertuous purpoſe of minde, be any medicinable remedy of evill, or a duty acceptable unto God, and in the world to come even rewardable, as other offices are which proceed from Chriſtian piety; whether wilfully to break and diſpoſe the wholeſome Lawes of the Church herein, be a thing which offendeth God; whether truly it may not be ſaid that penitent both weeping and faſting, are means to blot out ſin, means whereby through Gods unſpeakable and undeſerved mercy we obtaine or procure to our ſelves pardon, which attainment unto any gracious benefit by him beſtowed, the Phraſe of antiquity uſeth to expreſſe by the name of merit; but if either Saint *Auguſtine* or Saint *Ambroſe* have taught any wrong opinion, ſeeing they which reproove them are not altogether free from errour, I hope they will think it no errour in us ſo to cenſure mens ſmaller faults, that their vertues be not thereby generally prejudiced. And if in Churches abroad, where we are not ſubject to power or juriſdiction, diſcretion ſhould teach us for peace and quietneſſe ſake to frame our ſelves to other mens example, is it meet that at home where our freedome is leſſe, our boldneſſe ſhould be more? Is it our duty to oppugne, in the Churches whereof we are Miniſters, the rites and cuſtomes, which in forraine Churches piety and modeſty did teach us as ſtrangers not to oppugne, but to keep without ſhew of contradiction or diſlike? Why oppoſe they the name of a Miniſter in this caſe unto the ſtate of a private man?

Ignat. Ep. ad Philip.

Doth

Doth their order exempt them from obedience to Lawes? That which their Office and place requireth, is to ſhew themſelves patterns of reverend ſubjection, not Authors and Maſters of contempt towards ordinances, the ſtrength whereof when they ſeek to weaken, they do but in truth diſcover to the world their own imbecillities, which a great deale wiſelier they might conceale. But the practice of the Church of Chriſt, we ſhall by ſo much the better both underſtand and love; if to that which hitherto hath been ſpoken, there be ſomewhat added for more particular declaration, how hereticks have partly abuſed Faſts, and partly bent themſelves againſt the lawfull uſe thereof in the Church of God. Whereas therefore *Ignatius* hath ſaid, If any keep Sundayes or Saturdayes Faſt (one only Saturday in the yeere excepted) that no man is better then a murtherer of Chriſt; the cauſe of ſuch his earneſtneſſe at that time was the impiety of certain hereticks, which thought a that this world being corruptible, could not be made but a very evill Author. And therefore as the Iewes did by the feſtivall ſolemnity of their Sabbath, rejoyce in the God that created the world, as in the Author of all goodneſſe: ſo thoſe hereticks in hatred of the Maker of the world, ſorrowed, wept, and faſted on that day, as being the birth-day of all evill. And as Chriſtian men of ſound beliefe, did ſolemnize the Sunday, in joyfull memory of Chriſts reſurrection, ſo likewiſe at the ſelf-ſame time ſuch hereticks as denied his reſurrection, did the contrary to them which held it; when the one ſort rejoyced, the other faſted. Againſt thoſe hereticks, which have urged perpetuall abſtinence from certain meats, as being in their very nature unclean, the Church hath ſtill bent her ſelf as an enemy; Saint *Paul* giving charge to take heed of them, which under any ſuch opinion, ſhould utterly forbid the uſe of meats or drinks. The Apoſtles themſelves forbad ſome, as the order taken at Ieruſalem declareth. But the cauſe of their ſo doing, we all know. Again, when *Tertullian*, together with ſuch as were his followers, began to Montanize, and pretending to perfect the ſeverity of Chriſtian Diſcipline, brought in ſundry unaccuſtomed dayes of faſting, continued their Faſts a great deale longer, and made them more rigorous then the uſe of the Church had been; the mindes of men being ſomewhat moved at ſo great, and ſo ſudden novelty, the cauſe was preſently inquired into. After notice taken how the Montaniſts held theſe additions to bee ſupplements of the Goſpell, whereunto the Spirit of Prophecie did now mean to put as it were the laſt hand, and was therefore newly deſcended upon *Montanus*, whoſe orders all Chriſtian men were no leſſe to obey, then the Lawes of the Apoſtles themſelves; this abſtinence the Church abhorred likewiſe, and that juſtly. Whereupon *Tertullian* proclaiming even open warre to the Church, maintained Montaniſme, wrote a Book in defence of the new Faſt, and intituled the ſame; A Treatiſe of Faſting, againſt the opinion of the carnall ſort. In which Treatiſe nevertheleſſe, becauſe ſo much is found and good, as doth either generally concern the uſe, or in particular declare the cuſtome of the Churches faſting in thoſe times, men are not to reject whatſoever is alledged out of that book, for confirmation of the truth. His errour diſcloſeth it ſelf in thoſe places, where he defendeth Faſts to be duties neceſſary for the whole Church of

a Εἰ τὶς κυριακὴν ἢ σάββατον νηστεύει πλὴν ἑνὸς σαββάτου, τοὺς χριστοκτόνους ἐσί. *Epiſt. ad Philip.*

a *Vide Irenæ. Li. c. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25. Epi. hæreſ. 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28. & 41, 42.*

Vide Canon Apoſt. 55.

of Chriſt to obſerve as commanded by the holy Ghoſt, and that with the ſame authority from whence all other Apoſtolicall ordinances came, both being the Lawes of God himſelf, with any other diſtinction or difference, ſaving only that he which before had declared his will by *Paul* and *Peter*, did now farther reveale the ſame by *Montanus* alſo. *Againſt us ye pretend*, ſaith *Tertullian*, *that the publick orders which Chriſtianity is bound to keep, were delivered at the firſt, & that no new thing is to be added thereunto. Stand if you can upon this point; For behold, I challenge for our faſting more than at Eaſter your ſelves. But in fine ye anſwer, that theſe things are to be done as eſtabliſhed by the voluntary appointment of men, and not by vertue or force of any divine commandement. Well then* (he addeth) *Ye have removed your firſt footing, and gone beyond that which was delivered, by doing more than was at the firſt impoſed upon you. You ſay, you muſt do that which your own judgements have allowed: we require your obedience to that which God himſelf doth inſtitute. Is it not ſtrange that men to their own will ſhould yeeld that which to Gods commandement they will not grant? Shall the pleaſure of men prevaile more with you than the power of God himſelf?* Theſe places of *Tertullian* for faſting have worthily been put to ſilence. And as worthily *Aerius* condemned for oppoſition againſt faſting. The one endeavoured to bring in ſuch faſts as the Church ought not to receive, the other to overthrow ſuch as already it had received and did obſerve; the one was plauſible unto many by ſeeming to hate carnall looſeneſſe and riotous exceſſe much more than the reſt of the world did, the other drew hearers, by pretending the maintenance of Chriſtian liberty; the one thought his cauſe very ſtrongly upheld by making invective declamations with a pale & a withered countenance againſt the Church, by filling the eares of his ſtarved hearers with ſpeech ſutable to ſuch mens humours, and by telling them no doubt to their marvellous contentment and liking, *Our new Propheſies are refuſed, they are deſpiſed. Is it becauſe* Montanus *doth preach ſome other god, or diſſolve the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, or overthrow any Canon of faith and hope? No our crime is, we teach that men ought to faſt more often than marry, the beſt feaſt maker is with them the perfecteſt Saint, they are aſſuredly meere Spirit, and therefore theſe our corporall devotions pleaſe them not:* thus the one for *Montanus* and his Superſtition. The other in a clean contrary tune againſt the Religion of the Church, *Theſe ſet-faſts away with them, for they are Iewiſh, and bring men under the yoke of ſervitude: if I will faſt let me chooſe my time that Chriſtian liberty be not abridged:* Hereupon their glory was to faſt eſpecially upon the Sunday, becauſe the order of the Church was on that day not to faſt. *On Church faſting-dayes, and eſpecially the week before Eaſter, when with us* (ſaith *Epiphanius*) *cuſtome admitteth nothing but lying down upon the earth, abſtinence from fleſhly delights and pleaſures, ſorrowfulneſſe, dry and unſavoury diet, prayer, watching, faſting, all the medicines which holy affections can miniſter, they are up betimes to take in of the ſtrongeſt for the belly, and when their veines are well ſwolne, they make themſelves mirth with laughter at this our ſervice, wherein we are perſwaded we pleaſe God.* By this of *Epiphanius* it doth appeare, not only what faſtings the Church of Chriſt in thoſe times uſed, but alſo what other parts of Diſcipline were together therewith in force, according to the ancient uſe and cuſtome of bringing all men

Epiph. Hær. 75.

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at certain times to a due consideration and an open humiliation of themselves. Two kinds there were of publick penitency, the one belonging to notorious offenders, whose open wickednesse had been scandalous; the other appertaining to the whole Church, and unto every severall person whom the same containeth. It will be answered, that touching this latter kind it may be exercised well enough by men in private. No doubt, but penitency is as Prayer, a thing acceptable unto God, be it in publick or in secret. Howbeit as in the one, if men were wholly left to their own voluntary Meditations in their Closets, and not drawn by Lawes and Orders unto the open Assemblies of the Church, that there they may joyn with others in Prayer, it may be soon conjectured, what Christian devotion that way would come unto in a short time: even so in the other, we are by sufficient experience taught, how little it booteth to tell men of washing away their sins with teares of Repentance, and so to leave them altogether unto themselvs. O Lord, what heaps of grievous transgressions have we committed, the best, the perfectest, the most righteous amongst us all, and yet clean passe thē over unsorrowed for, and unrepented of, only because the Church hath forgotten utterly how to bestow her wonted times of Discipline, wherin the publick example of al was unto every particular person, a most effectuall mean to put them often in mind, and even in a manner, to draw them to that which now we all quite and clean forget, as if penitency were no part of a Christian mans duty. Again, besides our private offences wch ought not thus loosely to be overslipt, suppose we the body and corporation of the Church so just, that at no time it needeth to shew it self openly cast down in regard of those faults & transgressions, which though they do not properly belong unto any one, had notwithstanding a speciall Sacrifice appointed for them in the Law of *Moses*, and being common to the whole society which containeth all, must needs so far concern every man in particular, as at sometime in solemne manner to require acknowledgement with more than daily & ordinary testifications of grief. There could not hereunto a fitter preamble be devised, then that memorable commination set down in the Book of Common Prayer, if our practice in the rest were suteable. The head already so well drawn, doth but wish a proportionable body. And by the Preface to that very part of the English Liturgy, it may appeare how at the first setting down thereof, no lesse was intended. For so we are to interpret the meaning of these words, wherein restitution of the Primitive Church discipline is greatly wished for, touching the manner of publick penance in time of Lent. Wherwith some being not much acquainted, but having framed in their minds the conceit of a new Discipline, far unlike to that of old, they make themselvs beleeve, it is undoubtedly this their Discipline, which at the first was so much desired. They have long pretended that the whole Scripture is plain for them. If now the Communion Book make for them too (I well think the one doth as much as the other) it may be hoped that being found such a wel-willer unto their cause, they will more favour it than they have done. Having therefore hitherto spoken, both of Festivall dayes, and so much of solemne Fasts, as may reasonably serve to shew the ground thereof in the Law of Nature, the practice partly appointed, and partly allowed

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of God in the Iewiſh Church, the like continued in the Church of Chriſt together with the ſiniſter oppoſitions, either of Hereticks erroniouſly abuſing the ſame, or of others thereat quarrelling without cauſe, we will only collect the chiefeſt points as well of reſemblance, as of difference betweene them, and ſo end. Firſt, in this they agree, that becauſe nature is the generall root of both, therefore both have been alwayes common to the Church with Infidels and Heathen men. Secondly, they alſo herein accord, that as oft as joy is the cauſe of the one, and grief the well-ſpring of the other, they are [a] incompatible. A third degree of affinity between them, is, that neither being acceptable to God it ſelf, but both tokens of that which is acceptable, their approbation with him muſt neceſſarily depend on that which they ought to import and ſignifie, ſo that if herein the minde diſpoſe not it ſelf aright, whether we [b] reſt or [c] faſt we offend. A fourth thing common unto them is, that the greateſt part of the world hath alwayes groſly and palpably offended in both; Infidels becauſe they did all in relation to falſe gods; godleſſe, ſenſuall, and careleſſe minds, for that there is in them no conſtant, true and ſincere affection towards thoſe things which are pretended by ſuch exerciſe; yea, certain flattering overſights they are, wherewith ſundry, and they not of the worſt ſort, may be eaſily in theſe caſes led awry, even through abundance of love and liking to that which muſt be imbraced by all meanes, but with caution, in as much as the very admiration of Saints, whether we celebrate their glory, or follow them in humility, whether we laugh or weep, mourn or rejoyce with them, is (as in all things the affection of love) apt to deceive, and doth therefore need the more to be directed by a watchfull guide, ſeeing there is manifeſtly both wayes, even in them whom we honour, that which we are to obſerve and ſhun. The beſt have not ſtill been ſufficiently mindfull, that Gods very Angels in Heaven are but Angels, and that bodily exerciſe conſidered [d] in it ſelf is no great matter. Finally, ſeeing that both are Ordinances well deviſed for the good of man, and yet not man created purpoſely for them, as for [e] other offices of vertue whereunto Gods immutable Law for ever tyeth, it is but equity to wiſh or admoniſh that, whereby uniforme order they are not as yet received, the example of [f] Victors extremity in the one, and of [g] *Iohns* Diſciples curioſity in the other be not followed; yea, where they are appointed by Law, that notwithſtanding [h] we avoide Iudaiſme, and as in Feſtivall dayes, mens neceſſities for matter of labour, ſo in times of Faſting, regard be had to their imbecillities, leſt they ſhould ſuffer harme, doing good. Thus therefore we ſee how theſe two cuſtomes are in divers reſpects equall. But of Faſting the uſe and exerciſe though leſſe pleaſant, is by ſo much more requiſite than the other, as grief of neceſſity is a more familiar gueſt then the contrary paſſion of mind, albeit gladneſſe to al men be naturally more welcome. For firſt, we our ſelves do many moe things amiſſe than well, and the fruit of our own ill doing is remorſe, becauſe nature is conſcious to it ſelf that it ſhold do the contrary. Again, for as much as the world over-aboundeth with malice, and few are delighted in doing good unto other men, there is no man ſo ſeldome croſt as pleaſured at the hands of others, wherupon it cannot be choſen, but every mans woes muſt double in that reſpect

a *Con. Lod. cap.* 51, 52. *vetat Natalitia martyrum in Quadrageſſima celebrari.*
b *Eſay* 1.13.
c *Eſay* 58.3.
d 1 *Tim.* 4.8.
e *Eccleſ.*12.13. *Eſay* 58.6,7. *Rom.*14.17. *Iac.*1.27. *Heb.*12.14. *Epheſ.*2.4.
f *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt.* l.c.5.c.23.
g *Matth.* 9.14.
h *Col.*2.16.

ſpect the number and meaſure of his delights. Beſides, concerning the very choice which often times we are to make, our corrupt inclination well conſidered, there is no cauſe why our Saviour ſhould account them happieſt that do moſt mourn, and why *Solomon* might judge it better to frequent mourning then feaſting-houſes, not better ſimply and in it ſelf (for then would Nature that way incline) but in regard of us and our common weakneſſe better. *Iob* was not ignorant that his Childrens Banquets, though tending to amity, needed Sacrifice. Neither doth any of us all need to be taught that in things which delight, we [a] eaſily ſwarve from mediocrity, and are not eaſily led by a right direct line. On the other ſide, the ſores and diſeaſes of mind which inordinate pleaſure breedeth, are by dolour and grief cured. For which cauſe as all offences uſe to ſeduce by pleaſing, ſo all puniſhments endeavour by vexing to reform tranſgreſſions. We are of our own accord apt enough to give entertainment to things delectable, but patiently to lack what fleſh and blood doth deſire, and by vertue to forbear what by nature we covet: this no man attaineth unto, but with labour and long practice. From hence it riſeth, that in former Ages, abſtinence and faſting more then ordinary, was alwayes a ſpeciall branch of their praiſe, in whom it could be obſerved and known, were they ſuch as continually gave themſelves to auſtere life, or men that took often occaſions in private vertuous reſpects to lay *Salomons* counſell aſide, [b] *Eat thy Bread with joy*, and to be followers of *Davids* example, which ſaith, [c] *I humbled my ſoul with faſting*; or but they who otherwiſe worthy of no great commendation, have made of hunger, ſome their gain, ſome their Phyſick, ſome their Art, that by maſtering ſenſuall appetites without conſtraint, they might grow able to indure hardneſſe whenſoever need ſhould require. For the body accuſtomed to emptineſſe, pineth not away ſo ſoon as having ſtil uſed to fill it ſelf. Many ſingular effects there are which ſhould make faſting even in publick conſiderations the rather to be accepted. For I preſume we are not altogether without experience how great their advantage is in martiall enterprizes, that lead Armies of men trained in a School of abſtinence. It is therfore noted at this day in ſome, that patience of hunger and thirſt hath given them many victories; in others, that becauſe if they want, there is no man able to rule them, nor they in plenty to moderate themſelves: he which can either bring them to hunger or overcharge them, is ſure to make them their own overthrow. What Nation ſo ever doth feel theſe dangerous inconveniencies, may know that ſloth and fulneſſe in peaceable times at home is the cauſe thereof, & the remedy a ſtrict obſervation of that part of Chriſtian Diſcipline, wch teacheth men in practice of ghoſtly warfare againſt themſelves, thoſe things that afterwards may help them, juſtly aſſaulting or ſtanding in lawful defence of themſelves againſt others. The very purpoſe of the Church of God, both in the number and in the order of her Faſts, hath been not only to preſerve thereby throughout all Ages, the remembrance of miſeries heretofore ſuſtained, and of the cauſes in our ſelves out of which they have riſen, that men conſidering the one might fear the other the more, but farther alſo to temper the minde, leſt contrary affections comming in place ſhould make it too profuſe and diſſolute, in which reſpect it ſeemeth

Matth. 5.4. *Eccleſ.* 7.4.

Iob 1.5.

a Ἐν παντὶ δὲ μᾶλλον φυλακτέον τὸ ἡδὺ γὰρ πρὸς τοῦτο συνεργοῦμεν ἑαυτοῖς κρίνομεν ἐν τοῖς ἡδέσι καὶ λυπηροῖς Arist. Eth. 2 cap. 3.

b *Eccleſ.* 9.7.

c *Pſal.* 35.13.

meth that Faſts have beene ſet as Vſhers of Feſtivall Dayes, for prevention of thoſe diſorders, as much as might bee; wherein, notwithſtanding the World alwayes will deſerve, as it hath done, blame, becauſe ſuch evils being not poſſible to be rooted out, the moſt we can doe, is in keeping them low; and (which is chiefly the fruit we looke for) to create in the minds of men a love towards frugall & ſevere life, to undermine the palaces of wantonneſſe, to plant Parſimonie as Nature, where Riotouſneſſe hath been ſtudie, to harden whom pleaſure would melt, and to helpe the rumours which alwayes fulneſſe breedeth, that Children as it were in the Wooll of their Infancie died with hardneſſe, may never afterwards change colour; that the poore, whoſe perpetuall Faſts are neceſſitie, may with better contentment endure the hunger, which Vertue cauſeth others ſo often to chooſe; and by advice of Religion it ſelfe ſo farre to eſteeme above the contrary; that they, which for the moſt part do lead ſenſuall and eaſie lives; they which; as the Prophet *David* deſcribeth them, are not plagued like other men, may by the publick ſpectacle of all be ſtill put in mind what themſelves are; finally, that every man may be every mans daily guide and example, as well by faſting to declare humilitie, as by praiſe to expreſſe joy in the ſight of God, although it have herein befalne the Church as ſometimes *David*, ſo that the ſpeech of the one may be truly the voyce of the other, *My ſoule faſted, and even that was alſo turned to my reproofe.*

a *Valde abſurdum eſt animam ſaturitate velle honorare martyrem quem ſciat Deo placuiſſe jejuniis*, Hieron. Epiſt. ad Euſtach.

Pſa. 73. 5.

Pſal. 69. 10.

73 In this world there can be no ſocietie durable, otherwiſe then onely by propagation. Albeit therefore ſingle Life bee a thing more Angelicall and Divine, yet ſith the repleniſhing firſt of Earth with bleſſed Inhabitants, and then of Heaven with Saints everlaſtingly prayſing God, did depend upon conjunction of Man and Woman, hee which made all things complete and perfect, ſaw it could not bee good to leave men without any Helper, unto the forealleaged end: In things which ſome farther end doth cauſe to be deſired, choice ſeeketh rather proportion then abſolute perfection of goodneſſe. So that woman being created for mans ſake to bee his Helper, in regard of the end before mentioned, namely the having and the bringing up of Children, wherunto it was not poſſible they could concurre, unleſſe there were ſubalternation betweene them, which ſubalternation is naturally grounded upon inequalitie, becauſe things equall in every reſpect are never willingly directed one by another, Woman therefore was even in her firſt eſtate framed by Nature, not onely after in time, but inferiour in excellencie alſo unto man, howbeit in ſo due and ſweet proportion, as being preſented before our eyes, might bee ſooner perceived then defined. And even herein doth lie the reaſon, why that kind of love, which is the perfecteſt ground of Wedlock, is ſeldome able to yeeld any reaſon of it ſelfe. Now, that which is borne of Man, muſt bee nouriſhed with farre more travell, as being of greater price in Nature, and of ſlower pace to perfection, then the Off-ſpring of any other Creature beſides. Man and Woman being therefore to joyne themſelves for ſuch a purpoſe, they were of neceſſitie to bee linked with ſome ſtraight and inſoluble knot. The bond of Wedlock hath beene alwayes more or leſſe eſteemed of, as a thing religious and ſacred. The title which the very Heathens themſelves doe thereunto oftentimes give, is b *Holy*. Thoſe Rites & Orders which were inſti-

The celebration of Matrimonie. *T. C. l. 1. p. 199.*

b τοῦ ἱεροῦ γάμου. Dionyſ. Halicar. antiq. l. 2.

tuted in the ſolemnization of Marriage, the Hebrews term by the name of conjugall [a] *ſanctification*. Amongſt our ſelves, becauſe ſundry things appertaining unto the publick order of Matrimonie, are called in queſtion, by ſuch as know not from whence thoſe Cuſtomes did firſt grow, to ſhew briefly ſome true and ſufficient reaſon of them ſhall not be ſuperfluous; although wee doe not hereby intend, to yeeld ſo farre unto Enemies of all Church Orders ſaving their own, as though every thing was unlawfull, the true cauſe and reaſon whereof at the firſt might hardly perhaps be now rendered. Wherefore, to begin with the times wherein the libertie of Marriage is reſtrained; *There is*, ſaith *Salomon*, *a time for all things*, a time to laugh, and a time to mourn. The duties belonging unto Marriage, and Offices pertaining to Penance, are things unſutable and unfit to be matched together, the Prophets and Apoſtles themſelves do witneſſe. Vpon which ground, as wee might right well thinke it marvellous abſurd to ſee in a Church a Wedding on the day of a publick Faſt, ſo likewiſe in the ſelfe-ſame conſideration, our Predeceſſors thought it not amiſſe to take away the common libertie of Marriages, during the time which was appointed for preparation unto, and for exerciſe of generall humiliation by faſting and praying, weeping for ſins. As for the delivering up of the woman, either by her Father or by ſome other, wee muſt note, that in ancient times, [b] all women which had not husbands nor fathers to governe them, had their Tutors, [c] without whoſe authority there was no act which they did, warrantable. And for this cauſe, they were in marriage delivered unto their husbands by others. Which cuſtome retained, hath ſtill this uſe, that it putteth women in mind of a duty, whereunto the very imbecillitie of their nature and ſex doth bind them, namely, to be alwayes directed, guided and ordered by others, although our Poſitive Lawes doe not tie them now as Pupils. The cuſtome of laying downe money, ſeemeth to have beene derived from the Saxons, whoſe manner was to buy their wives. But, ſeeing there is not any great cauſe, wherefore the memory of that cuſtome ſhould remaine, it ſkilleth not much, although we ſuffer it to lie dead, even as we ſee in a manner already worne out. The Ring hath been alwayes uſed as an eſpeciall pledge of faith and fidelitie. Nothing more fit to ſerve as a Token of our purpoſed endleſſe continuance in that which wee never thought to revoke. This is the cauſe wherefore the Heathens themſelves did in ſuch caſes uſe the Ring, whereunto *Tertullian* alluding, ſaith, that in ancient times; [d] *No woman was permitted to weare gold, ſaving onely upon one finger, which her husband had faſtned unto himſelfe, with that ring which was uſually given for aſſurance of future marriage*. The cauſe why the Chriſtians uſe it, as ſome of the Fathers think, is [e] either to teſtifie mutuall love, or rather to ſerve for a pledge of conjunction in heart and mind agreed upon betweene them. But what right and cuſtome is there ſo harmleſſe, wherein the wit of man bending it ſelfe to deriſion, may not eaſily find out ſomewhat to ſcorne and jeſt at? He that ſhould have beheld the Iewes when they ſhould with [f] a foure-cornered Garment, ſpred over the heads of eſpouſed couples, while their Eſpouſals were in making, hee that ſhould have beheld their [g] praying over a Cup, and their delivering the ſame at the Marriage Feaſt with ſet formes of Benediction, as the order amongſt them was, might being lewdly

a *Kidduſchin in Rituali Heb. de benedictione nuptiarum.*

Eccleſ. 3. 1. *Ioel* 2. 16. 1. *Cor.* 7. 5.

b *Mulieres antiquo jure tutela perpetua continebat. Recedebant verò à tutoris poteſtate, quæ in manum conveniſſent.* Boet. in Topic. Cic.

c *Nullam ne privatam quidem rem fœminas ſine auctore agere majores noſtri voluerunt.* Liv. lib. 44. The reaſon yeelded by *Tully*, this, *Propter infirmitatem conſilii.* Cic. pro Mur. Vide leges Saxon. tit. 6. & 17.

d *Aurum nulla norat præter unico digito quem ſponſus oppignoraſſet pronubo annulo.* Tertul. Apologet. c. 6.

e *Iſidor. de Eccleſ. Offic. lib. 2. cap. 19.*

f *Elias Thesb. in dict. Hhupha.*

g *In Ritual. de benedict. nuptiarum.*

lewdly affected, take thereat as juſt occaſion of ſcornfull cavil, as at the uſe of the Ring in Wedlock amongſt Chriſtians. But of all things the moſt hardly taken, is the uttering of thoſe words, *with my body I thee worſhip*, in which words when once they are underſtood, there will appeare as little cauſe as in the reſt, for any Wiſeman to be offended. Firſt therefore in as much as unlawfull copulation doth pollute and [a] diſhonour both parties, this proteſtation that we do worſhip and honour another with our bodies, may import a deniall of all ſuch lets and impediments to our knowledge, as might cauſe any ſtain, blemiſh, or diſgrace that way, which kind of conſtruction being probable, would eaſily approve that ſpeech to a peaceable and quiet mind. Secondly, in that the Apoſtle doth ſo expreſly affirme, that parties unmarried have not any longer entire power over themſelves, but each hath intereſt in others perſon, it cannot be thought an abſurd conſtruction to ſay, that worſhipping with the body, is the imparting of that intereſt in the body unto another, which none before had, ſave only our ſelves. But if this were the natural meaning, the words ſhould perhaps be as requiſite to be uſed on the one ſide as on the other, and therefore a third ſenſe there is which I rather relie upon. Apparent it is, that the ancient difference between a lawfull Wife and a Concubine was only [b] in the different purpoſe of man betaking himſelf to the one or the other. If his purpoſe were only fellowſhip, there grew to the Woman by this mean no worſhip at all, but the contrary. In profeſſing that his intent was to adde by his perſon, honour & worſhip unto hers, he took her plainly and cleerly to Wife. This is it which the Civill Law doth mean, when it maketh a Wife to differ from a Concubine in [c] dignity; a Wife to be taken where [d] Conjugall honour and affection do go before. The worſhip that grew unto her being taken with declaration of this intent, was that her Children became by this mean legitimate and free; her ſelf was made a Mother over his Family; laſt of all, ſhe received ſuch advancement of ſtate, as things annexed unto his perſon might augment her with, yea, a right of participation was thereby given her both in him, and even in all things which were his. This doth ſomewhat the more plainly appeare, by adding alſo that other clauſe, *with all my worldly goods I thee endow*. The former branch having granted the principall, the later granted that which is annexed thereunto. To end the publick Solemnity of Marriage, with receiving the bleſſed Sacrament, is a cuſtome ſo Religious and ſo Holy, that if the Church of *England* be blameable in this reſpect, it is not for ſuffering it to be ſo much, but rather for not providing that it may be more put in ure. The Lawes of *Romulus* concerning Marriage are therefore extolled above the reſt amongſt the Heathens [e] which were before, in that they eſtabliſhed the uſe of certain ſpeciall Solemnities, whereby the mindes of men were drawn to make the greater conſcience of wedlock, and to eſteeme the bond thereof, a thing which could not bee without impiety diſſolved. If there be any thing in Chriſtian Religion ſtrong and effectuall to like purpoſe, it is the Sacrament of the holy Euchariſt, in regard of the force whereof *Tertullian* breaketh out into theſe words, concerning Matrimony there-

a *Rom.* 4.24. 1 *Cor* 7.4.

b *L. penul. D. de concub.*

c *L. item legato §. penult. D de legat. 3.*

d *L. donationes D. de donationibus.*

e Οὗτος ὁ νόμος τὰς τε γυναῖκας ἀνάγκασε τοῖς γαμεταῖς δίκαιον ἐπιθεῖναι μίαν· ἐχόντας ἐτέρᾳ ἀποστρέφειν οὐκ ἐξῆν τὸν τοῦ γαμικοῦ ζεῦγος τρόπον, ᾧ τοὺς ἄνδρας τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τὴν ἀναφαίρετον χρῆσθαι τῶν γυναικῶν χρημάτων. Dion. Hal. Antiq. lib. 2.

with ſealed; *Vnde ſufficiam ad enarrandam felicitatem ejus Matrimonii quod Eccleſia conciliat & confirmat oblatio? I know not which way I ſhould be able to ſhew the happineſſe of that Wedlock, the knot whereof the Church doth faſten, and the Sacrament of the Church confirme.* Touching Marriage therfore, let thus much be ſufficient.

Churching of Women. T. C. l. 1. p. 150.

74 The fruit of Marriage is birth, and the companion of birth travaile, the griefe whereof being ſo extreme, and the danger alwayes ſo great, dare we open our mouthes againſt the things that are holy, and preſume to cenſure it, as a fault in the Church of Chriſt, that women after their deliverance do publikely ſhew their thankfull mindes unto God? But behold what reaſon there is againſt it: Forſooth, *if there ſhould be ſolemne and expreſſe giving of thankes in the Church for every benefit, either equall, or greater then this which any ſingular perſon in the Church doth receive, wee ſhould not only have no preaching of the Word, nor miniſtring of the Sacraments, but we ſhould not have ſo much leiſure as to doe any corporall or bodily worke, but ſhould be like thoſe Maßilian Heretikes which do nothing elſe but pray.* Surely better a great deale to be like unto thoſe Heretikes which do nothing elſe but pray, then thoſe which doe nothing elſe but quarrell. Their heads it might happily trouble ſomwhat more then as yet they are aware of, to find out ſo many benefits greater then this, or equivalent thereunto, for which if ſo be our Lawes did require ſolemne and expreſſe thankſgiving in the Church, the ſame were like to proove a thing ſo greatly cumberſome as is pretended. But if there bee ſuch ſtore of mercies even ineſtimable powred every day upon thouſands (as indeed the earth is full of the bleſſings of the Lord which are day by day renewed without number and above meaſure) ſhall it not be lawfull to cauſe ſolemne thankes to be given unto God for any benefit, then which greater or whereunto equall are received, no Law binding men in regard thereof to performe the like dutie? Suppoſe that ſome bond there be that tieth us at certain times to mention publikely the names of ſundry our Benefactors. Some of them it may be are ſuch, that a day would ſcarcely ſerve to reckon up together with them the Catalogue of ſo many men beſides, as we are either more or equally beholden unto. Becauſe no Law requireth this impoſſible labour at our hands, ſhall we therefore condemne that Law whereby the other being poſſible & alſo dutifull is injoyned us? So much we owe to the Lord of Heaven, that we can never ſufficiently praiſe him nor give him thankes for halfe thoſe benefits for which this Sacrifice were moſt due. Howbeit, God forbid wee ſhould ceaſe performing this duty, when publike Order doth draw us unto it, when it may bee ſo eaſily done, when it hath beene ſo long executed by devout and vertuous people; God forbid, that being ſo many wayes provoked in this caſe unto ſo good a dutie, wee ſhould omit it, onely becauſe there are other caſes of like nature, wherein wee cannot ſo conveniently, or at leaſt wiſe doe not performe the ſame moſt vertuous Office of Pietie. Wherein wee truſt that as the action it ſelfe pleaſeth God, ſo the order and manner thereof is not ſuch as may juſtly offend any. It is but an over-flowing of Gall, which cauſeth the Womans abſence from the Church, during the time of her lying in, to be traduced and interpreted as though ſhee were ſo long judged *unholy*, and were thereby ſhut out

out or ſequeſtred from the Houſe of God, according to the ancient Leviticall Law. Whereas the very Canon Law it ſelfe doth not ſo hold, but directly [a] profeſſeth the contrary, ſhee is not barred from thence in ſuch ſort as they interpret it, nor in reſpect of any vnholineſſe, forbidden entrance into the Church, although her abſtayning from publick Aſſemblies, and her abode in ſeparation for the time be [b] moſt convenient. To ſcoffe at the manner of attire, than which there could bee nothing deviſed for ſuch a time more grave and decent, to make it a token of ſome folly committed, for which they are loth to ſhew their faces, argueth that great Divines are ſomtime more mercifull then wiſe. As for the Women themſelves, God accepting the ſervice which they faithfully offer unto him, it is no great diſgrace though they ſuffer pleaſant witted men, a little to intermingle with zeale ſcorne. The name of *Oblations* applied not onely heere to thoſe ſmall and petite payments which yet are a part of the Miniſters right, but alſo generally given unto all ſuch allowances as ſerve for their needfull maintenance, is both ancient and convenient. For as the life of the Clergie is ſpent in the Service of God, ſo it is ſuſtained with his revenue. Nothing therfore more proper then to give the name of Oblations to ſuch payments, in token that we offer unto him whatſoever his Miniſters receive.

a *Dist. 5. c. Hæc quæ in lege præcipiebatur ut mulier ſi maſculum pareret. 40. ſi fœminam 80. diebus à templi ceſſaret ingreſſu. Nunc autem ſtatim poſt partum Eccleſiam ingredi non prohibetur.* b Leo Conſt. 17. *Quod profectò non tam propter mulierem immunditiem, quam ob alias cauſas in intima legis ratione reconditas, & veteri prohibitum eſſe lege et gratiæ tempus traditionis loco ſuſceptiſſe puto. Exiſtimo ſiquidem ſacram legem id præſcripſiſſe, quo proterva eorum qui intemperanter viverent concupiſcentiam caſtigaret, quemadmodum, et alia multa per alia præcepta dimantur et præſcribuntur, quo indomitus quorundam in mulieres ſtimulus retundatur. Quin et hæc providentiæ quæ legem conſtituit voluntas eſt ut partus à depravatione liberi ſint. Quia enim quicquid natura ſupervacaneum eſt idem corruptivum eſt et inutile, quod hic ſanguis ſuperfluus ſit, quæ illi obnoxia eſſent in immunditie, ad id temporis vivere illa lex jubet, quo ipſo etiam nominis ſono laſcivi concupiſcentia ad temperantiam retigatur, ne ex inutili, et corrupta materia ipſum animans coagmentetur.*

75 But to leave this, there is a duty which the Church doth owe to the faithfull departed, wherein for as much as the Church of England is ſaid to do thoſe things which are, though *not unlawfull*, yet *inconvenient*, becauſe it appointeth a preſcript forme of Service at Burials, ſuffereth mourning Apparell to be worne, and permitteth Funerall Sermons, a word or two concerning this point will be neceſſary, although it be needleſſe to dwell long upon it. The end of Funerall Duties is, firſt, to ſhew that love towards the partie deceaſed which Nature requireth; then to do him that honor which is fit both generally for man, and particularly for the qualitie of his perſon; laſt of all, to teſtifie the care which the Church hath to comfort the living, and the hope which we all have concerning the Reſurrection of the dead. For ſignification of love towards them that are departed, mourning is not denied to bee a thing convenient. As in truth the Scripture everywhere doth approove lamentation made unto this end. The Iewes by our Saviours teares therefore, gathered in this caſe that his love towards *Lazarus* was great. And that as mourning at ſuch times is fit, ſo likewiſe that there may bee a kind of Attire ſutable to a ſorrowfull affection, and convenient for Mourners to weare, how plainly doth *Davids* example ſhew, who being in heavineſſe went up to the Mount with his head covered, and all the people that were with him in like ſort? white garments being fit to uſe at Mariage-feaſts, & ſuch other times of joy; whereunto *Salomon* alluding, when hee requireth continuall cheerefulneſſe of mind,

Of the Rites of Buriall. *T. C. l. 3. p. 236.*

Iohn 11. 35.

2 Sam. 15. 30.

Eccleſ. 9. 8.

mind, speaketh in this sort, *Let thy garments be alwayes white*: what doth hinder the contrary from being now as convenient in griefe, as this heretofore in gladnes hath bin? *If there be no sorrow*, they say, *it is hypocriticall to pretend it, & if there be, to provoke it* by wearing such attire, is *dangerous*. Nay, if there be, to shew it is naturall, and if there be not, yet the signes are meet to shew what should be, especially, sith it doth not come oftentimes to passe, that men are faine to have their mourning Gowns puld off their backs, for feare of killing themselves with sorrow that way nourished. The honour generally due unto all men, maketh a decent interring of them to be convenient even for very humanities sake. And therefore so much as is mentioned in the Buriall of the Widowes Son, the carrying of him forth upon a Beere, and the accompanying of him to the earth, hath beene used even amongst Infidels, all men accounting it a very extreme destitution, not to have at the least this honor done them. Some mans estate may require a great deale more, according as the fashion of the country where he dieth doth afford. And unto this appertained the ancient use of the Iewes, to embalme the Corpes with sweet Odours, and to adorne the Sepulchers of certaine. In regard of the qualitie of men, it hath beene judged fit to commend them unto the World at their death, amongst the Heathen in Funerall Orations, amongst the Iews in sacred poemes; and why not in Funerall Sermons also amongst Christians? Vs it sufficeth that the knowne benefit hereof doth countervaile Millions of such inconveniences as are therein surmised, although they were not surmised only but found therein. The life & the death of saints is precious in Gods sight. Let it not seeme odious in our eyes, if both the one and the other be spoken of, then especially, when the present occasion doth make mens mindes the more capable of such speech. The care no doubt of living, both to live & to dye well must needs be somwhat increased, when they know that their departure shall not bee folded up in silence, but the eares of many bee made acquainted with it. Moreover when they heare how mercifully God hath dealt with their Brethren in their last need, besides the praise which they give to God, & the joy which they have or should have by reason of their fellowship and Communion with Saints, is not their hope also much confirmed against the day of their owne dissolution? Againe, the sound of these things doth not so passe the eares of them that are most loose and dissolute in life, but it causeth them one time or other to wish, O that I might die the death of the Righteous, and that my end might be like his! Thus much peculiar good there doth grow at those times by speech concerning the dead, besides the benefit of publike instruction common unto Funerall with other Sermons. For the comfort of them whose minds are through naturall affection pensive in such cases, no man can justly mislike the custome which the Iewes had to end their Burials with Funerall Banquets, in reference whereunto the Prophet *Jeremie* spake, concerning the people which God had appointed unto a grievous manner of destruction, saying, that men should not *give them the Cup of consolation to drinke for their Father or for their Mother*; because it should not bee now with them as in peaceable times with others, who bringing their Ancestors unto the Grave with weeping eyes, have

Luke 7.12.

Psal. 79.3. *Ioh.* 19.40. *Mat.* 23.27.

2 *Sam.* 1.19.

Ierem. 16.7.

have notwithſtanding meanes wherewith to bee recomforted. *Give wine,* Prov. 31.6.
ſaith *Salomon, unto them that have griefe of heart.* Surely, he that miniſtreth
unto them [a] comfortable ſpeech, doth much more then give them wine. a 1. Chron. 9.2.
But the greateſt thing of all other about this dutie of Chriſtian buriall, is Iob 2.11.
an outward teſtification of the hope which wee have touching the Reſur-
rection of the dead. For which purpoſe let any man of reaſonable judge-
ment examine, whether it be more convenient for a company of men, as it
were in a dumbe ſhow, to bring a Corſe to the place of buriall, there to
leave it covered with earth, and ſo end, or elſe to have the Exequies de-
voutly performed with ſolemne recitall of ſuch Lectures, Pſalmes and Pray-
ers, as are purpoſely framed for the ſtirring up of mens minds unto a care-
full conſideration of their eſtate, both here and hereafter. Whereas there-
fore it is objected, that neither the people of God under the Law, nor the
Church in the Apoſtles times did uſe any forme of ſervice, in buriall of
their dead, and therefore that this order is taken up without any good ex-
ample or precedent followed therein; firſt, while the world doth ſtand,
they ſhall never be able to proove, that all things which either the one or
the other did uſe at Burials, are ſet down in holy Scripture, which doth not
any-where of purpoſe deliver the whole manner and forme thereof, but
toucheth onely ſometime one thing, and ſometime another which was in
uſe, as ſpeciall occaſions require any of them to be either mentioned or in-
ſinuated. Againe, if it might bee prooved that no ſuch thing was uſuall a-
mongſt them, hath Chriſt ſo deprived his Church of judgement, that what
Rites and Orders ſoever the latter Ages thereof have deviſed, the ſame muſt
needs be inconvenient? Furthermore, that the Iewes before our Saviours
comming had any ſuch forme of ſervice, although in Scripture it bee not
affirmed, yet neither is it there denied (for the forbidding of Prieſts to bee
preſent at burials, letteth not but that others might diſcharge that dutie,
ſeeing all were not Prieſts which had roomes of publick Function in their
Synagogues) and if any man be of opinion, that they had no ſuch forme of
ſervice, thus much there is to make the contrary more probable. The Iewes
at this day have, as appeareth in their forme of Funerall Prayers, and in cer-
taine of their Funerall Sermons publiſhed, neither are they ſo affected to-
wards Chriſtians, as to borrow that order from us, beſides, that the forme
thereof is ſuch as hath in it ſundry things, which the very words of the
Scripture it ſelfe doe ſeeme to allude unto, as namely, after departure from
the Sepulcher unto the houſe whence the dead was brought, it ſheweth the
manner of their buriall Feaſt, and a conſolatorie forme of prayer, appoin-
ted for the Maſter of the Synagogue thereat to utter, albeit I may not de-
ny, but it hath alſo ſome things which are not perhaps ſo ancient as the
Law and the Prophets. But whatſoever the Iewes cuſtome was before the
dayes of our Saviour Chriſt, hath it once at any time been heard of, that ei-
ther Church or Chriſtian man of ſound beliefe did ever judge this a thing
vnmeet, undecent, unfit for Chriſtianitie, till theſe miſerable dayes, where-
in under the colour of removving ſuperſtitious abuſes, the moſt effectuall
meanes, both to teſtifie and to ſtrengthen true Religion, are plucked ar,
and in ſome places even pulled up by the very roots? Take away this
which was ordained to ſhew at burials, the peculiar hope of the Church

of

of God concerning the dead, and in the manner of thoſe dumbe funerals, what one thing is there whereby the World may perceive we are Chriſtian men?

Of the nature of that miniſteric, which ſerveth for performance of divine duties in the Church of God, and how happineſſe not eternall onely, but alſo temporal, doth depend upon it.

76 I come now unto that function which under-taketh the publick miniſtery of holy things, according to the Lawes of Chriſtian Religion. And becauſe the nature of things conſiſting, as this doth in action, is known by the object whereabout they are converſant, and by the end or ſcope whereunto they are referred, wee muſt know that the object of this function is both God and men; God, in that he is publickly worſhipped of his Church, & Men, in that they are capable of happines, by means which Chriſtian Diſcipline appointeth. So that the ſumme of our whole labour in this kind, is to honour God, and to ſave men. For whether we ſeverally take, and conſider men one by one, or elſe gather them into one ſocietie and body, as it hath bin before declared, that every mans Religion is in him the Well-ſpring of all other ſound and ſincere vertues, from whence both here in ſome ſort, and hereafter more abundantly, their full joy and felicitie ariſeth, becauſe while they live, they are bleſſed of God, and when they die, their workes follow them: ſo at this preſent we muſt againe call to mind how the very worldly peace and proſperitie, the ſecular happines, the temporall & naturall good eſtate both of all Men, & of all dominions, hangeth chiefly upon Religion, and doth evermore give plaine teſtimonie, that as well in this as in other conſiderations the Prieſt is a pillar of that Common-wealth, wherein he faithfully ſerveth God. For if theſe Aſſertions be true, firſt, that nothing can be injoyed in this preſent world, againſt his will which hath made all things: ſecondly, that albeit God doth ſometime permit the impious to *have*, yet impietie permitteth them not to *injoy*, no not temporall bleſſings on earth; thirdly, that God hath appointed thoſe bleſſings to attend as hand-maids upon Religion: and fourthly, that without the worke of the miniſterie, Religion by no meanes can poſſibly continue, the uſe and benefit of that ſacred Function, even towards all mens worldly happineſſe muſt needs be granted. Now the [a] firſt being a Theoreme both underſtood and confeſt of all, to labour in proofe thereof were ſuperfluous. The ſecond perhaps may bee called in queſtion, except it bee perfectly underſtood. By good things temporall therefore wee meane length of dayes, health of body, ſtore of friends and well-willers, quietneſſe, proſperous ſucceſſe of thoſe things wee take in hand; riches with fit opportunities to uſe them during life, reputation following us both alive and dead, children or ſuch as in ſtead of children, we wiſh to leave Succeſſors and partakers of our happineſſe. Theſe things are naturally every mans deſire, becauſe they are good. And on whom God beſtoweth the ſame, them wee confeſſe hee graciouſly bleſſeth. Of earthly bleſſings the meaneſt is wealth, reputation the chiefeſt. For which cauſe we eſteeme the gaine of honour an ample recompence for the loſſe of all other worldly benefits. But for as much as in all this there is no certaine perpetuitie of goodneſſe, nature hath taught to affect theſe things, not for their owne ſake, but with reference and relation to ſomewhat independantly good, as is the exerciſe of vertue and ſpeculation of truth.

[a] *Si creaturæ Dei, merito & diſpenſatio Dei ſumus: Qui enim magis diligit, quam ille qui fecit? Quis autem ordinatius regit, quàm is qui & fecit & diligit? Quis verò ſapientius, et fortius ordinare et regere falſa poteſt, quam qui et facienda providit, et proviſa perfecit? Quapropter omnem poteſtatem à Deo eſſe omnemque ordinationem, et qui non legerunt ſentiunt, et qui legerunt cognoſcunt:* Paul. Oroſ. H. ſt adver. Pagan. lib. 2. Οὗτοι τὰ χρήματ' ἄδια κέκτηται βρότοι τὰ τῶν θεῶν δ' ἔχοντες ἐπιλελήμεθα, Eurip. Phœniſſ.

truth. None, whoſe deſires are rightly ordered, would wiſh to live to breathe and moove, without performance of thoſe actions which are beſeeming mans excellencie. Wherefore having not how to imploy it, wee wax wearie even of life it ſelfe. Health is precious, becauſe ſickneſſe doth breed that paine which diſableth action. Againe, why doe men delight ſo much in the multitude of friends, but for that the actions of life being many, doe need many helping hands to further them? Between troubleſom and quiet dayes wee would make no difference, if the one did not hinder and interrupt, the other uphold our libertie of action. Furthermore, if thoſe things we doe, ſucceed, it rejoyceth us not ſo much for the benefit wee thereby reape, as in that[a] it probably argueth our actions to have beene orderly and well guided. As for riches, to him which hath and doth nothing with them, they are a contumely. Honour is commonly preſumed a ſigne of more then ordinarie vertue and merit, by meanes whereof when ambitious minds thirſt after it, their indeavours are teſtimonies how much it is in the eye of nature to poſſeſſe that body, the very ſhadow whereof is ſet at ſo high a rate. Finally, ſuch is the pleaſure and comfort which we take in doing, that when life forſaketh us, ſtill our deſires to continue action, and to work though not by our ſelves, yet by them whom wee leave behind us, cauſeth us providently to reſigne into other mens hands, the helps we have gathered for that purpoſe, deviſing alſo the beſt wee can to make them perpetuall. It appeareth therefore, how all the parts of temporall felicitie are onely good in relation to that which uſeth them as inſtruments, and that they are no ſuch good as wherein a right deſire doth ever ſtay or reſt it ſelfe. Now temporall bleſſings are injoyed of thoſe which have them, know them, *eſteeme them according to that they are in their own nature.* Wherefore of the wicked whom God doth hate, his uſuall and ordinarie ſpeeches are, That bloud-thirſtie and deceitfull men ſhall not live out halfe their dayes; that God ſhall cauſe a peſtilence to cleave unto the wicked, and ſhall ſtrike them with conſuming grieſe, with feavers, burning diſeaſes and ſores which are paſt cure; that when the impious are fallen, all men ſhall tread them downe, and none ſhew countenance of love towards them, as much as by pittying them in their miſery; that the ſinnes of the ungodly ſhall bereave them of peace; that all counſels, complots, and practices againſt God ſhall come to nothing; that the lot and inheritance of the unjuſt is beggery; that the name of unrighteous perſons ſhall putrifie, and the poſteritie of Robbers ſtarve. If any thinke that Iniquitie and Peace, Sinne and Proſperitie can dwell together, they erre, becauſe they diſtinguiſh not aright betweene the matter, and that which giveth it the forme of happineſſe, between poſſeſſion and fruition, between the having and the injoying of good things. The impious cannot injoy that they have, partly becauſe they receive it not as at Gods hands, which only conſideration maketh temporall bleſſings comfortable, and partly becauſe through errour, placing it above things of farre more price and worth, they turne that to poyſon which might be food, they make their proſperitie their own ſnare, in the neſt of their higheſt growth they lay fooliſhly thoſe Egges, out of which their wofull over-throw is afterwards hatcht. Hereby it commeth to paſſe, that wiſe and judicious men obſerving the vaine behaviours

[a] Σεμνύθα γὰρ τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα πάντ' ἐπίσασθαι καλῶς. Eurip Heracl.

Pſal. 55. 23.

Deut. 28. 22.

Prov. 10.

behaviours of ſuch as are riſen to unwonted greatneſſe, have thereby been able to prognoſticate their ruine. So that in very truth no impious or wicked man doth proſper on earth, but either ſooner or later the world may perceive eaſily, how at ſuch time as others thought them moſt fortunate, they had but only the good eſtate which fat Oxen have above lean, when they appeared to grow, their climing was towards ruine. The groſſe and beſtiall conceit of them which want underſtanding, is only, that the fulleſt bellies are happieſt. Therefore the greateſt felicity they wiſh to the Common-wealth wherein they live, is that it may but abound & ſtand, that they which are riotous may have to powre out without ſtint; that the poore may ſleep and the rich feed them, that nothing unpleaſant may be commanded, nothing forbidden men which themſelves have a luſt to follow, that Kings may provide for the eaſe of their ſubjects, and not be too curious about their manners, that wantonneſſe, exceſſe, and lewdneſſe of life may be left freet, and that no fault may be capitall, beſides diſlike of things ſetled in ſo good termes. But be it farre from the juſt to dwell either in or neer to the Tents of theſe ſo miſerable felicities. Now whereas we thirdly affirme, that Religion and the feare of God, as well induceth ſecular proſperity as everlaſting bliſſe in the world to come, this alſo is true. For otherwiſe godlineſſe could not be ſaid to have the promiſes of both lives, to be that ample revenew, wherein there is alwayes ſufficiency, and to carry with it a generall diſcharge of want, even ſo generall, that *David* himſelf ſhould proteſt, he never ſaw the juſt forſaken. Howbeit to this we muſt adde certain ſpeciall limitations, as firſt, that we do not forget how crazed and diſeaſed minds (whereof our heavenly Phyſician muſt judge) receive oftentimes moſt benefit by being deprived of thoſe things which are to others beneficially given; as appeareth in that which the Wiſe-man hath noted concerning them, whoſe lives God mercifully doth abridge, leſt wickedneſſe ſhould alter their underſtanding; again, that the meaſure of our outward proſperity be taken by proportion with that, which every mans eſtate in this preſent life requireth. Externall abilities are inſtruments of action. It contenteth wiſe Artificers to have their inſtruments proportionable to their work, rather fit for uſe than huge and goodly to pleaſe the eye. Seeing then the actions of a ſervant do not need that which may be neceſſary for men of calling and place in the world, neither men of inferiour condition many things which greater perſonages can hardly want, ſurely they are bleſſed in worldly reſpects, that have wherewith to performe ſufficiently what their ſtation and place asketh, though they have no more. For by reaſon of mans imbecillity & pronenes to elation of mind, [b] too high a flow of proſperity is dangerous, too low an ebbe again as dangerous; for that the vertue of patience is rare, and the hand of neceſſity ſtronger, than ordinary vertue is able to withſtand, *Salomons* diſcreet & moderate deſire we al know: *Give me, O Lord, neither riches nor penury*. Men over-high exalted either in honor, or in power, or in nobility, or in wealth; they likewiſe that are as much on the contrary hand ſunk either with beggery, or through dejection, or by baſeneſſe, do not eaſily give care to reaſon, but the one exceeding apt unto outrages, & the other to petty miſchiefs. For greatnes delighteth to ſhew it ſelf by effects of power, and baſeneſſe

Prov.16.18. Ante ruinam elatio.

φιλεῖ ὁ θεὸς πάλλα τὰ ὑπερέχοντα κωλύειν. ἐ γὰρ ἐᾶ φρονέειν ἄλλον μέγα ἢ ἑωυτόν. Herodot.lib.7.

b Ἐπεὶ τάχ' ἀρχῆθ' ἱκανὰ τοῖς γὲ σώφροσιν. Eurip. Phœniſ.

b ταπεινότερον ὁ λογισμὸς ἴσως, ἀλλ' ἧν ἀσπαλεστέρων, ἴσον ἀνέχειν χεῖρας χειμάτος. Greg. Naz. *Apolog.*3. They may ſeeme haply the moſt deject, but they are the wiſeſt for their own ſafety, which feare clyming no leſſe than falling.

c *Ariſt. Polit. lib.*4.*cap.*11.

baſeneſſe to help it ſelfe with ſhifts of malice. For which cauſe, a moderate, indifferent temper, between fulneſſe of bread, and emptineſſe hath bin evermore thought and found (all circumſtances duly conſidered) the ſafeſt and happieſt for all Eſtates, even for King and Princes themſelves. Againe, wee are not to look, that theſe things ſhould alwayes concurre, no not in them which are accounted happy, neither that the courſe of mens lives or of publick affaires ſhould continually be drawn out as an even thred (for that the nature of things will not ſuffer) but a juſt ſurvey being made, as thoſe particular men are worthily reputed good, whoſe vertues be great, and their faults tolerable, ſo him wee may regiſter for a man fortunate, and that for a proſperous or happy State, which having flouriſhed, doth not afterwards feele any tragicall alteration, ſuch as might cauſe them to be a ſpectacle of miſery to others. Beſides, whereas true felicitie conſiſteth in the higheſt operations of that nobler part of man, which ſheweth ſometime greateſt perfection, not in uſing the benefits which delight nature, but in ſuffering what nature can hardlieſt indure, there is no cauſe why either the loſſe of good, if it tend to the purchaſe of better, or why any miſery, the iſſue whereof, is their greateſt praiſe & honour that have ſuſtained it, ſhould be thought to impeach that temporall happineſſe, wherwith Religion, we ſay, is accompanied, but yet in ſuch meaſure, as the ſeverall degrees of men may require by a competent eſtimation, and unleſſe the contrary do more advance, as it hath done thoſe moſt Heroicall Saints, whom afflictions have made glorious. In a word, not to whom no calamitie falleth, but whom neither miſerie nor proſperitie is able to moove from a right mind, them wee may truly pronounce fortunate, and whatſoever doth outwardly happen without that precedent improbitie, for which it appeareth in the eyes of ſound & unpartiall Iudges to have proceeded from Divine revenge, it paſſeth in the number of humane caſualties whereunto we are all alike ſubject. No miſery is reckoned more then common or humane, if God ſo diſpoſe that we paſſe thorow it, and come ſafe to ſhore, even as contrariwiſe, men do not uſe to think thoſe flouriſhing dayes happy which do end with teares. It ſtandeth therfore with theſe cautions firm & true, yea, ratified by all mens unfained confeſſions drawn from the very heart of experience, that whether we compare men of note in the world with others of like degree & ſtate, or elſe the ſame men with themſelves, whether we conferre one Dominion with another, or elſe the different times of one and the ſame Dominion, the manifeſt oddes between their very outward condition, as long as they ſtedfaſtly were obſerved to honour God, & their ſucceſſe being falne from him, are remonſtrances more then ſufficient, how all our welfare even on earth dependeth wholly upon our Religion. Heathens were ignorant of true Religion. Yet ſuch as that little was which they knew, it much impaired, or bettered alwayes their worldly affaires, as their love & zeale towards it did waine or grow. Of the Iewes, did not even their moſt malicious and mortall Adverſaries all acknowledge, that to ſtrive againſt them, it was in vaine, as long as their amitie with God continued, that nothing could weaken them but Apoſtaſie? In the whole courſe of their owne proceedings, did they ever find it otherwiſe, but that during their faith and fidelity towards God, every man of them was in warre, as a thouſand ſtrong, and

as much as a grand Senate, for counſell in peaceable deliberations; contrariwiſe that if they ſwarved, as they often did, their wonted courage and magnanimitie forſooke them utterly, their Souldiers and Military men trembled at the ſight of the naked ſword; when they entred into mutuall conference, and ſate in counſell for their owne good, that which children might have ſeene, their graveſt Senators could not diſcerne, their Prophets ſaw darkneſſe in ſtead of Viſions, the wiſe and prudent were as men bewitcht, even that which they knew (being ſuch as might ſtand them in ſtead) they had not the grace to utter, or if any thing were well propoſed, it tooke no place, it entred not into the minds of the reſt to approve and follow it, but as men confounded with ſtrange and unuſuall amazements of Spirit, they attempted tumultuouſly they ſaw not what, and by the iſſues of all attempts, they found no certaine concluſion but this, *God and heaven are ſtrong againſt us in all we doe.* The cauſe whereof was ſecret feare, which tooke heart and courage from them, and the cauſe of their feare, an inward guiltineſſe that they all had offered God ſuch apparent wrongs as were not pardonable. But it may be, the caſe is now altogether changed, and that in Chriſtian Religion there is not like force towards temporall felicitie. Search the ancient Records of time, looke what hath happened by the ſpace of theſe ſixteene hundred yeeres, ſee if all things to this effect be not luculent and cleere, yea, all things ſo manifeſt, that for evidence & proofe herein, wee need not by uncertaine darke conjectures ſurmiſe any to have beene plagued of God for contempt, or bleſt in the courſe of faithfull obedience towards true Religion, more then onely them, whom we find in that reſpect on the one ſide, guiltie by their owne confeſſions, and happy on the other ſide by all mens acknowledgement, who beholding the proſperous eſtate of ſuch as are good and vertuous, impute boldly the ſame to Gods moſt eſpeciall favour, but cannot in like manner pronounce, that whom he afflicteth above others, with them he hath cauſe to be more offended. For Vertue is alwayes plaine to be ſeene, rareneſſe cauſeth it to bee obſerved, and goodneſſe to be honoured with admiration. As for iniquity and ſinne, it lieth many times hid, and becauſe we be all offenders, it becommeth us not to incline towards hard and ſevere ſentences touching others, unleſſe their notorious wickedneſſe did ſenſibly before proclaime that which afterwards came to paſſe. Wherfore the ſumme of every Chriſtian mans dutie is, to labour by all meanes towards that which other men ſeeing in us may juſtifie, and what we our ſelves muſt accuſe, if we fall into it, that by all meanes we can to avoid, conſidering eſpecially, that as hitherto upon the Church there never yet fell tempeſtuous ſtorme, the vapours whereof were not firſt noted to riſe from coldneſſe in affection, and from backwardneſſe in duties of ſervice towards God, ſo if that which the teares of Antiquitie have uttered concerning this point ſhould be here ſet down, it were aſſuredly enough to ſoften and to mollifie an heart of Steele. On the contrary part, although wee confeſſe with Saint *Auguſtine* moſt willingly, that the chiefeſt happineſſe for which wee have ſome Chriſtian Kings in ſo great admiration above the reſt, is not becauſe of their long Raigne, their calme and quiet departure out of this preſent life, the ſetled eſtabliſhment of their own fleſh and bloud, ſucceeding them in Royaltie,

tie and power, the glorious overthrow of forrain enemies, or the wiſe prevention of inward danger, and of ſecret attempts at home; all which ſolaces and comforts of this our unquiet life, it pleaſeth God often times to beſtow on them which have no ſociety or part in the joyes of Heaven, giving thereby to underſtand, that theſe in compariſon are toyes and trifles far under the value and price of that which is to be looked for at his hands; but in truth the reaſon wherefore we moſt extoll their felicity, is, if ſo be they have vertuouſly reigned, if honour have not filled their hearts with pride, if the exerciſe of their power have been ſervice and attendance upon the Majeſtie of the moſt High, if they have feared him as their own inferiours and ſubjects have feared them, if they have loved neither pomp nor pleaſure more than heaven, if revenge have ſlowly proceeded from them, and mercy willingly offered it ſelfe, if ſo they have tempered rigour with lenity, that neither extreame ſeverity might utterly cut them off in whom there was manifeſt hope of amendment, nor yet the eaſineſſe of pardoning offences imbolden offenders, if knowing that whatſoever they do, their potency may beare it out, they have been ſo much the more carefull not to do any thing but that which is commendable in the beſt, rather than uſuall with greateſt perſonages, if the true knowledge of themſelves have humbled them in Gods ſight, no leſſe than God in the eyes of men hath raiſed them up; I ſay, albeit we reckon ſuch to be the happieſt of them that are mightieſt in the world, and albeit thoſe things alone are happineſſe, nevertheleſſe, conſidering what force there is even in outward bleſſings, to comfort the mindes of the beſt diſpoſed, and to give them the greater joy, when Religion and Peace, heavenly and earthly happineſſe are wreathed in one Crown, as to the worthieſt of Chriſtian Princes it hath by the providence of the Almighty hitherto befallen, let it not ſeem unto any man a needleſſe and ſuperfluous waſte of labour, that there hath been thus much ſpoken, to declare how in them eſpecially it hath been ſo obſerved, and withall univerſally noted even from the higheſt to the very meaneſt, how this peculiar benefit, this ſingular grace and preeminence Religion hath, that either it gardeth as an heavenly ſhield from all calamities, or elſe conducteth us ſafe thorow them, and permitteth them not to be miſeries; it either giveth honours, promotions, and wealth, or elſe more benefit by wanting them than if we had them at will; it either filleth our houſes with plenty of all good things, or maketh a Sallet of green herbs, more ſweet than all the ſacrifices of the ungodly. Our fourth Propoſition before ſet down was, that Religion without the help of ſpirituall miniſtery is unable to plant it ſelf, the fruits thereof not poſſible to grow of their own accord. Which laſt Aſſertion is herein as the firſt, that it needeth no farther confirmation. If it did, I could eaſily declare, how all things which are of God, he hath by wonderfull art and wiſdome ſodered, as it were, together with the glue of mutuall aſſiſtance, appointing the loweſt to receive from the neereſt to themſelves, what the influence of the higheſt yeeldeth. And therefore the Church being the moſt abſolute of all his works, was in reaſon to be alſo ordered with like harmony, that what he worketh, might no leſſe in grace than in nature be effected by hands and inſtruments, duly ſubordinated unto the power of his own Spirit. A

thing both needfull for the humiliation of man, which would not willingly be debtor to any, but to himself, and of no small effect to nourish that divine love, which now maketh each embrace other, not as Men, but as Angels of God. Ministeriall actions tending immediately unto Gods honour, and mans happinesse, are either as contemplation, which helpeth forward the principal work of the Ministery, or else they are parts of that principall work of administration it self, which work consisteth in doing the service of Gods house, & in applying unto men the soveraigne medicines of grace already spoken of the more largely, to the end it might thereby appear, that we owe to the guides of our souls even as much as our souls are worth, although the debt of our temporall blessings should be stricken off.

Luke 12. 42. 1 *Cor.* 4. 1. *Tit* 1. 7. 1 *Pet.* 4 10. *Ephes.* 3. 2.

77 The ministery of things divine is a function, w[hich] as God did himself institute, so neither may men undertake the same but by authority and power given them in lawfull manner. That God which is no way deficient or wanting unto Man in necessaries, and hath therefore given us the light of his heavenly Truth, because without that inestimable benefit, we must needs have wandred in darkenesse, to our endlesse perdition and woe, hath in the like abundance of mercies ordained certain to attend upon the due execution of requisite parts and offices therin prescribed for the good of the whole world, which men, thereunto assigned, do hold their authority from him, whether they be such as himself immediately, or as the Church in his name investeth, it being neither possible for all, nor for every man without distinction convenient to take upon him a charge of so great importance. They are therefore Ministers of God, not only by way of subordination as Princes and civill Magistrates, whose execution of judgement and justice, the supreame hand of divine providence doth uphold, but Ministers of God, as from whom their authoritie is derived, and not from men. For in that they are Christs Embassidours and his Labourers, who should give them their Commission, but he whose most inward affaires they manage? Is not God alone the Father of Spirits? Are not soules the purchase of Iesus Christ? What Angell in Heaven could have said to man, as our Lord did unto *Peter, Feed my sheep? Preach? Baptize? Do this in remembrance of me? Whose sinnes ye retain, they are retained, and their offences in Heaven pardoned, whose faults you shall on earth forgive?* What think we? Are these terrestiall sounds, or else are they voices uttered out of the clouds above? The power of the ministery of God translateth out of darkenesse into glory, it raiseth men from the earth, and bringeth God himself down from Heaven, by blessing visible elements it maketh them invisible grace, it giveth daily the holy Ghost, it hath to dispose of that flesh which was given for the life of the world, and that blood which was powred out to redeeme soules, when it powreth malediction upon the heads of the wicked, they perish, when it revoketh the same, they revive. O wretched blindnesse, if we admire not so great power, more wretched if we consider it aright, and notwithstanding, imagine that any but God can bestow it! To whom Christ hath imparted power, both over that mysticall Body which is the society of soules, and over that naturall which is himself for the knitting of both in one, (a work which antiquity doth call the making of Christs Body) the same power

a χειροτόνημοιπροσεφέλκυσε. *Epist. ad Philem.* Of power given unto man to execute that heavenly Office; of the gift of the Holy Ghost in ordination; and whether conveniently the power of Order may be sought or sued for.

power is in ſuch not amiſſe both termed a kinde of mark or Character, and acknowledged to be indelible. Miniſteriall power is a mark of ſeparation, becauſe it ſevereth them that have it from other men, and maketh them a ſpeciall *order* conſecrated unto the ſervice of the moſt High, in things wherewith others may not meddle. Their difference therefore from other men, is in that they are a diſtinct *order*. So *Tertullian* calleth them. And S. *Paul* himſelfe dividing the body of the Church of Chriſt into two moieties, nameth the one part λαϊκος which is as much as to ſay, the order of the Laity, the oppoſite part whereunto we in like ſort term the order of Gods Clergy, and the ſpirituall power which he hath given them, the power of their *order*, ſo far forth as the ſame conſiſteth in the bare execution of holy things, called properly the affaires of God. For of the Power of their juriſdiction over mens perſons we are to ſpeak in the books following. They which have once received this power, may not think to put it off, and on, like a Cloke, as the weather ſerveth, to take it, reject and reſume it as oft as themſelves liſt, of which prophane and impious contempt theſe latter times have yeelded, as of all other kinds of iniquity and Apoſtaſie, ſtrange examples, but let them know which put their hands unto this plough, that once conſecrated unto God, they are made his peculiar inheritance for ever. Suſpenſions may ſtop, and degradations utterly cut off the uſe or exerciſe of power before given: but voluntarily it is not in the power of man to ſeparate and pull aſunder what God by his authority coupleth. So that although there may be through miſdeſert degradation, as there may be cauſe of juſt ſeparation after Matrimony; yet if (as ſometime it doth) reſtitution to former dignity, or reconciliation after breach doth happen, neither doth the one, nor the other ever iterate the firſt knot. Much leſſe is it neceſſary, which ſome have urged, concerning the reordination of ſuch, as others in times more corrupt did conſecrate heretofore. Which errour already queld by S. *Jerome*, doth not now require any other refutation. Examples I grant there are which make for reſtraint of thoſe men from admittance againe into roomes of ſpirituall function, whoſe fall by hereſie, or want of conſtancy in profeſſing the Chriſtian Faith, hath been once a diſgrace to their calling. Nevertheleſſe, as there is no law which bindeth, ſo there is no cauſe that ſhould alwayes lead to ſhew one and the ſame ſeverity towards perſons culpable. Goodneſſe of nature it ſelf more inclineth to clemency than rigour. And we in other mens offences do behold the plain image of our own imbecillity. Beſides alſo them that wander out of the way, [b] it cannot be unexpedient to win with al hopes of favour, leſt ſtrictneſſe uſed towards ſuch as reclaime themſelves, ſhould make others more obſtinate in errour. Wherfore [c] after that the Church of *Alexandria* had ſomewhat recovered it ſelfe from the tempeſts and ſtormes of Arrianiſme, being in conſultation about the reeſtabliſhment of that which by long diſturbance had been greatly decayed and hindered, the ferventer ſort gave quick ſentence, that touching them which were of the Clergie, and had ſtained themſelves with hereſie, there ſhould be none ſo received into the Church again, as to continue in the order of the Clergie. The reſt which conſidered how many mens caſes it did concern, thought it much more ſafe and conſo-

Tertul. de Adhort. Caſtit.

Heb. 2. 17.

Matth. 19.

b *Inter. Tabulis cautem eſt, ut idem juris eſſet ſanctioribus quod fortibus, id eſt, bonis & qui nunquam deſecerunt à populo Romano. Feſt. in voc. Sanctes.*

c *Ruffin. hiſt. Eccl. lib. cap 28.*

nant to bend somewhat downe towards them which were fallen, to shew severity upon a few of the chiefest leaders, and to offer to the rest a friendly reconciliation, without any other demand saving only the abjuration of their errour, as in the Gospell that wastefull young man which returned home to his Fathers house, was with joy both admitted and honoured, his elder brother hardly thought of for repining thereat, neither commended so much for his own fidelity and vertue, as blamed for not embracing him freely, whose unexpected recovery ought to have blotted out all remembrance of misdemeanors and faults past. But of this sufficient. A thing much stumbled at in the manner of giving Orders, is our using those memorable words of our Lord and Saviour Christ, *Receive the Holy Ghost*. The Holy Ghost they say we cannot give, and therefore we [a] *foolishly* bid men receive it. Wise men for their authorities sake must have leave to befool them whom they are able to make wise by better instruction. Notwithstanding, if it may please their wisdome as well to heare what fooles can say, is to controll that which they do, thus we have heard some wise men teach, namely, that the [b] *holy Ghost* may be used to signifie not the person alone, but the gifts of the holy Ghost, and we know that spirituall gifts are not only abilities to do things miraculous, as to speak with tongues which were never taught us, to cure diseases without art, and such like; but also that the very authority and power which is given men in the Church to be Ministers of holy things, this is contained within the number of those gifts whereof the holy Ghost is author, and therefore he which giveth this power, may say without absurdity or folly, *Receive the holy Ghost*, such power as the Spirit of Christ hath indued his Church withall, such power as neither Prince nor Potentate, King nor *Cæsar* on earth can give. So that if men alone had devised this forme of speech, thereby to expresse the heavenly well-spring of that power which Eccleasticall Ordinations do bestow, it is not so foolish but that wise men might bear with it. If then our Lord and Saviour himself have used the self same form of words, and that in the self same kind of action, although there be but the least shew of probability, yea, or any possibility, that his meaning might be the same which ours is, it should teach sober and grave men not to be too venturous in condemning that of folly, which is not impossible to have in it more profoundnesse of wisdome than flesh and blood should presume to controll. Our Saviour after his resurrection from the dead gave his Apostles their Commission, saying: *All power is given me in Heaven and in Earth: Go therefore and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you*. In summe, *As my Father sent me, so send I you*. Whereunto S. *John* doth adde farther, that *having thus spoken, he breathed on them and said, Receive the holy Ghost*. By which words he must of likelyhood understand some gift of the Spirit which was presently at that time bestowed upon them, as both the speech of actuall delivery in saying *Receive*, and the visible signe thereof, his breathing, did shew. Absurd it were to imagine our Saviour did both to the eare and also to the very eye expresse a reall donation, and they at that time receive nothing. It resteth then that we search what speciall grace they did

[a] *Papisticus quidam ritus, stultè quidem ab illis & sine ullo Scripturæ fundamento institutus & à disciplina nostræ autoribus (pace illorum dixerim) non magno primùm judicio acceptus, minore adhuc in Ecclesia nostra retineur. Eccles. ast. discip. p. 53.*

[b] *Eccles. discip. fol. 52. p. 1. lin. 8.*

Matth. 28. 18.

John 20. 21.

at

at that time receive. Touching miraculous power of the Spirit, moſt apparent it is, that as then they received it not, but the promiſe thereof was to be ſhortly after performed. The words of Saint *Luke* concerning that power, are therefore ſet down with ſignification of the time to come, *Behold, I will ſend* the promiſe of my Father upon you, but tarry you in the City of Ieruſalem, untill ye be indued with power from on high. Wherefore, undoubtedly, it was ſome other effect of the Spirit, the holy Ghoſt in ſome other kinde which our Saviour did then beſtow. What other likelier than that which himſelf doth mention, as it ſhould ſeeme of purpoſe to take away all ambiguous conſtructions, and to declare that the holy Ghoſt, which he then gave, was an holy and a ghoſtly authority, authority over the ſoules of men, authority, a part whereof conſiſteth in power to remit and retain ſins? Receive the holy Ghoſt, *whoſe ſinnes ſoever ye remit, they are remitted, whoſe ſinnes ye retain, they are retained.* Whereas therefore the other Evangeliſts had ſet down, that Chriſt did before his ſuffering, promiſe to give his Apoſtles the Keyes of the Kingdome of heaven, and being riſen from the dead, promiſed moreover at that time a miraculous power of the holy Ghoſt: Saint *Iohn* addeth, that he alſo inveſted them even then with the power of the holy Ghoſt for caſtigation and relaxation of ſin, wherein was fully accompliſhed that which the promiſe of the Keyes did import. Seeing therfore that the ſame power is now given, why ſhould the ſame forme of words expreſſing it be thought fooliſh? The cauſe why we breathe not as Chriſt did on them unto whom he imparted power, is, for that neither Spirit nor ſpirituall authority may be thought to proceed from us, which are but delegates or aſſignes to give men poſſeſſion of his graces. Now beſides that the power and authority delivered with thoſe words is it ſelf χάρισμα, a gracious donation which the Spirit of God doth beſtow, we may moſt aſſuredly perſwade our ſelves, that the hand which impoſeth upon us the function of our Miniſtery, doth under the ſame forme of words ſo tie it ſelfe thereunto, that he which [a] receiveth the burthen, is thereby for ever warranted to have the Spirit with him, and in him for his aſſiſtance, aide, countenance and ſupport in whatſoever he faithfully doth to diſcharge duty. Knowing therefore that when we take Ordination, we alſo receive the preſence of the holy Ghoſt, partly to guide direct, and ſtrengthen us in all our wayes, and partly to aſſume unto it ſelf for the more authority, thoſe actions that appertain to our place and calling, can our eares admit ſuch a ſpeech uttered in the reverend performance of that ſolemnity, or can we at any time renew the memory, and enter into ſerious cogitation thereof but with much admiration and joy? Remove what theſe fooliſh words do imply, and what hath the Miniſtry of God beſides wherein to glory? Whereas now for as much as the holy Ghoſt, which our Saviour in his firſt ordinations gave, doth no leſſe concurre with ſpiritual vocations throughout al ages, than the Spirit which God derived from *Moſes* to them that aſſiſted him in his government, did deſcend from them to their ſucceſſors in like authority and place, we have for the leaſt and meaneſt duties performed by vertue of Miniſteriall power, that, to dignifie, grace and authorize them, which no other offices on earth can challenge. Whether we preach, pray, baptize, communicate, condemn, give abſo-

Luke 24. 49.

Iohn 20. 23.

[a] *Et ſi neceſſarium eſt trepidare de merito, religioſum eſt timen gaudere de dono: quoniã qui mihi oneris eſt autor, ipſe fiet adminiſtrationis adjutor, & ne magnitudine gratiæ ſuccumbat infirmus, dabit virtutem qui contulit dignitatem.* Leo. ſer. 1. in Anniver. die A. τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐθέλω ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐκτεῖναι τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν Greg. Nazian. *Num.* 11. 17.

abſolution, or whatſoever, as diſpoſers of Gods myſteries, our words, judgements, acts, and deeds, are not ours but the holy Ghoſts. Enough if unfainedly and in heart we did beleeve it, enough to baniſh whatſoever may juſtly be thought corrupt, eitheir in beſtowing, or in uſing, or in eſteeming the ſame otherwiſe than is meet. For prophanely to beſtow, or looſely to uſe, or vilely to eſteeme of the holy Ghoſt, we in all ſhew and profeſſion abhorre. Now becauſe the Miniſtery is an office of dignity and honour; ſome are doubtfull whether any man may ſeek for it without offence, or to ſpeak more properly, doubtfull they are not, but rather bold to accuſe our Diſcipline in this reſpect, as not only permitting, but requiring alſo ambitious ſuits and other oblique wayes or means whereby to obtaine it. Againſt this they pleade, that our Saviour did ſtay till his Father ſent him, & the Apoſtles till he them; that the ancient Biſhops in the Church of Chriſt were examples and paterns of the ſame modeſty. Whereupon in the end they inferre, *Let us therefore at the length amend that cuſtome of repairing from all parts unto the Biſhop at the day of Ordination, and of ſeeking to obtain Orders, let the cuſtome of bringing commendatory Letters be removed; let men keep themſelves at home, expecting there the voice of God, and the authority of ſuch as may call them to undertake charge.* Thus ſeverely they cenſure and controll ambition, if it be ambition which they take upon them to reprehend. For of that there is cauſe to doubt. Ambition, as we underſtand it, hath been accounted a vice which ſeeketh after honours inordinately. Ambitious minds eſteeming it their greateſt happineſſe to be admired, reverenced, and adored above others, uſe all meanes lawfull and unlawfull which may bring them to high rooms. But as for the power of order conſidered by it ſelf, and as in this caſe it muſt be conſidered, ſuch reputation it hath in the eye of this preſent World, that they which affect it, rather need encouragement to bear contempt, than deſerve blame as men that carry aſpiring minds. The work whereunto this power ſerveth is commended, and the deſire thereof allowed by the Apoſtle for good. Nevertheleſſe becauſe the burthen thereof is heavie and the charge great, it commeth many times to paſſe, that the mindes even of vertuous men are drawn into clean contrary affections, ſome in humility declining that by reaſon of hardneſſe, which others in regard of goodneſſe only do with fervent alacrity covet. So that there is not the leaſt degree in this ſervice, but it may be both in a reverence ſhunned & of very devotion longed for. If then the deſire thereof may be holy, religious, and good, may not the profeſſion of that deſire be ſo likewiſe? We are not to think it ſo long good as it is diſſembled, & evill if once we begin to open it. And allowing that it may be opened without ambition, what offence, I beſeech you, is there in opening it, there where it may be furthered and ſatisfied, in caſe they to whom it appertaineth think meet? In vain are thoſe deſires allowed, the accompliſhment whereof it is not lawfull for men to ſeek. Power therefore of Eccleſiaſticall order may be deſired, the deſire thereof may be profeſſed, they which profeſſe themſelves that way inclined, may endeavour to

Author. libel. de diſcipl. Eccleſiaſt.

1 Tim. 3. 1.

α τῶν παλαιῶν τοὺς εὐδοκιμοῦντας ἀνακαλῶν εὑρίσκω ὅσους φωράσῃς εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν ἢ προφήτειαν ἢ χάρις προσκάλεσε τοὺς μὲν εὐξαμένους προθύμως τῇ κλήσει τοὺς δὲ παραιτουμένους τὸ χάρισμα καὶ οὐδ' ἑλέσθαι μεμπτῶς οὔτε τῶν ὑποσχομένων τινὰ δειλίαν, οὔτε τῶν ὁρμησάντων τινὰ προθυμίαν, ὅτι μέσα γάρ τῆς διακοσίας τὸ μέγεθος ὕλας ἐδήθησαν, ὅτι δὲ τῷ καλῷ ἡλίσκεσθαι ἐνόμισαν ἠκολούθησαν.

Greg. Nazian. Apologet.

to bring their deſires to effect, and in all this no neceſſitie of evill. Is it the bringing of teſtimoniall letters wherein ſo great obliquitie conſiſteth? What more ſimple, more plaine, more harmeleſſe, more agreeable with the law of common humanitie, then that men where they are not knowne, uſe for their eaſier acceſſe the credit of ſuch as can beſt give teſtimonie of them? Letters of any other conſtruction our Church Diſcipline alloweth not, and theſe to allow, is neither to require ambitious ſuings, nor to approve any indirect or unlawfull act. The Prophet *Eſay* receiving his meſſage at the hands of God, and his charge by heavenly viſion, heard the voyce of the Lord, ſaying, *whom ſhall I ſend? who ſhall goe for us?* Whereunto he recordeth his owne anſwer, *Then I ſaid, Here Lord I am, ſend mee.* Which in effect is the rule and Canon whereby touching this point the very order of the Church is framed. The appointment of times for ſolemne ordination, is but the publick demand of the Church in the name of the Lord himſelf, *whom ſhall I ſend, who ſhall go for us?* The confluence of men, whoſe inclinations are bent that way, is but the anſwer thereunto, whereby the labours of ſundry being offered, the Church hath freedome to take whom her agents in ſuch caſe thinke meet and requiſite. As for the example of our Saviour Chriſt who took not to himſelfe this honour to be made our high Prieſt, but received the ſame from him which ſaid; *Thou art a Prieſt for ever after the order of Melchiſedec*, his waiting, and not attempting to execute the office till God ſaw convenient time, may ſerve in reproofe of uſurped honours; for as much as wee ought not of our own accord to aſſume dignities, whereunto wee are not called as Chriſt was. But yet it ſhould bee withall conſidered, that a proud uſurpation without any orderly calling is one thing, and another the bare declaration of willingneſſe to obtaine admittance, which willingneſſe of minde, I ſuppoſe, did not want in him whoſe anſwere was to the voyce of his heavenly calling, *Behold I am come to doe thy will.* And had it beene for him, as it is for us, expedient to receive his commiſſion ſigned with the hands of men, to ſeeke it, might better have beſeemed his humilitie, then it doth our boldneſſe, to reprehend them of Pride and Ambition, that make no worſe kind of ſutes then by letters of information. Himſelfe in calling his Apoſtles prevented all cogitations of theirs that way, to the end it might truly be ſaid of them, *Yee choſe not me, but I of mine owne voluntary motion made choice of you.* Which kind of undeſired nomination to Eccleſiaſticall places, befell divers of the moſt famous amongſt the ancient Fathers of the Church in a cleane contrarie conſideration. For our Saviours election reſpected not any merit or worth, but tooke them which were fartheſt off from likelihood of fitneſſe: that afterwards their ſupernaturall abilitie and performance, beyond hope, might cauſe the greater admiration, whereas in the other, meere admiration of their ſingular and rare vertues was the reaſon why honours were inforced upon them, which they of meekneſſe and modeſtie did what they could to avoid. But did they ever judge it a thing unlawfull to wiſh or deſire the office, the onely charge and bare Function of the Miniſterie? Towards which labour, what doth the bleſſed Apoſtle elſe but encourage, ſaying, *Hee which deſireth it, is deſirous of a good worke?* What doth

Eſay 6.8.

Heb. 10.8.

Heb. 5.5.

doth he elſe by ſuch ſentences but ſtirre, kindle and inflame ambition, if I may terme that deſire ambition, which coveteth more to teſtifie love by painefulneſſe in Gods ſervice, than to reap any other benefit? Although of the very honour it ſelf, and of other emoluments annexed to ſuch labours, for more encouragement of mans induſtry, we are not ſo to conceive neither, as if no affection could be caſt towards them without offence. Only as the Wiſman giveth counſell: *Seeke not to be made a Iudge, leſt thou be not able to take away iniquity, and leſt thou fearing the perſon of the mighty, ſhouldeſt commit an offence againſt thine uprightneſſe*, ſo it alwayes behoveth men to take good heed, leſt affection to that, which hath in it as well difficulty as goodneſſe, ſophiſticate the true and ſincere judgement which beforehand they ought to have of their own ability, for want whereof, many forward minds have found in ſtead of contentment repentance. But for as much as hardneſſe of things in themſelves moſt excellent cooleth the fervency of mens deſires, unleſſe there be ſomwhat naturally acceptable to incite labour (for both the method of ſpeculative knowledg doth by things which we ſenſibly perceive conduct to that which is in nature more certaine though leſſe ſenſible, and the method of vertuous actions is alſo to traine beginners at the firſt by things acceptable unto the taſte of naturall appetite, til our minds at the length be ſetled to imbrace things pretious in the eye of reaſon, meerely & wholly for their own ſakes) howſoever inordinate deſires do hereby take occaſion to abuſe the politie of God, and Nature, either affecting without worth, or procuring by unſeemely means that which was inſtituted, and ſhould be reſerved for better mindes to obtain by more approved courſes, in which conſideration the Emperours *Anthemius* and *Leo* did worthily oppoſe againſt ſuch ambitious practices that ancient famous Conſtitution, wherein they have theſe ſentences, *Let not a Prelate be ordained for reward or upon requeſt, who ſhould be ſo far ſequeſtred from all ambition, that they which advance him might be faine to ſearch where he hideth himſelf, to entreat him drawing back, and to follow him till importunity have made him yeeld, let nothing promote him but his excuſes to avoid the burthen, they are unworthy of that vocation which are not thereunto brought unwillingly*; notwithſtanding, we ought not therefore with the odious name of ambition, to traduce and draw into hatred every poore requeſt or ſute wherein men may ſeem to affect honour; ſeeing that ambition and modeſty do not alwayes ſo much differ in the mark they ſhoot at, as in the manner of their proſecutions. Yea even in this may be errour alſo, if we ſtill imagine them leaſt ambitious, which moſt forbeare to ſtirre either hand or foot towards their own preferments. For there are that make an Idol of their great ſufficiency, and becauſe they ſurmize the place ſhould be happy that might enjoy them, they walk every where like grave Pageants, obſerving whether men do not wonder why ſo ſmall account is made of ſo rare worthineſſe, and in caſe any other mans advancement be mentioned, they either ſmile or bluſh at the marvellous folly of the world, which ſeeth not where dignities ſhould offer themſelves. Seeing therefore that ſutes after ſpirituall functions may bee as ambitiouſly forborne as proſecuted, it remaineth that the a eveneſt line of moderation betweene both is neither to follow them, *without*

Eccleſ. 7. 8.

a Μέσος ἰυμί τις τῶν τιθάσαν τολμηρῶν ϗ τῶν λίαν δειλῶν, τῶν μὲν πάσαις ὑπανθρώποις προσαδίαις δειλότερος, τῶν δὲ φευγόντων πάσας βαρσαλεώτερος. Greg. Nazian. Apologet.

con-

conſcience, nor of *pride*; to withdraw our ſelves utterly from them.

78 It pleaſeth Almighty God to chooſe to himſelf, for diſcharge of the [a] legall Miniſtery, one only Tribe out of twelve others, the Tribe of *Levi*, not all unto every divine ſervice, but *Aaron* and his ſonnes to one charge, the reſt of that ſanctified Tribe to another. With what ſolemnities they were admitted into their functions, in what manner *Aaron* and his ſucceſſors the high Prieſts aſcended every Sabbath and feſtivall day, offered, and miniſtred in the Temple; with what ſin offering once every yeere they reconciled firſt themſelves and their own houſe, afterwards the people unto God; how they confeſſed all the iniquities of the children of *Iſrael*, laid all their treſpaſſes upon the head of a ſacred Goat, and ſo carried them out of the City; how they purged the holy place from all uncleanneſſe, with what reverence they entred within the Vaile, preſented themſelves before the Mercy Seat, and conſulted with the Oracle of God: What ſervice the other Prieſts did continually in the Holy Place, how they miniſtred about the Lamps Morning and Evening; how every Sabbath they placed on the Table of the Lord thoſe twelve loaves with pure incenſe, in perpetuall remembrance of that mercy which the Fathers, the twelve Tribes had found by the providence of God for their food, when hunger cauſed them to leave their naturall ſoile, and to ſeek for ſuſtenance in Egypt; how they imployed themſelves in ſacrifice day by day; finally, what offices the Levites diſcharged, and what duties the reſt did execute, it were a labour too long to enter into, if I ſhould collect that which Scriptures and other ancient Records do mention. Beſides theſe, there were indifferently out of all Tribes from time to time ſome call'd of God as Prophets, fore-ſhewing them things to come, and giving them counſell in ſuch particulars as they could not be directed in by the Law; ſome choſen of men to reade, ſtudy, and interpret the Law of God, as the Sonnes or Scholers of the old Prophets, in whoſe roome afterwards Scribes and Expounders of the Law ſucceeded. And becauſe where ſo great variety is, if there ſhould be equality, confuſion would follow, the Levites were in all their ſervice at the appointment and direction of the ſons of *Aaron*, or Prieſts, they ſubject to the principall guides and leaders of their own Order, and they all in obedience under the High Prieſt. Which difference doth alſo manifeſt it ſelf in the very titles, that men for honours ſake gave unto them, terming *Aaron* and his ſucceſſors, High or great; the ancients over the companies of Prieſts, Arch-Prieſts, Prophets, Fathers; Scribes and Interpreters of the Law, Maſters. Touching the Miniſtery of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, the whole body of the Church being divided into Laity and Clergie, the Clergie are either Presbyters or Deacons. I rather terme the one ſort Presbyters than [b] Prieſts, becauſe in a matter of ſo ſmall moment I would not willingly offend their eares, to whom the name of Prieſthood is odious, tho without cauſe. For as things are diſtinguiſhed one from another by thoſe true eſſentiall forms, wch being really and actu-

Of Degrees, whereby the power of Order is diſtinguiſhed, and concerning the attire of Miniſters.

[a] Πρὸς διατήρησιν ϗ φυλακὴν ὁσιότητος ϗ εὐσεβείας ϗ λειτουργιῶν ἁπάντων τῷ θεῷ τιμὴν ἀναφέροντας. Philo, p. 297.

[b] *T. C. l. 1. p. 198.* For ſo much as the common & uſuall ſpeech of England is to note by the word *Prieſt* not a Miniſter of the Goſpell, but a *Sacrificer* which the Miniſter of the Goſpel is not, therefore we ought not to call the Miniſters of the Goſpel *Prieſts*. And that this is the Engliſh ſpeech it appeareth by all the Engliſh Tranſlations, which tranſlate alwayes *ἱερεῖς*, which were ſacrificers, *Prieſts*, and do not of the other ſide, for any that ever I read, tranſlate πρεσβύτερον a *Prieſt*. Seeing therefore a Prieſt with us, and in our Tongue, doth ſignifie both by the Papiſts judgement, in reſpect of their abominable Maſſe, and alſo by the judgement of the Proteſtants, in reſpect of the Beaſts which were offered in the Law, *a ſacrificing Office*, which the Miniſter of the Goſpell neither doth nor can execute, it is manifeſt that it cannot be without great offence ſo uſed.

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ally in them, do not only give them the very laſt and higheſt degree of their naturall perfection, but are alſo the knot, foundation and root whereupon all other inferiour perfections depend: ſo if they that firſt do impoſe names, did alwayes underſtand exactly the nature of that which they nominate, it may be that then by hearing the termes of vulgar ſpeech, we ſhould ſtill be taught what the things themſelves moſt properly are. But becauſe words have ſo many Artificers by whom they are made, and the things whereunto we apply them are fraught with ſo many varieties, it is not alwayes apparent, what the firſt inventors reſpected, much leſſe what every mans inward conceit is which uſeth their words. For any thing my ſelfe can diſcerne herein, I ſuppoſe that they which have bent their ſtudy to ſearch more diligently ſuch matters, do for the moſt part finde that names adviſedly given, had either regard unto that which is naturally moſt proper; or if perhaps, to ſome other ſpeciality, to that which is ſenſibly moſt eminent in the thing ſignified; and concerning popular uſe of words, that which the wiſdome of their inventors did intend therby, is not commonly thought of, but by the name the thing altogether conceived in groſſe, as may appeare in that if you ask of the common ſort what any certain word, for example, what a Prieſt doth ſignifie, their manner is not to anſwer, a Prieſt is a Clergie-man which offereth ſacrifice to God, but they ſhew ſome particular perſon, whom they uſe to call by that name. And if we liſt to deſcend to Grammar, we are told by Maſters in thoſe Schooles, that the word *Prieſt* hath his right place ἐπὶ τῶν ἱλεως προεστῶτος τῆς δημοσίας τῷ θεῷ, in him whoſe meere function or charge is the ſervice of God. Howbeit becauſe the moſt emiuent part both of *Heatheniſh* and *Iewiſh* ſervice did conſiſt in ſacrifice, when learned men declare what the word Prieſt doth properly ſignifie, *according to the minde of the firſt impoſer* of that name, their ordinary [a] Schools do well expound it to imply ſacrifice. Seeing then that ſacrifice is now no part of the Church-Miniſterie, how ſhould the name of Prieſthood be thereunto rightly applied? Surely even as S. *Paul* applyeth the name of [b] *fleſh* unto that very ſubſtance of fiſhes which hath a proportionable correſpondence to fleſh, although it be in nature another thing. Whereupon when Philoſophers will ſpeak warily, they [c] make a difference between fleſh in one ſort of living creatures, and that other ſubſtance in the reſt which hath but a kind of analogie to fleſh: the Apoſtle contrariwiſe having matter of great importance whereof to ſpeak, nameth indifferently both fleſh. The Fathers of the Church of Chriſt with like ſecurity of ſpeech call uſually the miniſtery of the Goſpell *Prieſthood*, in regard of that which the Goſpell hath *proportionable* to ancient ſacrifices, namely the *Communion* of the bleſſed body and blood of Chriſt, although it hath properly now no ſacrifice. As for the people, when they heare the name, it draweth no more *their mindes* to any cogitation of ſacrifice, than the name of a Senator or of an Alderman, cauſeth them to think upon old age, or to imagine that every one ſo termed muſt needs be ancient, becauſe yeeres were reſpected in the firſt nomination of both. Wherefore to paſſe by the name, let them uſe what dialect they will, whether we call it a Prieſthood, a Presbyterſhip, or a Miniſtery, it skilleth not: Although in truth the word *Presbyter* doth ſeeme more fit

Etymol. mag.

a ἱερεύσαι, θυσιάσαι. *Heſy. Chriſtus homo dicitur, quia natus eſt, Propheta quia futura revelavit; ſacerdos, quia pro nobis hoſtiam ſe obtulit.* Iſid. Orig. lib. 7. cap. 2.

b 1 *Cor.* 15. 39.

c Ἔχει δ' ἀπορίαν τινὰ τὸ διαβιβάσαι τὸ τῇ ἁφῇ ἁπτὸν, πότερον ἡ σάρξ ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ ἀνάλογον, ἢ οὐ. *Ariſt. de Anim. lib. 2. c. 11.*

fit, and in propriety of ſpeech more agreeable then *Prieſt* with the drift of the whole Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt. For what are they that imbrace the Goſpell but ſonnes of God? What are Churches but his families? Seeing therefore we receive the Adoption and ſtate of Sonnes by their miniſtery whom God hath choſen out for that purpoſe, ſeeing alſo that when we are the ſonnes of God, our continuance is ſtill under their care which were our Progenitors, what better title could there be given them than the reverend name of *Presbyters*, of fatherly guides? The holy Ghoſt throughout the body of the new Teſtament, making ſo much mention of them, doth not any where call them Prieſts. The Prophet *Eſay*, I grant, doth, but in ſuch ſort as the ancient Fathers by way of analogie. *A Presbyter*, according to the proper meaning of the new Teſtament, *is he unto whom our Saviour Chriſt hath communicated the power of ſpirituall procreation.* Out of the twelve Patriarks iſſued the whole multitude of *Iſrael* according to the fleſh. And according to the myſterie of heavenly birth, our Lords Apoſtles we all acknowledge to be the Patriarks of his whole Church. S. *Iohn* therefore beheld ſitting about the throne of God in heaven [a] foure and twenty Presbyters, the one halfe Fathers of the old, [b] the other of the new Ieruſalem. In which reſpect the Apoſtles likewiſe gave themſelves the ſame title, albeit that name were not proper, but common unto them with others. For of Presbyters ſome were greater, ſome leſſe in power, and that by our Saviours own appointment; the greater they which received fulneſſe of ſpirituall power, the leſſe they to whom leſſe was granted. The Apoſtles peculiar charge was to publiſh the Goſpell of Chriſt unto all Nations, and to deliver them his Ordinances received by *immediate revelation from himſelf*. Which preeminence excepted, to all other offices and duties incident into their order, it was in them to ordaine and conſecrate whomſoever they thought meet, even as our Saviour did himſelf aſſigne ſeventy others of his own Diſciples inferior Presbyters, whoſe commiſſion to preach and baptize, was the ſame which the Apoſtles had. Whereas therefore we find, that the very firſt Sermon w^ch the Apoſtles did publickly make, was the converſion of above three thouſand ſouls, unto whom there were every day more and more added, they having no open place permitted them for the exerciſe of Chriſtian religion, think we that twelve were ſufficient to teach and adminiſter Sacraments in ſo many private places, as ſo great a multitude of people did require? This harveſt, our Saviour (no doubt) foreſeeing, provided accordingly Labourers for it before hand. By which mean it came to paſſe, that the growth of that Church being ſo great and ſo ſudden, they had notwithſtanding in a readineſſe Presbyters enough to furniſh it. And therefore the hiſtory doth make no mention by what occaſion Presbyters were inſtituted in Ieruſalem, only we reade of things which they did, and how the like were made afterwards elſewhere. To theſe two degrees appointed of our Lord and Saviour Chriſt, his Apoſtles ſoon after anexed Deacons, Deacons therefore muſt know, ſaith *Cyprian*, that our Lord himſelf did elect Apoſtles, but Deacons after his aſcenſion into heaven the Apoſtles ordained, Deacons were Stewards of the Church, unto whom at the firſt was committed the diſtribution of Church goods, the care of providing therewith for the

Eſay 66.21.

[a] *Revel.4.4.*
[b] *Rev 21.14. Mat.19.28, 1 Pet.5.1.*

τὸ τῶν ἱερέων διακοσμεῖσθαι νομοθετεῖ Dionyſ. eccleſ. cap. 11o.

Act. 2.41,47.

Cyp. Ep. 9. lib. ad Rogatianum.

the poore, and the charge to ſee that all things of expence might be religiouſly and faithfully dealt in. A part alſo of their Office, was attendance upon their Presbyters at the time of Divine Service. For which cauſe *Ignatius*, to ſet forth the dignity of their calling, ſaith, that they are in ſuch caſe to the Biſhop, as if Angelicall powers did ſerve him. *Ignat. Epiſt. ad Tral.* Theſe only being the uſes for which Deacons were firſt made, if the Church have ſithence extended their Miniſtery further than the circuit of their labour at the firſt was drawn, we are not herein to think the ordinance of Scripture violated, except there appeare ſome prohibition, which hath abridged the Church of that liberty. Which I note chiefly in regard of them to whom it ſeemeth a thing ſo monſtrous, that Deacons ſhould ſometime be licenſed to preach, whoſe inſtitution was at the firſt to another end. To charge them for this as men not contented with their own vocations, and as breakers into that which appertaineth unto others, it is very hard. For when they are thereunto once admitted, it is a part of their own vocation, it appertaineth now unto them as well as others, neither is it intruſion for them to do it being in ſuch ſort called, but rather in us it were temerity to blame them for doing it. Suppoſe we the office of teaching to be ſo repugnant unto the office of Deaconſhip, that they cannot concurre in one and the ſame perſon? What was there done in the Church by Deacons, which the Apoſtles did not firſt diſcharge being Teachers? Yea, but the Apoſtles found the burthen of Teaching ſo heavie, that they judged it meet to cut off that other charge, and to have Deacons, which might undertake it. Be it ſo. The multitude of Chriſtians increaſing in Ieruſalem, and waxing great, it was too much for the Apoſtles to teach, and to miniſter unto Tables alſo. The former was not to be ſlacked, that this later might be followed. Therefore unto this they appointed others. Whereupon we may rightly ground this axiome, that when the ſubject wherein one mans labours of ſundry kindes are imployed, doth wax ſo great, that the ſame men are no longer able to manage it ſufficiently as before, the moſt naturall way to help this, is, by dividing their charge into ſlipes, and ordaining of under-officers, as our Saviour under twelve Apoſtles, ſeventy Presbyters, and the Apoſtles by his example ſeven Deacons to be under both. Neither ought it to ſeem leſſe reaſonable, that when the ſame men are ſufficient both to continue in that which they do, and alſo to undertake ſomewhat more, a combination be admitted in this caſe; as well as diviſion in the former. We may not therefore diſallow it in the Church of Geneva, that *Calvin* and *Beza* were made both Paſtors and Readers in Divinity, being men ſo able to diſcharge both. To ſay they did not content themſelves with their Paſtorall vocations, but brake into that which belongeth to others; to alleage againſt them, *He that exhorteth in exhortation*, as againſt us, *He that diſtributeth in ſimplicity*, is alleaged in great diſlike of granting licence for Deacons to preach, were very hard. The ancient cuſtome of the Church, was to yeeld the poore much reliefe, eſpecially widowes. But as poore people are alwayes querelous and apt to think themſelves leſſe reſpected than they ſhould be, we ſee that when the Apoſtles did what they could without hinderance to their weightier buſineſſe, *Rom. 12. 8.*

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yet there were which grudged that others had too much, and they too little, the Grecian Widdowes ſhorter Commons than the Hebrewes. By meanes where of the Apoſtles ſaw it meet to ordaine Deacons. Now tract of time having clean worn out thoſe firſt occaſions, for which the Deaconſhip was then moſt neceſſary, it might the better be afterwards extended to other Services, and ſo remaine as at this preſent day, a degree in the Clergy of God which the Apoſtles of Chriſt did inſtitute. That the firſt ſeven Deacons were choſen out of the ſeventie Diſciples, is an errour in *Epiphanius*. For to draw men from places of waightier, unto roomes of meaner labour, had not beene fit. The Apoſtles, to the end they might follow teaching with more freedome, committed the Miniſterie of Tables unto Deacons. And ſhall we think they judged it expedient to chooſe ſo many out of thoſe ſeventie to be Miniſters unto Tables, when Chriſt himſelfe had before made them Teachers? it appeareth therefore, how long theſe three degrees of Eccleſiaſticall Order have continued in the Church of Chriſt, the higheſt and largeſt, that which the Apoſtles, the next that which Preſbyters, and the loweſt that which Deacons had. Touching Prophets, they were ſuch men as having otherwiſe learned the Goſpell, had from above beſtowed upon them a ſpeciall gift of expounding Scriptures, and of foreſhewing things to come. Of this ſort *Agabus* was, and beſides him in Ieruſalem ſundry others, who notwithſtanding are not therefore to be reckoned with the Clergie, becauſe no mans gifts of qualities can make him a Miniſter of holy things, unleſſe Ordination doe give him power. And wee no where finde Prophets to have beene made by Ordination, but all whom the Church did ordaine, were either to ſerve as Presbyters or as Deacons. Evangeliſts were Presbyters of principall ſufficiencie, whom the Apoſtles ſent abroad, and uſed as Agents in Eccleſiaſticall affaires whereſoever they ſaw need. They whom wee find to have beene named in Scripture, Evangeliſts, [m] *Ananias*, [n] *Appollos*, [o] *Timothy*, and others were thus imployed. And concerning Evangeliſts, afterwards in *Trajans* dayes, the Hiſtory Eccleſiaſticall noteth that many of the Apoſtles, Diſciples and Schollers which were then alive, and did with ſingular love of Wiſedome affect the Heavenly Word of God, to ſhew their willing minds in executing that which Chriſt firſt of all required at the hands of men, they ſold their Poſſeſſions, gave them to the poore, and betaking themſelves to travaile, undertook the labour of Evangeliſts, that is, they painfully preached Chriſt, and delivered the Goſpell to them, who as yet had never heard the Doctrin of Faith. Finally, whom the Apoſtle nameth Paſtors and Teachers, what other were they than Presbyters alſo, howbeit ſetled in ſome certaine charge, and thereby differing from Evangeliſts? I beſeech them therefore which have hitherto troubled the Church with queſtion, about Degrees and Offices of Eccleſiaſticall calling, becauſe they principally ground themſelves upon two places, that all partialitie laid aſide, they would ſincerely waigh and examine whether they have not miſ-interpreted both places, and all by ſurmiſing incompatible Offices, where nothing is meant but ſundry graces, gifts and abilities which Chriſt beſtowed. To them of Corinth, his words are theſe, *God placed in the Church, firſt of all, ſome Apoſtles; Secondly, Prophets; Thirdly, Teachers; after them powers,*

Epiph. l.1. c.21.

Acts 21.10.
Acts 11.27.

m *Acts 9.18.*
n *Acts 18.24.*
o *2. Tim. 4.5,9,*
1. Tim. 3.15,5,
14.2.8.
Euſeb Eccleſ. hiſt. l.3. c.36.

1. Cor. 12.28.

powers, then gifts of Cures, Aides, Governments, kinds of Languages. Are all Apoſtles? Are all Prophets? Are all Teachers? Is there power in all? Have all grace to cure? Doe all ſpeake with Tongues? Can all interpret? But be you deſirous of the better graces. They which plainly diſcerne firſt, that ſome *one generall* thing there is which the Apoſtle doth here divide into all theſe branches, and doe ſecondly conceive that generall to bee Church-offices, beſides a number of other difficulties, can by no meanes poſſibly denie but that many of theſe might concurre in one man, and peradventure, in ſome one all, which mixture notwithſtanding, their forme of Diſcipline doth moſt ſhunne. On the otherſide, admit that *Communicants of ſpeciall infuſed grace*, for the benefit of members knit into one body, the Church of Chriſt, are here ſpoken of, which was in truth the plaine drift of that whole Diſcourſe, and ſee if every thing doe not anſwer in due place with that fitneſſe, which ſheweth eaſily what is likelieſt to have beene meant. For why are Apoſtles the firſt, but becauſe unto them was granted the Revelation of all Truth from Chriſt immediately? Why Prophets the ſecond, but becauſe they had of ſome things knowledge in the ſame manner? Teachers the next, becauſe whatſoever was known to them it came by hearing, yet God withall made them able to inſtruct, which every one could not do that was taught. After Gifts of Edification there follow generall abilities to work things above Nature, Grace to cure men of bodily Diſeaſes, Supplies againſt occurent defects & impediments, dexterities to govern & direct by counſell; Finally, aptneſſe to ſpeake or interpret forraine tongues. Which Graces not powred out equally, but diverſly ſorted & given, were a cauſe why not onely they all did furniſh up the whole Body, but each benefit and help other. Againe, the ſame Apoſtle other-where in like ſort.

Ephe. 4. 7. Pſal. 68. 18. *To every one of us is given grace, according to the meaſure of the gift of Chriſt. Wherfore he ſaith, When he aſcended up on high, he led Captivity captive, & gave gifts unto men. He therfore gave ſome Apoſtles, & ſome Prophets, & ſome Evangeliſts, and ſome Paſtors and Teachers, for the gathering together of Saints, for the work of the Miniſtery, for the edification of the Body of Chriſt.* In this place none but gifts of inſtruction are expreſt. And becauſe of Teachers ſome were Evangeliſts which neither had any part of their knowledge by Revelation as the Prophets, and yet in abilitie to teach were farre beyond other Paſtors, they are, as having received one way leſſe then Prophets, & another way more then Teachers, ſet accordingly between both. For the Apoſtle doth in neither place reſpect what any of them were by Office or power given them through Ordination, but what by Grace they all had obtained through miraculous infuſion of the Holy Ghoſt. For in Chriſtian Religion, this being the ground of our whole Beliefe, that the promiſes which God of old had made by his Prophets concerning the wonderfull Gifts and Graces of the Holy Ghoſt, wherewith the Raigne of the true *Meſſias* ſhould bee made glorious, were immediately after our Lords Aſcenſion performed, there is no one thing whereof the Apoſtles did take more often occaſion to ſpeake. Out of men thus indued with gifts of the Spirit upon their Converſion to Chriſtian Faith, the Church had her Miniſters choſen, unto whom was given Eccleſiaſticall power by Ordination. Now, becauſe the Apoſtle in reckoning degrees and varieties of Grace, doth men-

mention Paſtors and Teachers, although he mention them not in reſpect of their Ordination to exerciſe the Miniſtry, but as examples of men eſpecially enrichtwith the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, divers learned & skilfull men have ſo taken it, as if thoſe places did intend to teach what Orders of Eccleſiaſtical perſons there ought to be in the Church of Chriſt, which thing wee are not to learn from thence but out of other parts of holy Scripture, whereby it cleerly appeareth, that Churches Apoſtolike did know but three degrees in the power of Eccleſiaſticall Order, at the firſt Apoſtles, Presbyters, & Deacons, afterwards in ſtead of Apoſtles, Biſhops, concerning whoſe order we are to ſpeak in the ſeventh Booke. There is an error which beguileth many who much intangle both themſelves and others by not diſtinguiſhing *Services*, *Offices* and *Orders* Eccleſiaſticall, the firſt of which three, and in part the ſecond may be executed by the Laitie, whereas none have, or can have the third but the Clergie. Catechiſts, Exorciſts, Readers, Singers, and the reſt of like ſort, if the nature onely of their labours and paines be conſidered, may in that reſpect ſeeme Clergy-men, even as the Fathers for that cauſe tearme them uſually Clerkes, as alſo in regard of the end whereunto they were trained up, which was to bee ordered when yeeres and experience ſhould make them able. Notwithſtanding, in as much as they no way differed from others of the Laitie longer then during that work of Service, which at any time they might give over, being thereunto but admitted, not tied by irrevocable Ordination, wee find them alwayes exactly ſevered from that body whereof thoſe three before rehearſed Orders alone are naturall parts. Touching Widowes, of whom ſome men are perſwaded, that if ſuch as Saint *Paul* deſcribeth may be gotten, we ought to retaine them in the Church for ever, certaine meane Services there were of Attendance, as about Women, at the time of their Baptiſme, about the bodies of the ſick and dead, about the neceſſities of Travailers, Wayfaring men and ſuch like, where in the Church did commonly uſe them when need required, becauſe they lived of the Almes of the Church, and were fitteſt for ſuch purpoſes, Saint *Paul* doth therefore, to avoid ſcandall, require that none but Women well experienced and vertuouſly given, neither any under threeſcore yeeres of age ſhould bee admitted of that number. Widowes were never in the Church ſo highly eſteemed as Virgins. But ſeeing neither of them did or could receive Ordination, to make them Eccleſiaſticall perſons were abſurd. The ancienteſt therefore of the Fathers mention thoſe three degrees of Eccleſiaſticall Order ſpecified & no moe. *When your Captaines* (ſaith *Tertullian*) *that is to ſay, the Deacons, Presbyters and Biſhops flye, who ſhall teach the Laitie, that they muſt be conſtant?* Againe, *What ſhould I mention Laymen* (ſaith *Optatus*) *yea, or divers of the Miniſtery it ſelfe? To what purpoſe Deacons, which are in the third, or Presbyters in the ſecond degree of Prieſthood, when the very Heads and Princes of all, even certaine of the Biſhops themſelves* were content to redeeme life with the loſſe of Heaven? Heaps of Allegations in a caſe ſo evident and plaine are needleſſe. I may ſecurely therefore conclude, that there are at this day in the Church of England, no other then the ſame degrees of Eccleſiaſtiall Order, namely, Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, which had their beginning from Chriſt, and his bleſſed Apoſtles themſelves. As for Deanes, Preben-

T.C.l.1.p.191.
1.Tim.5.9.

Tertull. de Pan. ſecut.

Optat lib.1.

daries, Parſons, Vicars, Curats, Arch-deacons, Chancelors, Officials, Commiſſaries, and ſuch other the like names, which being not found in holy Scripture, we have bin therby through ſome mens errour thought to allow of Eccleſiaſticall Degrees not known, nor ever heard of in the better Ages of former times, all theſe are in truth but Titles of Office, whereunto partly Eccleſiaſticall perſons, and partly others are in ſundry formes & conditions admitted, as the ſtate of the Church doth need Degrees of Order, ſtill continuing the ſame they were from the firſt beginning. Now what habit or attire doth beſeem each order to uſe in the courſe of common life, both for the gravitie of his place, and for example ſake to other men, is a matter frivolous to be diſputed of. A ſmal meaſure of wiſdome may ſerve to teach them how they ſhould cut their coats. But ſeeing all well ordered Polities have ever judged it meet and fit by certain ſpeciall diſtinct Ornaments to ſever each ſort of men from other when they are in publike, to the end that all may receive ſuch Complements of Civill Honour, as are due to their Roomes and Callings, even where their perſons are not known, it argueth a diſproportioned mind in them, whom ſo decent orders diſpleaſe.

Of Oblations, Foundations, Endowments, Tithes, all intended for perpetuitie of Religion, which purpoſe being chiefly fulfilled by the Cleargies certaine and ſufficient maintenance, muſt needs by alienation of Church-livings be made fruſtrate.

79 Wee might ſomewhat marvell, what the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* ſhould meane to ſay that Covetouſneſſe is Idolatrie, if the daily practice of men did not ſhew, that whereas Nature requireth God to be honoured with wealth, wee honour for the moſt part wealth as God. Faine we would teach our ſelves to beleeve, that for worldly goods it ſufficeth frugally and honeſtly to uſe them to our owne benefit, without detriment and hurt of others, or if we goe a degree farther, and perhaps convert ſome ſmall contemptible Portion thereof to Charitable uſes, the whole dutie which we owe unto God herein, is fully ſatisfied. But for as much as wee cannot rightly honour God, unleſſe both our Soules and Bodies bee ſometime imployed meerely in his Service; againe, ſith wee know that Religion requireth at our hands the taking away of ſo great a part of the time of our lives quite and cleane from our owne buſineſſe, and the beſtowing of the ſame in his, ſuppoſe we that nothing of our wealth and ſubſtance is immediately due to God, but all our owne to beſtow and ſpend as our ſelves thinke meet? Are not our riches as well his as the dayes of our life are his? Wherefore, unleſſe with part we acknowledge his Supreme Dominion, by whoſe benevolence we have the whole, how give wee Honour to whom Honour belongeth, or how hath God the things that are Gods? I would know what nation in the World did ever Honour God, and not thinke it a point of their duty to doe him honour with their very goods. So that this we may boldly ſet downe as a Principle cleere in Nature, an Axiome which ought not to be called in queſtion, a Truth manifeſt and infallible, that men are eternally bound to honour God with their ſubſtance, in token of thankfull acknowledgement that all they have is from him. To honour him with our worldly goods, not onely by ſpending them in lawfull manner, and by uſing them without offence, but alſo by alienating from our ſelves ſome reaſonable part or portion thereof, and by offering up the ſame to him as a ſigne that wee galdly confeſſe his ſole and Soveraigne Dominion over all, is a dutie which all men are bound unto, and a part of that very Worſhip of God, which as the Law of God

and

and Nature it ſelfe requireth, ſo we are the rather to thinke all men no leſſe ſtrictly bound thereunto than to any other naturall dutie, in as much as the hearts of men doe ſo cleave to theſe earthly things, ſo much admire them for the ſway they have in the World, impute them ſo generally either to Nature or to Chance and Fortune, ſo little thinke upon the Grace and Providence from which they come, that unleſſe by a kind of continuall tribute we did acknowledge Gods Dominion, it may bee doubted that in ſhort time men would learne to forget whoſe Tenants they are, and imagine that the World is their owne abſolute, free and independent inheritance. Now, concerning the kind or qualitie of gifts which God receiveth in that ſort, we are to conſider them, partly as firſt they proceed from us, and partly as afterwards they are to ſerve for divine uſes. In that they are teſtimonies of our affection towards God, there is no doubt, but ſuch they ſhould be as beſeemeth moſt his Glory to whom we offer them. In this reſpect the fatneſſe of *Abels* ſacrifice is commended, the flower of all mens increaſe aſſigned to God by *Salomon*, the gifts and donations of the people rejected as oft as their cold affection to Godward made their preſents to be little worth. Somewhat the Heathens ſaw touching that which was herein fit, and therefore they unto their Gods did not thinke they might conſecrate any thing which was *impure* or *unſound*, or *already given*, or elſe *not truly their owne to give*. Again, in regard of uſe, for as much as we know that God hath himſelfe no need of worldly commodities, but taketh them becauſe it is our good to be ſo exerciſed, and with no other intent accepteth them, but to have them uſed for the endleſſe continuance of Religion; there is no place left of doubt or controverſie, but that wee in the choice of our gifts are to levell at the ſame marke, and to frame our ſelves to his knowne intents and purpoſes. Whether wee give unto God therefore that which himſelfe by commandement requireth; or that which the publike conſent of the Church thinketh good to allot, or that which every mans private devotion doth beſt like, in as much as the gift which we offer, proceedeth not onely as a teſtimonie of our affection towards God, but alſo as a meane to uphold Religion, the exerciſe whereof cannot ſtand without the helpe of temporall commodities: if all men bee taught of Nature to wiſh, and as much as in them lieth, to procure the perpetuitie of good things; if for that very cauſe wee honour and admire their wiſedome, who having beene founders of Common-weales, could deviſe how to make the benefit they left behind them durable; if eſpecially in this reſpect we prefer *Lycurgus* before *Solon*, and the Spartan before the Athenian politie, it muſt needs follow, that as we doe unto God very acceptable ſervice in honouring him with our ſubſtance, ſo our ſervice that way is then moſt acceptable, when it tendeth to perpetuitie. The firſt permanent donations of honour in this kind are Temples. Which works do ſo much ſet forward the exerciſe of Religion, that while the World was in love with Religion, it gave to no ſort greater reverence than to whom it could point and ſay, *Theſe are the men that have built us Synagogues*. But of Churches wee have ſpoken ſufficiently heretofore. The next things to Churches are the ornaments of Churches, memorials which mens devotion hath added to remaine in the treaſure of Gods houſe, not onely for

Purum, probum, profanum, ſacrum. Feſt. lib. 14.

uſes wherein the exerciſe of Religion preſently needeth them, but alſo partly for ſupply of future caſuall neceſſities, whereunto the Church is on earth ſubject, and partly to the end that while they are kept they may continually ſerve as teſtimonies, giving all men to underſtand, that God hath in every Age and Nation, ſuch as thinke it no burthen to honour him with their ſubſtance. The riches firſt of the Tabernacle of God, and then of the Temple of Ieruſalem, ariſing out of voluntary gifts and donations, were, as wee commonly ſpeake, a *Nemo ſcit*, the value of them above that which any man would imagine. After that the Tabernacle was made, furniſhed with all neceſſaries, and ſet up, although in the wilderneſſe their habilitie could not poſſibly bee great, the very mettle of thoſe veſſels which the Princes of the twelve Tribes gave to God for their firſt preſents, amounted even then to two thouſand and foure hundred ſhekels of Silver, an hundred and twentie ſhekels of Gold, every ſhekell weighing halfe an ounce. What was given to the Temple which *Salomon* erected, wee may partly conjecture, when over and beſides, wood, marble, yron, braſſe, veſtments, precious ſtones, and money, the ſumme which *David* delivered into *Salomons* hands for that purpoſe, was of Gold in Maſſe eight thouſand, and of Silver ſeventeene thouſand Cichars, every Cichar containing a thouſand and eight hundred ſhekels which riſeth to nine hundred ounces in every one Cichar: whereas the whole charge of the Tabernacle did not amount unto thirty Cichars. After their returne out of Babylon, they were not preſently in caſe to make their ſecond Temple of equall magnificence and glory with that which the enemy had deſtroyed. Notwithſtanding what they could they did. Inſomuch that the building finiſhed, there remained in the Cofers of the Church to uphold the fabrick therof, ſix hundred and fifty Cichars of Silver, one hundred of Gold. Wherunto was added by *Nehemias* of his own gift a thouſand drammes of Gold, fifty veſſels of Silver, five hundred and thirty Prieſts veſtments; by other the Princes of the fathers twentie thouſand drams of Gold, two thouſand and two hundred peeces of Silver; by the reſt of the people twentie thouſand of Gold, two thouſand of Silver, threeſcore and ſeven attires of Prieſts. And they furthermore bound themſelves towards other charges to give by the Poll in what part of the World ſoever they ſhould dwell, the third of a ſhekell, that is to ſay, the ſixt part of an ounce yeerely. [a] This out of forraine Provinces, they alwayes ſent in Gold. Whereof [b] *Mithridates* is ſaid to have taken up by the way before it could paſſe to Ieruſalem from Aſia, in one adventure eight hundred talents; *Craſſus* after that to have borrowed of the Temple it ſelfe eight thouſand: at which time *Eleazar* having both many other rich ornaments and all tapeſtrie of the Temple under his cuſtodie, thought it the ſafeſt way to grow unto ſome compoſition, and ſo to redeeme the reſidue by parting with a certaine beame of Gold about ſeven hundred and a halfe in waight, a prey ſufficient for one man, as hee thought who had never bargained with *Craſſus* till then, and therefore upon the confidence of a ſolemne oath that no more ſhould bee looked for, hee ſimply delivered up a large morſell whereby the value of that which remained was betraied and the whole loſt. Such being the caſualties whereunto moveable treaſures are ſubject, the Law of *Moſes*

Num. 7. 85, 86.

1. *Chron.* 29. *Exod.* 25. 28. & 37. 24. *Ezra* 2. 68. 69. *Hag.* 2. 4. *Ezr.* 8. 24.

Nehem. 7. 70.

Nehem. 10. 32.

a *Cic. orat. pro L. Flac. Cum aurum Iudæorum nomine quot annis ex Italia & ex omnibus veſtris provinciis Hieroſolymam exportari ſoleret Flaccus Sanxit edicto, ne ex Aſia exportari liceret.*

b *Ioſeph. Antiq. lib.* 14. *cap.* 12.

c Every talent in value 600. Crownes.

ſes did both require eight and twentie Cities together with their fields and whole Territories in the land of Iurie, to be reſerved for God himſelf; & not only provide for the libertie of farther additions, if men of their owne accord ſhould think good, but alſo for the ſafe preſervation thereof unto all poſterities, that no mans avarice or fraud, by defeating ſo vertuous intents, might diſcourage from like purpoſes. Gods third indowment did therefore of old conſiſt in lands. Furthermore, ſome cauſe no doubt there is, why beſides ſundry other more rare donations on uncertaine rate, the tenth ſhould be thought a revenue ſo naturall to be allotted out unto God. For of the ſpoiles which *Abraham* had taken in warre, he delivered unto *Melchiſedeck* the Tithes. The vow of *Iacob*, at ſuch times as he took his journey towards Haran, was, *If God will be with me, and will keep mee in this voyage which I am to goe, and will give me bread to eat and clothes to put on, ſo that I may returne to my fathers houſe in ſafety then ſhall the Lord be my God, and this ſtone which I have ſet up as a pillar, the ſame ſhall be Gods houſe, and of all thou ſhalt give mee I will give unto thee the Tithe.* And as *Abraham* gave voluntarily, as *Iacob* vowed to give God tithes, ſo the Law of *Moſes* did require at the hands of all men the ſelfe ſame kinde of tribute, the tenth of their corne, wine, oile, fruit, cattle, and whatſoever increaſe his heavenly providence ſhould ſend. In ſo much that Panyms being herein followers of their ſteps, paid Tithes likewiſe: Imagine we that this was for no cauſe done, or that there was not ſome ſpeciall inducements to judge the tenth of our worldly profits the moſt convenient for Gods portion? Are not all things by him created in ſuch ſort, that the formes which give them their diſtinction are number, their operations meaſure, and their matter waight? *Three* being the myſticall number of Gods unſearcheable perfection within himſelfe; *ſeaven* the number whereby our owne perfections through grace are moſt ordered; *and* [a] *ten* the number of natures perfections (for the beauty of nature is order, and the foundation of order number, and of number ten the higheſt we can riſe unto without iteration of numbers under it) could nature better acknowledge the power of the God of nature then by aſſigning unto him that quantity which is the continent of all ſhe poſſeſſeth? There are in *Philo* the Iew many arguments to ſhew the great congruity and fitneſſe of this number in things conſecrated unto God. But becauſe over nice and curious ſpeculations become not the earneſtneſſe of holy things, I omit what might bee farther obſerved as well out of others as out of him, touching the quantity of this generall ſacred tribute; whereby it commeth to paſſe, that the meaneſt and the very pooreſt amongſt men, yeelding unto God as much in proportion as the greateſt and many times in affection more, have this as a ſenſible token alwayes aſſuring their mindes, that in his ſight, from whom all good is expected, they are concerning acceptation, protection, divine priviledges and preheminences whatſoever, equalls and peeres with them unto whom they are otherwiſe in earthly reſpects inferiours, being furthermore well aſſured that the top as it were thus preſented to God is neither loſt, nor unfruitfully beſtowed, but doth ſanctifie to them againe the whole Maſſe, and that he by receiving a little undertaketh to bleſſe all. In which conſideration the Iewes were accuſtomed to name their Tithes the

Num. 35. *Levit.* 25. 34. & 7. 38.

Gen. 14. 20.

Gen. 28. 20.

Deut. 14. 22.

Plin. hiſt. nat. lib. 12. *cap.* 14.

[a] Δεκὰς ἀριθμῶν τῶν ἀπὸ μονάδος ἐπὶ πέρας τελειότατον. Philo. περὶ Ἀφθαρ.

[b] *hedge*

a hedge of their riches. Albeit a hedge do only fence & preserve that which is contained, whereas their Tithes and offerings did more, because they procured increase of the heape, out of which they were taken. God demandeth no such debt for his owne need, but for their onely benefit that owe it. Wherefore detaining the same, they hurt not him whom they wrong; and themselves whom they thinke they relieve, they wound, except men will haply affirme, that God did by faire speeches, and large promises delude the world in saying, *Bring yee all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in mine house*, (deale truely, defraud not God of his due, but bring all) *and prove if I will not open unto you the windowes of Heaven, and power downe upon you an immeasurable blessing*. That which Saint *Iames* hath concerning the effect of our prayers unto God, is for the most part of like moment in our gifts: Wee pray and obtaine not, because hee which knoweth our hearts, doth see our desires are evill. In like manner wee give, and we are not the more accepted, because he beholdeth how unwisely we spill our gifts in the b bringing. It is to him which needeth nothing; all one whether any thing or nothing be given him. But for our own good, it alwaies behoveth that whatsoever we offer up into his hands, we bring it seasoned with this cogitation, *Thou Lord art worthy of all honour*. With the Church of Christ touching these matters it standeth as it did with the whole World before *Moses*. Wherupon for many yeeres men being desirous to honour God in the same manner, as other vertuous and holy personages before had done, both during the time of their life, and if farther abilitie did serve, by such device as might cause their workes of pietie to remaine alwayes, it came by these means to passe that the Church from time to time, had treasure proportionable unto the poorer or wealthier estate of Christian men. And assoone as the state of the Church could admit thereof, they easily condescended to thinke it most naturall and most fit, that God should receive as before of all men his ancient accustomed revenewes of Tithes. Thus therefore both God and nature have taught to convert things temporall to eternall uses, and to provide for the perpetuitie of Religion, even by that which is most transitorie. For to the end that in worth and value there might be no abatement of any thing once assigned to such purposes, the Law requireth precisely, the best of that wee possesse; and to prevent all damages by way of commutation, where in stead of naturall commodities, or other rights, the price of them might be taken, the Law of *Moyses* determined their rates, & the payments to be alwayes made by the sicle of the Sanctuarie, wherein there was great advantage of waight above the ordinarie currant sicle. The trueſt and surest way for God to have alwayes his owne, is by making him payment in kind out of the very selfe same riches, which through his gracious benediction the earth doth continually yeeld. This where it may bee without inconvenience, is for every mans conscience sake. That which commeth from God to us, by the naturall course of his providence, which wee know to bee innocent and pure, is perhaps best accepted, because leaſt spotted with the staine of unlawfull, or indirect procurement. Besides, whereas prices daily change, Nature which commonly is one, must needes bee the most indifferent and permanent standard betweene God and

a *Masseroth sepes est legis; divitiarum se; ex decima. R. A. quiba in Pirk. Aboth.*

Mal. 3.

b *Nemo libenter dedit quod non accepit sid expressit. Sen de Benef. l. 1. c. 1.*

Levit. 27. 25.

and Man. But the main foundation of all, whereupon the ſecurity of theſe things dependeth, as farre as any thing may be aſcertained amongſt men is, that the Title and Right which man had in every of them before Donation, doth by the Act, and from the time of any ſuch Donation, Dedication, or Grant, remain the proper poſſeſſion of God till the worlds end, unleſſe himſelf renounce or relinquiſh it. For if equity have taught us, that every one ought to enjoy his own; that what is ours no other can alienate from us, but when our [a] own [b] deliberate conſent; finally, that no man having paſt his conſent or deed, may [c] change it to the prejudice of any other; ſhould we preſume to deale with God worſe than God hath allowed any man to deale with us? Albeit therefore we be now free from the Law of *Moſes*, and conſequenly, not thereby bound to the payment of Tythes, yet becauſe Nature hath taught men to honour God with their ſubſtance, and Scripture hath left us an example of that particular proportion, which for morall conſiderations hath been thought fitteſt by him whoſe wiſdome could beſt judge; furthermore, ſeeing that the Church of Chriſt hath long ſithence entred into obligation, it ſeemeth in theſe dayes a queſtion altogether vain and ſuperfluous, whether Tithes be a matter of divine Right: becauſe howſoever at the firſt, it might have been thought doubtfull, our caſe is cleerely the ſame now with theirs, unto whom S. *Peter* ſometime ſpake, ſaying, *While it was whole, it was whole thine.* When our Tithes might have probably ſeemed our own, we had colour of liberty to uſe them as we our ſelves ſaw good. But having made them his whoſe they are, let us be warned by other mens example what it is προίασθαι, to waſh or clip that coyne which hath on it the mark of God. For that all theſe are his poſſeſſions, and that he doth himſelf ſo reckon them, appeareth by the forme of his own ſpeeches. Touching Gifts and Oblations, *Thou ſhalt give* them *me*; touching Oratories and Churches, *My houſe* ſhall be called the houſe of Prayer; touching Tithes, *Will a man ſpoile God?* Yet behold, even me your God ye have [d] *ſpoiled*, notwithſtanding ye ask wherein, as though ye were ignorant, what injury there hath been offered in *Tithes*: ye are heavily accurſed, becauſe with a kind of publick conſent ye have joyned your ſelves in one to rob me, imagining the commonneſſe of your offence to be every mans particular juſtification; touching Lands, *Ye ſhall offer to the Lord a ſacred portion of ground, and that ſacred portion ſhall belong to the Prieſts.* Neither did God only thus ordain amongſt the Iewes, but the very purpoſe, intent, and meaning of all that have honoured him with their ſubſtance, was to inveſt him with the property of thoſe benefits; the uſe whereof muſt needs be committed to the hands of men. In which reſpect the ſtile of ancient Grants and Charters, is, *We have given unto God both for Vs and our Heires for ever*, Yea, we know, ſaith *Charles* the Great, that *the goods of the Church are the ſacred indowments of God; to the Lord our God we offer and dedicate whatſoever we deliver unto his Church.* Whereupon the Lawes Imperiall do likewiſe divide all things in ſuch ſort, that they make ſome to belong by right of Nature indifferently unto every man, ſome to be the certaine goods and poſſeſſions of Common-weales, ſome to appertain unto ſeverall Corporations or companies of men, ſome to be privately mens own in particular, and ſome to be ſeparated quite from

a *Lib.11. de Reg. Iur.*

b *Cujus per errorem dati repetitio eſt, ejus conſulto dati donatio eſt*, lib.1. D. de cond. indeb. This the ground of *Conſideration* in alienations from man to man.

c *Nemo poteſt mutare conſilium ſuum in alterius præjudicium*. lib.75. de Reg. Iur. *Act.5.4.*

Exod 32.29, 30

Matth.21.13.

Mal.3.8.

d *Non videntur rem admittere quibus propria non fuit.* 83. de Reg. Iur.

Ezech.45.1, 2.

Magn. Char. c.1

Capitul. Carol. lib.6.cap.282.

[a] from all men, which laſt branch comprizeth things ſacred and holy, becauſe thereof God alone is owner. The ſequell of which received opinion, as well without as within the wals of the houſe of God touching ſuch poſſeſſions hath been ever, that there is not an act more honourable, then by all meanes to amplifie and defend the patrimony of Religion, not any more [b] impious and hatefull, than to impaire thoſe poſſeſſions which men in former times, when they gave unto holy uſes, were wont at the Altar of God, and in preſence of their ghoſtly Superiours, to make as they thought inviolable, by words of fearfull execration, ſaying, *Theſe things we offer to God, from whom if any take them away (which we hope no man will attempt to do) but if any ſhall, let his account be without favour in the laſt day, when he commeth to receive the doome which is due for ſacrileage againſt that Lord and God, unto whom we dedicate the ſame.* The beſt and moſt renowned Prelates of the Church of Chriſt have in this conſideration rather ſuſtained the wrath, then yeelded to ſatisfie the hard deſire of their greateſt Commanders on earth, coveting with ill advice and counſell that which they willingly ſhould have ſuffered God to injoy. There are of Martyrs, whom poſterity much honour, for that having under their hands the cuſtody of ſuch [c] treaſures, they could by vertuous deluſion invent how to ſave them from prey, even when the ſafety of their own lives they gladly neglected, as one, ſometime an Archdeacon under *Xiſtus* the Biſhop of Rome, did, whom when his Iudge underſtood to be one of the Church Stewards; thirſt of blood began to ſlake, and another humour to work, which firſt by a favourable countenance & then by quiet ſpeech did thus calmely diſcloſe it ſelf, *You that profeſſe the Chriſtian Religion, make great complaint of the wonderfull cruelty we ſhow towards you. Neither peradventure altogether without cauſe. But for my ſelf, I am farre from any ſuch bloody purpoſe. Ye are not ſo willing to live, as I unwilling that out of theſe lips ſhould proceed any capitall ſentence againſt you. Your Biſhops are ſaid to have rich veſſels of gold and ſilver, which they uſe in the exerciſe of their Religion; beſides, the fame is, that numbers ſell away their Lands and Livings, the huge prices whereof are brought to your Church coffers, by which meanes the devotion that maketh them and their whole poſterity poore, muſt needs mightily enrich you, whoſe God we know was no Coyner of money, but left behinde him many wholeſome and good Precepts, as namely that Cæſar ſhould have of you the things that are fit for, and due to Cæſar. His warres are coſtly and chargeable unto him. That which you ſuffer to ruſt in corners, the affaires of the Common-wealth do need. Your profeſsion is not to make account of things tranſitory. And yet if ye can be contented but to forgoe that which ye care not for, I dare undertake to warrant you both ſafety of life, and freedome of uſing your conſcience, a thing more acceptable to you than wealth.* Which faire parly the happy Martyr quietly hearing, and perceiving it neceſſary to make ſome ſhift for the ſafe concealement of that which being now deſired, was not unlikely to be more narrowly afterwards ſought, he craved reſpite for three dayes, to gather the riches of the Church together, in which ſpace againſt the time the Governour ſhould come to the doores of the Temple, bigge with hope to receive his prey, a miſerable ranke of poore, lame, and impotent perſons was provided, their names delivered him up in writing as a true Inventory of the Churches goods,

[a] *Nullius autem ſunt res ſacræ & religioſæ et ſanctæ. Quod enim divini juris eſt, id nullius in bonis eſt*, Inſtit. lib. 2. tit. 1.

[b] *Soli cum Diis ſacrilegi pugnant* Curt. lib. 7. *Sacrum ſacrove commendatum qui dimiſerit rapſerit ve, parricida eſto*, Leg. 12 tab. Capitul. Carul. li. 6. cap. 285.

[c] *Depoſita pietatis*, Tertul. Apologet. *Prudent. Periſteph.*

goods, and ſome few words uſed to ſignifie how proud the Church was of theſe treaſures. If men did not naturally abhorre ſacriledge, to reſiſt or deſeate ſo impious attempts, would deſerve ſmall praiſe. But ſuch is the generall deteſtation of rapine in this kind, that wheras nothing doth either in peace or war more uphold mens reputation then proſperous ſucceſſe, becauſe in common conſtruction, unleſſe notorious improbitie bee joyned with proſperitie, it ſeemeth to argue favour with God, they which once have ſtained their hands with theſe odious ſpoiles, do thereby faſten unto all their actions an eternall prejudice, in reſpect whereof, for that it paſſeth through the world as an undoubted rule & principle, that ſacriledge is open defiance to God, whatſoever they afterwards undertake, if they proſper in it, men reckon it but *Dionyſius* his Navigation, and if any thing befall them otherwiſe, it is not, as cõmonly, ſo in them aſcribed to the great uncertainty of caſuall events, wherein the providence of God doth controll the purpoſes of men oftentimes, much more for their good then if all things did anſwer fully their hearts deſire, but the cenſure of the world is ever directly againſt them both *a* bitter and peremptory. To make ſuch actions therfore leſſe odious, and to mitigate the envy of them, many colourable ſhifts and inventions have bin uſed, as if the world did hate onely Woolves, & think the Fox a goodly creature. The time it may be will come, when they that either violently have ſpoiled or thus ſmoothly defrauded God, ſhall find they did but deceive themſelves. In the meane while there will be alwayes ſome skilfull perſons, which can teach a way how to grind treatably the Church with jawes that ſhall ſcarſe moove, and yet devour in the end more then they that come ravening with open mouth, as if they would worry the whole in an inſtant; others alſo who having waſtfully eaten out their own patrimony, would be glad to repaire, if they might, their decayed eſtates, with the ruine they care not of what nor of whom, ſo the ſpoile were theirs, whereof in ſome part if they happen to ſpeed, yet commonly they are men born under that conſtellation which maketh them, I know not how, as unapt to inrich themſelves, as they are ready to impoveriſh others; it is their lot to ſuſtaine during life both the miſerie of beggers, and the infamy of robbers. But though no other plague & revenge ſhould follow ſacrilegious violations of holy things, the naturall ſecret diſgrace and ignominy, the very turpitude of ſuch actions in the eye of a wiſe underſtanding heart, is it ſelfe a *b* heavy puniſhment. Men of vertuous quality are by this ſufficiently mooved to beware how they anſwer and requite the mercies of God with injuries, whether openly or indirectly offered. I will not abſolutely ſay concerning the goods of the Church, that they may in no caſe be ſeized on by men, or that no Obligation, Commerce and Bargaine made between man and man, can ever bee of force to alienate the property which God hath in them. Certaine caſes I grant there are wherein it is not ſo darke what God himſelfe doth warrant, but that wee may ſafely preſume him as willing to forgoe for our benefit, as alwayes to uſe and convert to our benefit whatſoever our Religion hath honoured him withall. But ſurely under the name of that which may bee, many things that ſhould not bee are often done. By meanes whereof the Church moſt commonly for gold hath flanell, and whereas the uſuall Saw of old was *Glaucus*, his

a *Novimus multa regna, & reges eorum propterea cecidiſſe, quia Eccleſias ſpoliaverũt, reſq; earum vaſtaverunt, alienaverunt vel diripuerunt, epiſcopiſq; et Sacerdotibus, atque quod majus eſt Eccleſiis eorum abſtulerunt, et pugnantibus dederunt. Quapropter nec fortes in bello, nec in fide ſtabiles fuerunt, nec victores exiterunt, ſed terga multi vulnerati eri plures interfecti verterunt, regnaq, et regiones et quod peius eſt, regna cœleſtia perdiderunt, atq; propriis hæreditatibus carucrũt et haſtenus carent* Verba Caroli Main Capitu. Caru. l. 7. c. 104.

b *Iuno tempus erit magna cum optaverit emptum Intactæ Pallantæ et cum ſpolia iſta diemq; Oderit* Virgil. Æn. lib. 10.

c ἐπὶ τῶν σφαγμάτων ἀισχύνη ἀδεμίας ἐλαττὸν ζημία τοῖς γε σώφροσι, Demoſt. *Parum non dico legum quas ſæpe perrumpunt, ſed ipſius turpitudinis quæ acerbiſſima eſt non vident.* Cic. Offic. lib. 3. *Impunita tu credeſſe quæ inviſa ſunt? aut ullum ſupplicium gravius exiſtimaſpublico odio?* Senec. de Benef. lib. 3. c. 17.

his change, the Proverb is now *A Church bargaine*. And for feare leſt covetouſneſſe alone ſhould linger out the time too much, and not bee able to make havock of the houſe of God with that expedition, which the mortall enemy thereof did vehemently wiſh, hee hath by certaine ſtrong inchantments ſo deeply bewitcht Religion it ſelf, as to make it in the end an earneſt Sollicitor, and an eloquent Perſwader of ſacriledge, urging confidently, that the very beſt ſervice which men of power can doe to Chriſt, is without any more Ceremonie, to ſweepe all, and to leave the Church as bare as in the day it was firſt borne; that fulneſſe of bread having made the children of the houſhold wanton, it is without any ſcruple to bee taken away from them, and throwne to Dogs, that they which laid the prices of their Lands as offerings at the Apoſtles feet, did but ſow the ſeeds of ſuperſtition; that they which indowed Churches with Lands, poiſoned Religion, that Tithes & oblations are now in the ſight of God as the ſacrificed bloud of Goates, that if wee give him our hearts and affections, our goods are better beſtowed otherwiſe, that *Irenæus Polycarps* Diſciple ſhould not have ſaid, *Wee offer unto God our goods as tokens of thankfulneſſe for that wee receive*; neither Origen, *Hee which worſhippeth God, muſt by Gifts and oblations acknowledge him the Lord of all*; in a word, that to give unto God is error, reformation of error, to take from the Church, that which the blindnes of former Ages did unwiſely give. By theſe or the like ſuggeſtions, received with all joy, and with like ſedulitie practiſed in certaine parts of the Chriſtian world, they have brought to paſſe, that as *David* doth ſay of man, ſo it is in hazzard to be verified concerning the whole Religion and Service of God: *The time thereof may peradventure fall out to bee threeſcore and ten yeeres, or if ſtrength doe ſerve unto foureſcore, what followeth, is likely to bee ſmall joy for them whoſoever they bee that behold it.* Thus have the beſt things beene over-throwne, not ſo much by puiſſance and might of Adverſaries, as through defect of counſell, in them that ſhould have upheld and defended the ſame.

Irc. lib. 4. c. 34.

Orig. in 18. Num. Hom. 11.

Pſal 90. 10.

Of Ordinations lawfull without title, and without any popular election precedent, but in no caſe without regard of due information what their qualitie is, that enter into holy Orders.

80 There are in a Miniſter of God theſe foure things to bee conſidered, his Ordination which giveth him power to meddle with things ſacred, the charge or portion of the Church allotted unto him for exerciſe of his Office; the performance of his dutie, according to the exigence of his charge, and laſtly, the maintenance which in that reſpect he receiveth. All Eccleſiaſticall Lawes and Canons which either concerne the beſtowing or the uſing of the power of miniſteriall Order, have relation to theſe foure. Of the firſt we have ſpoken before at large. Concerning the next, for more convenient diſcharge of Eccleſiaſticall duties, as the body of the people muſt needs bee ſevered by divers precincts, ſo the Clergie likewiſe accordingly diſtributed. Whereas therefore Religion did firſt take place in Cities, & in that reſpect was a cauſe why the name of Pagans, which properly ſignifieth Country people, came to bee uſed in common ſpeech for the ſame that Infidels and Vnbeleevers were, it followed thereupon that all ſuch Cities had their Eccleſiaſtiall Colledges, conſiſting of Deacons and of Presbyters, whom firſt the Apoſtles or their Delegates the Evangeliſts, did both ordaine and governe. Such were the Colledges of Ieruſalem, Antioch, Epheſus, Rome, Corinth, and the reſt, where the

the Apoſtles are known to have planted our Faith and Religion. Now becauſe Religion & the cure of ſoules was their generall charge in common over all that were neere about them, neither had any one Presbiter his ſeverall Cure a part, till *Evariſtus* Biſhop in the See of Rome, about the yeere 112 began to aſſigne precincts unto every Church, or Title with the Chriſtians held, and to appoint unto each Presbyter a certain compaſſe, wherof himſelfe ſhould take charge alone, the commodiouſneſſe of this invenſion cauſed all parts of Chriſtendome to follow it, and at the length amongſt the reſt our own Churches, about the yeare 636. became divided in like manner. But other diſtinction of Churches, there doth not appeare any in the Apoſtles Writings, ſave only, according to thoſe [a] Cities wherein they planted the Goſpell of Chriſt, and erected Eccleſiaſticall Colledges. Wherefore to ordaine [b] κατὰ πόλιν throughout every City, and [c] κατὰ ἐκκλησίαν throughout every Church, do in them ſignifie the ſame thing. Churches then neither were, nor could be in ſo convenient ſort limited as now they are, firſt, by the bounds of each ſtate and then within each ſtate by more particular precincts, till at the length we deſcend unto ſeverall Congregations termed *Pariſhes*, with farre narrower reſtraint, than this name at the firſt was uſed. And from hence hath grown their errour, who as oft as they read of the duty which Eccleſiaſticall perſons are now to perform towards the Church, their manner is alwayes to underſtand by that Church, ſome particular Congregation, or Pariſh Church. They ſuppoſe that there ſhould now be no man of Eccleſiaſticall Order, which is not tyed to ſome certain Pariſh. Becauſe the names of all Church Officers are words of relation, becauſe a Shepherd muſt have his Flock, a Teacher his ſcholers, a Miniſter his company which he miniſtreth unto, therefore it ſeemeth a thing in their eyes abſurd and unreaſonable, that any man ſhould bee ordained a Miniſter, otherwiſe, than only for ſome particular Congregation. Perceive they not, how by this meane they make it unlawfull for the Church to imploy men at all, in converting Nations? For if ſo bee the Church may not lawfully admit to an Eccleſiaſticall function, unleſſe it tie the party admitted unto ſome particular Pariſh, then ſurely, a thankleſſe labour it is, whereby men ſeeke the Converſion of Infidels, which know not Chriſt, and therefore cannot bee as yet divided into their ſpeciall Congregations and Flocks. But to the end it may appeare how much this one thing amongſt many more hath been miſtaken, there is firſt no Precept, requiring that Presbyters and Deacons bee made in ſuch ſort, and not otherwiſe. Albeit therefore the Apoſtles did make them in that order, yet is not their Example ſuch a Law, as without all exception bindeth to make them in no other order but that. Again, if wee will conſider that which the Apoſtles themſelves did, ſurely, no man can juſtly ſay that herein wee practiſe any thing repugnant to their example. For by them there was ordained only in each Chriſtian City, a Colledge of Preſbyters and Deacons to adminiſter holy things. *Evariſtus* did a hundred yeeres after the birth of our Saviour Chriſt, begin the diſtinction of the Church into Pariſhes. Presbyters and Deacons having been ordained before to exerciſe Eccleſiaſticall functions, in the Church of Rome promiſcuouſly, he was the firſt that tied them each one to his own ſtation. So that

[a] *Acts* 8.15.36. *Apoc.* 1,20.
[b] *Tit.* 1.5.
[c] *Acts* 14.23.

of the two; indefinite Ordination of Presbyters and Deacons doth come more neere the Apostles Example, and the tying of them to bee made only for particular Congregations, may justly ground it selfe upon the Example of *Evaristus* than of any Apostle of Christ. It hath been the opinion of Wise men and good men hertofore, that nothing was ever devised more singularly beneficiall unto Gods Church, than this which our honourable Predecessors have to their endlesse prayse found out by erecting such Houses of Study, as those two most famous Universities do contain, and by providing that choice Wits, after reasonable time spent in contemplation, may at the length either enter into that holy Vocation, for which they have been so long nourished and brought up, or else give place and suffer others to succeed in their rooms, that so the Church may be always furnished with a number of men, whose ability being first known by publike triall in Church-labours there where men can best judge of them, their calling afterwards unto particular charge abroad may be according. All this is frustrate, those worthy Foundations wee must dissolve, their whole device and religious purpose which did erect them is made voyd, their Orders and Statutes are to bee cancelled and disanulled, in case the Church be forbidden to grant any power of Order, unlesse it bee with restraint to the party ordained unto some particular Parish or Congregation. Nay, might we not rather affirme of Presbyters and of Deacons, that the very nature of their Ordination is unto necessary locall restraint a thing opposite and repugnant? The Emperour *Iustinian* doth say of Tutors, *Certæ rei vel causæ tutor dari non potest, quia personæ non causæ vel rei tutor datur.* He that should grant a Tutorship, restraining his grant to some one certain thing or cause, should do but idely, because Tutors are given for personall defence generally, and not for managing of a few particular things or causes. So he that ordaining a Presbyter or a Deacon, should in the forme of Ordination restraine the one or the other to a certaine place, might with much more reason bee thought to use a vaine and frivolous addition, than they reasonably to require such locall restraint, as a thing which must of necessity concurre evermore with all lawfull Ordinations. Presbyters and Deacons are not by Ordination consecrated unto places, but unto Functions. In which respect, and in no other it is, that sith they are by vertue thereof bequeathed unto God, severed and sanctified to be imployed in his Service, which is the highest advancement that mortall creatures on Earth can bee raised unto, the Church of Christ hath not been acquainted in former Ages, with any such profane and unnaturall custome, as doth hallow men with Ecclesiasticall Functions of Order only for a time, and then demisse them again to the common Affaires of the World. Whereas, contrariwise, from the place or charge where that power hath been exercised, wee may bee by sundry good and lawfull occasions translated, retaining nevertheless the selfe-same power which was first given. It is some griefe to spend thus much labour in refuting a thing that hath so little ground to uphold it, especially sith they themselves that teach it, doe not seeme to give thereunto any great credit, if wee may judge their mindes by their actions. There are amongst them that have done the work of Ecclesiasticall persons, sometime in the Families of Noble men

Iust. lib. 1. tit. 14. §. 4.

men, ſometime in much more publick and frequent Congregations, there are that have ſucceſſively gone thorow perhaps ſeven or eight particular Churches after this ſort, yea, ſome that at one and the ſame time have been, ſome which at this preſent houre are in reall obligation of Eccleſiaſticall dutie, and poſſeſſion of commodity thereto belonging, even in ſundry particular Churches within the Land, ſome there are amongſt them which will not ſo much abridge their liberty, as to be faſtened or tied unto any place, ſome which have bound themſelves to one place, onely for a time, and that time being once expired, have afterwards voluntarily given other places the like experience and triall of them. All this I preſume they would not do, if their perſwaſion were as ſtrict as their words pretend. But for the avoiding of theſe and ſuch other the like confuſions as are incident into the cauſe and queſtion whereof we preſently treat, there is not any thing more materiall, than firſt to ſeparate exactly the nature of the Miniſtery, from the uſe and exerciſe thereof; Secondly, to know that the only true and proper Act of Ordination is, to inveſt men with that power which doth make them Miniſters by conſecrating their perſons to God, and his ſervice in holy things during terme of life, whether they exerciſe that power or no; Thirdly, that to give them a title or charge where to uſe their Miniſtry, concerneth not the making, but the placing of Gods Miniſters, & therfore the Laws which concern only their Election or Admiſſion unto that place of charge, are not appliable to infringe any way their Ordination; Fourthly, that as oft as any ancient Conſtitution, Law or Canon is alleaged, concerning either Ordinations or Elections, we forget not to examine whether the preſent caſe be the ſame which the ancient was, or elſe do contain ſome juſt reaſon for which it cannot admit altogether the ſame Rules which former Affaires of the Church now altered did then require. In the queſtion of making Miniſters without a *Title*, which to do they ſay is a thing unlawfull, they ſhould at the very firſt have conſidered what the name of *Title* doth imply, and what affinity or coherence Ordinations have with Titles, which thing obſerved would plainly have ſhewed them their own errour. They are not ignorant that when they ſpeak of a Title, they handle that which belongeth to the placing of a Miniſter in ſome charge, that the place of charge wherein a Miniſter doth execute his Office, requireth ſome houſe of God for the people to reſort unto, ſome definite number of Soules unto whom he there adminiſtreth holy things, and ſome certain allowance whereby to ſuſtain life; that the Fathers at the firſt named *Oratories*, and Houſes of Prayer, Titles, thereby ſignifying how God was intereſſed in them and held them as his own Poſſeſſions. But becauſe they know that the Church had Miniſters before Chriſtian Temples and Oratories were, therefore ſome of them underſtand by a Title, a *definite Congregation* of people only, and ſo deny that any Ordination is lawfull which maketh Miniſters, that have no certain Flock to attend, forgetting how the Seventy whom Chriſt himſelfe did ordaine Miniſters, had their calling in that manner, whereas yet no certaine charge could be given them. Others referring the name of a Title, eſpecially to the *maintenance* of the Miniſter, infringe all Ordinations made, [a] except they which receive Orders bee firſt intitled

[a] Vnlawfull to ord. in a Miniſter without a Title. *Abſt. a. p.* 243. *et p.* 246. The Law requireth that every one admitted unto Orders having for his preſent Reliefe ſome Eccleſiaſticall Benefice, ..ould alſo have ſome other Title unto ſome annual rent or penſion whereby he might be releeved in caſe he were not able through infirmity, ſickneſſe, or other lawfull impediment to execute his Eccleſiaſticall Office and Function.

tled to a competent Eccleſiaſticall Benefice,& (which is moſt ridiculouſly ſtrange) except beſides their preſent Title to ſome ſuch Benefice, they have likewiſe ſome other Title of Annuall Rent or Penſion whereby they may be releeved, in caſe through infirmity, ſickneſſe or other lawfull impediment they grow unable to execute their Eccleſiaſticall Function. So that every man lawfully ordained muſt bring a bow which hath two ſtrings, a Title of preſent Right, and another to provide for future poſſibility or chance. Into theſe abſurdities and follies they ſlide by miſ-conceiving the true purpoſe of certain Canons, which indeed have forbidden to ordain a Miniſter without a Title, not that ſimply it is unlawfull ſo to ordain, but becauſe it might grow to an inconvenience, if the Church did not ſomewhat reſtrain that liberty. For ſeeing they which have once received Ordination, cannot again return into the World, it behoveth them which ordain, to fore-ſee how ſuch ſhall be afterwards able to live, leſt their poverty and deſtitution ſhould redound to the diſgrace and diſcredit of their calling. Which evill prevented, thoſe very Lawes which in that reſpect forbid, do expreſly admit Ordinations to be made at large, and without Title, namely, if the party ſo ordained have of his own for the ſuſtenance of this life, or if the Biſhop which giveth him Orders will find him competent allowance, till ſome place of Miniſtration, from whence his maintenance may ariſe, be provided for him, or if any other fit and ſufficient means be had againſt the danger before mentioned. Abſolutely therefore it is not true, that any ancient Canon of the Church which is, or ought to be with us in force, doth make Ordinations at large unlawfull, and as the ſtate of the Church doth ſtand, they are moſt neceſſary. If there be any conſcience in men touching that which they write or ſpeak, let them conſider as well what the preſent condition of all things doth now ſuffer, as what the Ordinances of former Ages did appoint, as well the weight of thoſe cauſes, for which our Affaires have altered, as the reaſons in regard whereof our Fathers and Predeceſſours did ſometime ſtrictly and ſeverely keep that, which for us to obſerve now, is neither meet nor alwayes poſſible. In this our preſent Cauſe and Controverſie, whether any not having Title of Right to a Benefice may be lawfully ordained a Miniſter, is it not manifeſt in the eyes of all men, that whereas the name of a Benefice doth ſignifie ſome ſtanding Eccleſiaſticall Revenew, taken out of the Treaſure of God, and allotted to a Spirituall Perſon, to the end he may uſe the ſame, and enjoy it as his own for terme of life, unleſſe his default cauſe Deprivation: the Clergie for many yeares after Chriſt had no other Benefices, but only their Canonicall Portions, or monethly Dividends allowed them according to their ſeverall degrees and qualities, out of the common Stock of ſuch Gifts, Oblations and Tithes, as the fervour of Chriſtian Piety did then yeeld? Yea, that even when Miniſters had their Churches and Flocks aſſigned unto them in ſeverall, yet for maintenance of life, their former kind of allowance continued, till ſuch time as Biſhops and Churches Cathedrall being ſufficiently endowed with Lands, other Presbyters enjoyed in ſtead of their firſt Benefices, the Tithes and Profits of their own Congregations whole to themſelves? Is it not manifeſt that in this Realme, and ſo in other the like Dominions,

where

where the tenure of Lands is altogether grounded on Military Lawes, and held as in Fee under Princes which are not made Heads of the people by force of voluntary Election, but borne the Soveraigne Lords of thoſe whole and intire Territories, which Territories their famous Progenitors obtaynig by way of Conqueſt, retained what they would in their own hands, and divided the reſt to others with reſervation of Soveraignty and Capitall intereſt, the building of Churches, and conſequently the aſſignig of either Pariſhes or Benefices, was a thing impoſſible without conſent of ſuch as were principall Owners of Land, in which conſideration, for their more incouragement hereunto, they which did ſo far benefit the Church, had by common conſent granted (as great equity and reaſon was) a right for them and their Heires till the Worlds end, to nominate in thoſe Benefices men whoſe quality the Biſhop allowing might admit them thereunto? Is it not manifeſt, that from hence inevitably ſuch inequality of Pariſhes hath grown, as cauſeth ſome through the multitude of people which have reſort unto one Church, to be more than any one man can weild, and ſome to be of that nature by reaſon of Chappels annext, that they which are Incumbents ſhould wrong the Church, if ſo be they had not certain Stipendaries under them, becauſe where the Corpes of the profit or Benefice is but one, the Title can be but one mans, and yet the charge may require more? Not to mention therefore any other reaſon whereby it may cleerly appeare how expedient it is, and profitable for this Church to admit Ordinations without Title, this little may ſuffice to declare, how impertinent their allegations againſt it are out of ancient Canons, how untrue their confident aſſeverations, that only through negligence of Popiſh Prelates the cuſtome of making ſuch kind of Miniſters hath prevailed in the Church of Rome againſt their Canons, and that with us it is expreſly againſt the Lawes of our own Government, when a Miniſter doth ſerve as a Stipendary Curate, which kind of ſervice nevertheleſſe the greateſt Rabbins of that part do altogether follow. For howſoever they are loth peradventure to be named Curates, Stipendaries they are, and the labour they beſtow, is in other mens cures, a thing not unlawfull for them to do, yet unſeemely for them to condemne which practiſe it. I might here diſcover the like over-ſight throughout all their Diſcourſes, made in behalfe of the peoples pretended right to elect their Miniſters before the Biſhop may lawfully ordaine. But becauſe we have other where at large diſputed of popular Elections, and of the right or Patronage, wherin is drowned whatſoever the people under any pretence of colour may ſeem to challenge about admiſſion and choice of the Paſtors that ſhall feed their ſoules, I cannot ſee what one duty there is which alwayes ought to go before Ordination, but only care of the parties worthineſſe, as well for integrity and vertue, as knowledge, yea, for vertue more, in as much as defect of knowledge may ſundry wayes be ſupplied, but the ſcandall of vicious and wicked life, is a deadly evill.

81 The truth is, that of all things hitherto mentioned, the greateſt is that threefold blot or blemiſh of notable ignorance, unconſcionable abſence from the Cures whereof men have taken charge, and unſatiable hunting

O the learning that ſhould be in Miniſters, their reſidence, and the number of their Livings.

ting after ſpirituall preferments, without either care or conſcience of the publike good. Whereof, to the end that we may conſider as in Gods own ſight and preſence with all uprightneſſe, ſincerity, and truth, let us particularly waigh and examine in every of them; Firſt, how far forth they are reprovable by Reaſons and Maximes of common right; Secondly, whether that which our Laws do permit, be repugnant to thoſe Maximes, and with what equity we ought to judge of things practiſed in this caſe, neither on the one hand defending that which muſt bee acknowledged out of ſquare, nor on the other ſide condemning raſhly whom we liſt, for whatſoever we diſallow. Touching Arguments therefore, taken from the principles of common right, to prove that Miniſters ſhould be [a] learned, that they ought to be [b] Reſident upon their Livings, and that [c] more than one only Benefice or Spirituall Living may not bee granted unto one man; the firſt, becauſe Saint *Paul* requireth in a Miniſter ability to teach, to convince, to diſtribute the Word rightly, becauſe alſo the Lord himſelf hath proteſted, they ſhalbe no Prieſts to him which have rejected knowledge, and becauſe if the Blind lead the Blind, they muſt both needs fall into the Pit; the ſecond, becauſe Teachers are Shepherds, whoſe Flocks can be at no time ſecure from danger, they are Watchmen whom the Enemy doth alwayes beſiege, their labours in the Word and Sacraments admit no intermiſſion, their dutie requireth inſtruction and conference with men in private, they are the living Oracles of God, to whom the people muſt reſort for counſell, they are commanded to be Patternes of Holineſſe, Leaders, Feeders, Supervifors amongſt their owne, it ſhould be their grief, as it was the Apoſtles to be abſent, though neceſſarily from them over whom they have taken charge; finally, the laſt becauſe Plurality and Reſidence are oppoſite, becauſe the placing of one Clerke in two Churches, is a point of Merchandiſe and filthy gaine, becauſe no man can ſerve two Maſters, becauſe every one ſhould remaine in that Vocation whereto he is called, what conclude they of all this? Againſt Ignorance, againſt Non-reſidence, and againſt Plurality of Livings, is there any man ſo raw and dull, but that the Volumes which have been written, both of old and of late, may make him in ſo plentifull a cauſe eloquent? For if by that which is *generally* juſt and requiſite, we meaſure what knowledge there ſhould be in a Miniſter of the Goſpel of Chriſt, the Arguments which Light of Nature offereth, the Lawes and Statutes, which Scripture hath, the Canons that are taken out of ancient Synods, the Decrees and Conſtitutions of ſincereſt Times, the Sentences of all Antiquity, and in a word, even every mans full conſent and conſcience is againſt Ignorance in them that have charge and cure of Soules. Again, what avayleth it if we be Learned and not Faithfull? or what benefit hath the Church of Chriſt, if there be in us ſufficiency without endevour or care to do that good which our place exacteth? Touching the paines and induſtry therefore, wherewith men are in conſcience bound to attend the work of their Heavenly calling, even as much as in them lyeth, bending thereunto their whole endevour, without either fraud, ſophiſtication, or guile, I ſee not what more effectuall Obligation or Bond of Duty there ſhould be urged, than their own only Vow and Promiſe made unto God himſelfe, at the time

[a] *T C. l.1 p.70.*
[b] *66.*
[c] *69.*
1 Tim.3.2.
Tit.1.9.
2 Tim.2.15.
Hoſ.4.6.
Mat.15.14.
Luke 2.8.
Acts 20.2.
1 Sam 1.13.
1 Tim.4 12.
Iohn 10 4.
1 Pet.5.2.
Acts 20.28.
1 Theſ.2 17.
Concil. Nic.c.15.
Mat.6.24.
1 Cor.7.24.

time of their Ordination. The work which they have undertaken, requireth both care and feare. Their ſloth that negligently performe it, maketh them ſubject to malediction. Beſides, wee alſo know that the fruit of our paines in this Function, is life both to our ſelves and others. And do wee yet need incitements to labour? Shall we ſtop our eares both againſt thoſe conjuring exhortations which Apoſtles, and againſt the fearefull comminations which Prophets have uttered out of the mouth of God, the one for prevention, the other for reformation of our ſluggiſhneſſe in this behalfe? S. *Paul, Attend to your ſelves, & to all the flock, wherof the holy Ghoſt hath made your over-ſeers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchaſed with his own bloud. Again, I charge thee before God and the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, which ſhall judge the quick and the dead at his comming, preach the Word; bee inſtant.* Ieremie, *Woe unto the Paſtors that deſtroy and ſcatter the ſheepe of my paſture, I will viſit you for the wickedneſſe of your workes, ſaith the Lord, the remnant of my ſheepe, I will gather together out of all Countries, and will bring them again to their folds, they ſhall grow and increaſe, and I will ſet up ſhepheards, over them, which ſhall feed them.* Ezechiel *Should not the ſhepherds, ſhould they not feed the flocks? Ye eat the fat, and ye clothe your ſelvs with the wooll, but the weak ye have not ſtrengthened, the ſick ye have not cured, neither have ye bound up the broken, nor brought home again that which was driven away, ye have not inquired after that which was loſt, but with cruelty and rigor ye have ruled. Wherefore, as I live, ſaith the Lord God, I will require my ſheep at their hands, nor ſhall the ſhepheards feed themſelves any more, for I will deliver my ſheep from their mouthes, they ſhall no more devoure them.* Nor let us think to excuſe our ſelves, if hapily wee labour, though it bee at randome, and ſit not altogether idle abroad. For wee are bound to attend that part of the flocke of Chriſt, whereof the Holy Ghoſt hath made us over-ſeers. The reſidence of Miniſters upon their own peculiar charge, is by ſo much the rather neceſſary, for that abſenting themſelves from the place, where they ought to labour, they neither can do the good which is looked for at their hands, nor reape the comfort which ſweetneth life to them that ſpend it in theſe travailes upon their own. For it is in this as in all things elſe, which are through private intereſt dearer, than what concerneth either others wholly, or us but in part, and according to the rate of a generall regard. As for plurality, it hath not only the ſame inconveniences which are obſerved to grow by abſence, but over and beſides, at the leaſt in common conſtruction, a ſhew of that worldly humor which men do think ſhould not taigne ſo high. Now from hence their Collections are as followeth, firſt, a repugnancy or contradiction between the Principles of common right, and that which our Lawes in ſpeciall conſiderations have allowed: ſecondly, a nullity or fruſtration of all ſuch acts, as are by them ſuppoſed oppoſite to thoſe Principles, an invalidity in all ordinations of men unable to preach, and in all diſpenſations which mitigate the Law of common right for the other two. And why ſo? Forſooth, becauſe whatſoever we do in theſe three caſes, and not by vertue of common right, wee muſt yeeld it of neceſſity done by warrant of peculiar right or priviledge. Now a priviledge is ſaid to be that, that for favour of certain perſons commeth forth *againſt* common right; things *prohibited* are diſpenſed with, becauſe things

Acts 20. 27.

Ier. 23. 2.

Ezech. 34. 2.

Abſtract. p. 117

permit-

permitted are diſpatched by common right, but things *forbidden* require diſpenſations. By which deſcriptions of a priviledge and diſpenſation it is (they ſay) apparent, that a priviledge muſt licence and authorize the ſame, which the Law againſt ignorance, non-reſidence & plurality doth infringe; and ſo be a Law contrariant or repugnant to the Law of Nature, and the Law of God, becauſe all the reaſons wherupon the Poſſitive Law of man againſt theſe three was firſt eſtabliſhed, are taken and drawn from the Law of Nature and the Law of God. For anſwer whereunto we will but lead them to anſwer themſelves. Firſt therfore if they will grant (as they muſt) that all direct oppoſitions of ſpeech require one and the ſelfe-ſame ſubject, to bee meant on both parts where oppoſition is pretended, it will follow that either the maximes of common right do inforce *the very ſame things* not to be good, which we ſay are good, grounding our ſelves on the reaſons, by vertue wherof our priviledges are eſtabliſhed; or if the one do not reach unto that *particular ſubject*, for which the other have provided, then is there no contradiction between them. In all contradictions, if the one part be true, the other eternally muſt be falſe. And therefore if the Principles of common right, do at any time truely inforce *that particular* not to bee good, which priviledges make good, it argueth invincibly, that ſuch priviledges have been grounded upon ſome errour. But to ſay, that every priviledge is oppoſite unto the principles of common right, becauſe it diſpenſeth with that which common right doth prohibit, hath groſſe abſurdity. For the voyce of Equity and Juſtice is, that a generall Law doth never derogate from a ſpeciall Priviledge, whereas if the one were contrariant to the other, a generall Law being in force ſhould alwayes diſſolve a Priviledge. The reaſon why many are deceived by imagining that ſo it ſhould do, and why men of better inſight conclude directly it ſhould not, doth reſt in the *ſubject or matter* it ſelfe, which matter *indefinitely* conſidered in Lawes of common right, is in Priviledges conſidered as *beſet and limited with ſpeciall circumſtances*, by meanes whereof to them which reſpect it, but by way of generallity it ſeemeth one and the ſame in both, although it bee not the ſame, if once we deſcend to particular conſideration thereof. Precepts do alwayes propoſe perfection, not ſuch as none can attaine unto, for then in vaine ſhould wee aske or require it at the hands of men, but ſuch perfection as all men muſt ayme at, to the end that as largely as humane providence and care can extend it, it may take place. Morall Laws are the rules of Politike, thoſe Politike, which are made to order the whole Church of God, Rules unto all particular Churches, and the Laws of every particular Church, Rules unto every particular man, within the body of the ſame Church, Now becauſe the higher wee aſcend in theſe rules, the further ſtill wee remove from thoſe ſpecialties, which being proper to the ſubject, whereupon our actions muſt work are therefore chiefly conſidered by us, by them leaſt thought upon that wade altogether in the two firſt kinds of generall directions, their judgement cannot bee exact and ſound, concerning either Lawes of Churches, or Actions of men in particular, becauſe they determine of effects by a part of the cauſes only out of which they grow, they judge concluſions by demipremiſes and halfe principles, they lay them in the ballance, ſtript from thoſe neceſſary materiall

teriall circumſtances, which ſhould give them waight, and by ſhew of falling uneven with the ſcale of moſt univerſall and abſtracted rules, they pronounce that too light which is not, if they had the skill to weigh it. This is the reaſon why men altogether converſant in ſtudie, doe know how to teach, but not how to governe; men experienced contrariwiſe governe well, yet know not which way to ſet down orderly the Precepts & Reaſons of that they doe. He that will therefore judge rightly of things done, muſt joyne with his formes and conceits of generall ſpeculation, the matter wherein our actions are converſant. For by this ſhall appeare what equitie there is in thoſe Priviledges and peculiar grants or Favours, which otherwiſe will ſeeme repugnant to juſtice, and becauſe in themſelves conſidered, they have [a] a ſhew of repugnancy, this deceiveth thoſe great Clarkes, which hearing a priviledge defined to bee *an eſpeciall right brought in by their power and authoritie, that make it for ſome publick benefit againſt the generall courſe of reaſon*, are not able to comprehend how the word *againſt* doth import *exception*, without any *oppoſition* at all. For in as much as the hand of Juſtice muſt diſtribute to every particular what is due, and judge what is due with reſpect had, no leſſe of particular circumſtances then of generall rules and axiomes, it cannot fit all ſorts with one meaſure, the wils, counſels, qualities and ſtates of men being divers. For example, the Law of common right bindeth all men to keep their promiſes, perform their compacts, and anſwer the Faith they have given either for themſelves, or others. Notwithſtanding he which bargaineth with one under yeeres, can have no benefit by this allegation, becauſe he bringeth it againſt a perſon which is exempt from the common rule. Shall we then conclude, that thus to exempt certain men from the Law of common right, is againſt God, againſt Nature, againſt whatſoever may avail to ſtrengthen and juſtifie that Law before alleaged, or elſe acknowledge (as the truth is) that ſpeciall cauſes are to be ordered by ſpecial rules, that if men grown unto ripe age, diſadvantage themſelves by bargaining, yet what they have wittingly done, is ſtrong, and in force againſt them, becauſe they are able to diſpoſe & manage their own affaires, whereas youth for lack of experience and judgement, being eaſily ſubject to circumvention, is therefore juſtly exempt from the Law of common right, whereunto the reſt are juſtly ſubject? This plain inequality between men of yeares, and under yeares, is a cauſe why Equity and Iuſtice cannot apply equally the ſame generall Rule to both, but ordereth the one by common right, & granteth to the other a ſpeciall priviledge. Priviledges are either tranſitory or permanent. [b] Tranſitory, ſuch as ſerve only ſome one turn, or at the moſt extend no farther than to this or that man, with the end of whoſe naturall life they expire; Permanent, ſuch as the uſe whereof doth continue ſtill, for that they belong unto certain *kinds* of men and cauſes which never die. Of this nature are all immunities and preeminences, which for juſt conſiderations one ſort of men injoyeth above another, both in the Church and Common-wealth, no man ſuſpecting them of contrariety to any branch of thoſe Lawes or Reaſons, whereupon the generall right is grounded. Now there being generall Lawes & Rules whereby it cannot be denied, but the Church of God ſtandeth bound to provide that the Miniſtery may be learned, that they which have charge may reſide upon

a *Ius ſingulare eſt, quod contra tenorem rationis propter aliquam utilitatem auctoritate conſtituentium introductum eſt.* Paulus ff. de Legib.

b *Privilegium perſonæ cum perſona extinguitur, & privilegium datum actioni tranſit cum actione.* Op. de regulis, part 1. lib.

upon it, and that it may not be free for them in ſcandalous manner to multiply Eccleſiaſticall livings, it remaineth in the next place to be examined, what the lawes of the Church of England do admit, which may be thought repugnant to any thing hitherto alledged, and in what ſpeciall conſideration they ſeem to admit the ſame. Conſidering therefore, that to furniſh all places of Cure in this Realme, it is not an Armie of twelve thouſand learned men that would ſuffice, nor two Vniverſities that can alwayes furniſh as many as decay in ſo great a number, nor a fourth part of the livings with Cure, that when they fall are able to yeeld ſufficient maintenance for learned men, is it not plain, that unleſſe the greateſt part of the people ſhould be left utterly without the publike uſe & exerciſe of Religion, there is no remedy but to take into the Eccleſiaſticall order, a number of men meanly qualified in reſpect of learning? For whatſoever we may imagine in our private Cloſets, or talk for communication ſake at our Boords, yea, or write in our Books, through a notionall conceit of things needfull, for performance of each mans duty, if once we come from the Theorie of learning, to take out ſo many learned men, let them be diligently viewed, out of whom the choyce ſhall be made, and thereby an eſtimate made, what degree of skill we muſt either admit, or elſe leave numbers utterly deſtitute of guides, and I doubt not but that men indued with ſenſe of common equity, will ſoon diſcern, that beſides eminent and competent knowledge, we are to deſcend to a lower ſtep, receiving knowledge in that degree, which is but tolerable. When we commend any man for learning, our ſpeech importeth him to be more than meanly qualified that way; but when Lawes do require learning as a quality, which maketh capable of any function, our meaſure to judge a learned man by, muſt be ſome certain degree of learning, beneath which we can hold no man ſo qualified. And if every man that liſteth may ſet that degree himſelf, how ſhall we ever know when Lawes are broken, when kept, ſeeing one man may think a lower degree ſufficient, another may judge them unſufficient that are not qualified in ſome higher degree. Wherefore of neceſſity either we muſt have ſome Iudge in whoſe conſcience they that are thought and pronounced ſufficient, are to be ſo accepted and taken, or elſe the Law it ſelf is to ſet down the very loweſt degree of fitneſſe, that ſhall be allowable in this kind. So that the queſtion doth grow to this iſſue. Saint *Paul* requireth learning in Presbyters, yea ſuch learning as doth inable them to exhort in doctrine which is ſound, and to diſprove them that gain-ſay it. What meaſure of ability in ſuch things ſhall ſerve to make men capable of that kind of Office, he doth not himſelf preciſely determine, but referreth it to the conſcience of *Titus*, and others, which had to deale in ordaining Presbyters. We muſt therefore of neceſſity make this demand, whether the Church lacking ſuch as the Apoſtle would have choſen, may with good conſcience take out of ſuch as it hath in a meaner degree of fitneſſe, them that may ſerve to performe the ſervice of publick Prayer, to miniſter the Sacraments unto the People, to ſolemnize Marriage, to viſit the Sick, and bury the Dead; to inſtruct by reading, although by preaching they be not as yet ſo able to benefit and feed Chriſts flock. We conſtantly hold, that in this caſe the Apoſtles law is not broken. He requireth more in

Titus 1. 9.

Presbyters

Presbyters than there is found in many whom the Church of England alloweth. But no man being tied unto impoſſibilities, to doe that wee cannot, wee are not bound. It is but a ſtratagem of theirs therefore, and a very indirect practice, when they publiſh large declamations to prove that learniug is required in the Miniſtery, and to make the ſilly people beleeve that the contrary is maintained by the Biſhops, and upheld by the Lawes of the Land, whereas the queſtion in truth is not whether learning bee required, but whether a Church wherein there is not ſufficieut ſtore of learned men to furniſh all Congregations, ſhould doe better to let thouſands of ſoules grow ſavage, to let them live without any publike ſervice of God, to let their children die unbaptized, to withhold the benefit of the other Sacrament from them, to let them depart this world like Pagans, without any thing, as much as read unto them concerning the way of life, then as it doth in this neceſſity, to make ſuch Presbyters as are ſo far forth ſufficient, although they want that ability of preaching which ſome others have. In this point therfore we obey neceſſity, and of two evils wee take the leſſe; in the reſt a publique utility is ſought, and in regard thereof ſome certaine inconveniences tolerated, becauſe they are recompenced with greater good. The Law giveth liberty of non-Reſidence for a time to ſuch as will live in Vniverſities, if they faithfully there labour to grow in knowledge, that ſo they may afterwards the more edifie and the better inſtruct their Congregations. The Church in their abſence is not deſtitute, the peoples ſalvation not neglected for the preſent time, the time of their abſence is in the intendment of Law beſtowed to the Churches great advantage and benefit, thoſe neceſſary helpes are procured by it, which turne by many degrees more to the peoples comfort in time to come, then if their Paſtors had continually abidden with them. So that the Law doth hereby provide in ſome part to remedy and help that evil, which the former neceſſity hath impoſed upon the Church. For compare two men of equall meaneneſſe, the one perpetually reſident, the other abſent for a ſpace, in ſuch ſort as the Law permitteth. Allot unto both ſome nine yeares continuance with Cure of ſoules. And muſt not three yeares abſence in all probability and likely-hood, make the one more profitable than the other unto Gods Church, by ſo much as the increaſe of his knowledge, gotten in thoſe three yeares, may adde unto ſix yeares travaile following? For the greater ability there is added to the inſtrument, wherewith it pleaſeth God to ſave ſoules, the more facility and expedition it hath to work that which is otherwiſe hardlier effected. As much may be ſaid touching abſence, granted to them that attend in the families of Biſhops, which Schooles of gravity, diſcretion and wiſdome, preparing men againſt the time that they come to reſide abroad, are in my poore opinion even the fitteſt places that any ingenious mind can wiſh to enter into, between departure from private ſtudy, and acceſſe to a more publike charge of ſoules, yea no leſſe expedient, for men of the beſt ſufficiency and moſt maturity in knowledge, than the very Vniverſities themſelves are for the ripening of ſuch as bee raw. Imployment in the families of Noble men, or in Princes Courts hath another end, for which the ſelfe-ſame leave is given, not without greater reſpect to the good of the whole Church. For aſſuredly

redly whoſoever doth well obſerve, how much all inferiour things depend upon the orderly courſes and motions of thoſe greater Orbes, will hardly judge it either meete or good, that the Angels aſſiſting them ſhould bee driven to betake themſelves unto other Stations, although by nature they were not tyed where now they are, but had charge alſo elſewhere, as long as their abſence from beneath might but tolerably be ſupplyed, and by deſcending their roomes above ſhould become vacant. For wee are not to dreame in this caſe of any platforme, which bringeth equally high and low unto Pariſh Churches, nor of any conſtraint to maintaine at their own charge men ſufficient for that purpoſe; the one ſo repugnant to the Majeſty and Greatneſſe of Engliſh Nobility, the other ſo improbable and unlikely to take effect, that they which mention either of both, ſeeme not indeed to have conceived what either is. But the eye of Law is the eye of God, it looketh into the hearts and ſecret diſpoſitions of men, it beholdeth how far one ſtar differeth from another in glory, and as mens ſeverall degrees require, accordingly it guideth them, granting unto principall Perſonages priviledges correſpondent to their high eſtates, and that not only in Civill, but even in Spirituall affaires, to the end they may love that Religion the more, which no way ſeeketh to make them vulgar, no way diminiſheth their dignity and greatneſſe, but to do them good, doth them honour alſo, and by ſuch extraordinary favours teacheth them to bee in the Church of God, the ſame which the Church of God eſteemeth them, more worth than thouſands. It appeareth therefore in what reſpect the Laws of this Realm have given liberty of non-reſidence to ſome, that their knowledge may be increaſed, and their labours by that meane be made afterwards the more profitable to others, leſt the houſes of great men ſhould want that daily exerciſe of Religion, wherein their example avayleth as much, yea many times peradventure more than the Laws themſelvs, with the common ſort. A third thing reſpected both in permitting abſence, and alſo in granting to ſome that liberty of addition or plurality, which neceſſarily inforceth their abſence, is a meere both juſt and conſcionable regard, that as men are in quality, and as their ſervices are in waight for the publike good, ſo likewiſe their rewards and incouragements by ſpeciall priviledge of Law, might ſomewhat declare how the State it ſelfe doth accept their paines, much abhorring from their beſtiall and ſavage rudeneſſe, which think that Oxen ſhould only labour, and Aſſes feed. Thus to Readers in Vniverſities, whoſe very paper and book expences, their ancient allowances and ſtipends at this day do either not or hardly ſuſtaine; to Governours of Colledges, leſt the great over-plus of charges neceſſarily inforced upon them, by reaſon of their place, and very ſlenderly ſupplyed, by meanes of that change in the preſent condition of things, which their Founders could not fore-ſee; to men called away from their Cures, and imployed in waighter buſineſſe, either of the Church or Commonwealth, becauſe to impoſe upon them a burthen which requireth their abſence, and not to releaſe them from the duty of Reſidence, were a kind of cruell and barbarous injuſtice; to Reſidents in Cathedrall Churches, or upon dignities Eccleſiaſticall, for as much as theſe being rooms of greater Hoſpitality, places of more reſpect and conſequence than the reſt, they

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are the rather to be furniſhed with men of beſt qualitie, and the men for their qualities ſake to be favoured above others, I ſay unto all theſe in regard of their worth and merit, the Law hath therefore given leave while themſelvs beare waightier burthens, to ſupply inferiour by deputation, and in like conſideration partly, partly alſo by way of honour to learning, Nobility and Authoritie permitteth, that men which have taken Theologicall degrees in Schooles, the Suffraganes of Biſhops, the houſhold Chaplens of men of honour, or in great Office, the brethren and ſonnes of Lords temporall, or of Knights, if God ſhall move the hearts of ſuch to enter at any time into holy Orders, may obtaine to themſelves a faculty or licence to hold two Eccleſiaſticall Livings though having cure, any Spirituall Perſon of the Queenes Councell three ſuch Livings, her Chaplens, what number of promotions her ſelfe in her owne Princely wiſdom thinketh good to beſtow upon them. But, as it fareth in ſuch caſes, the gap which for iuſt conſiderations we open unto ſome, letteth in others through corrupt practices, to whom ſuch favours were neither meant, nor ſhould be communicated. The greatneſſe of the Harveſt, and the ſcarcitie of able Workmen hath made it neceſſary, that Law ſhould yeeld to admit numbers of men but ſlenderly and meanly qualified. Hereupon becauſe whom all other worldly hopes have forſaken, they commonly reſerve miniſteriall Vocation, as their laſt and ſureſt refuge ever open to forlorne men, the Church that ſhould nouriſh them, whoſe ſervice ſhe needeth, hath obtruded upon her their ſervice, that know not otherwiſe how to live and ſuſtain themſelves. Theſe finding nothing more eaſie than meanes to procure the writing of a few lines to ſome one or other, which hath authority, and nothing more uſuall than too much facility in condiſcending unto ſuch requeſts, are often received into that Vocation whereunto their unworthineſſe is no ſmall diſgrace. Did any thing more aggravate the crime of *Ieroboams* prophane Apoſtaſie, than that he choſe to have his Clergy the ſcumme and refuſe of his whole Land? Let no man ſpare to tell it them, they are not faithfull towards God, that burthen wilfully his Church with ſuch ſwarmes of unworthy creatures. I will not ſay of all degrees in the Miniſtery, that which Saint *Chryſoſtom* doth of the higheſt, *He that will undertake ſo weighty a charge, had need to be a man of great underſtanding, rarely aſſiſted with Divine grace, for integrity of manners, purity of life, and for all other vertues, to have in him more than a man*; but ſurely this I will ſay with *Chryſoſtome*, *Wee need not doubt whether God bee highly diſpleaſed with us, or what the cauſe of his anger is if things of ſo great feare and holineſſe as are the leaſt and loweſt duties of his ſervice, be thrown wilfully on them whoſe not only meane, but bad and ſcandalous quality doth defile whatſoever they handle.* Theſe eye-ſores and blemiſhes, in continuall attendants about the Service of Gods Sanctuary, doe make them every day fewer, that willingly reſort unto it, till at length all affection and zeale towards God be extinct in them through a wearieſome contempt of their perſons, which for a time only live by Religion, and are for recompence in fine, the death of the Nurſe that feedeth them. It is not obſcure, how incõmodious the Church hath found both this abuſe of the liberty, which Law is enforced to grant, and not only this, but the like abuſe of that favour alſo, which Law in other conſide-

Chryſoſt. de Sacerd. l. 3. c. 15.

rations already mentioned, affoordeth touching reſidence and plurality of ſpirituall Livings. Now that which is practiſed corruptly to the detriment and hurt of the Church, againſt the purpoſe of thoſe very Laws, which notwithſtanding are pretended in defence and juſtification therof, we muſt needs acknowledge no leſſe repugnant to the grounds and principles of common right, than the fraudulent proceedings of Tyrants to the principles of juſt Soveraignty. Howbeit not ſo thoſe ſpeciall priviledges which are but inſtruments wreſted and forced to ſerve malice. There is in the Patriark of Heathen Philoſophers this precept, [a] *Let no Husband-man, nor no Handy-craftſman be a Prieſt.* The reaſon whereupon he groundeth, is a maxime in the Law of Nature. It importeth greatly the good *of all men that God be reverenced*, with whoſe honour it ſtandeth not that they which are publikely imployed in his ſervice, ſhould live of baſe & manuary Trades. Now compare herewith the Apoſtles words, [b] *Ye know theſe hands have miniſtred to my neceſſities, & them that are with me.* What think we? Did the Apoſtle any thing oppoſite herein, or repugnant to the Rules and Maximes of the Law of Nature? The ſelf-ſame reaſons that accord his actions with the Law of Nature ſhall declare our Priviledges and his Laws no leſſe conſonant. Thus therfore we ſee, that although they urge very colourably the Apoſtles own ſentences, requiring that a Miniſter ſhould be able to divide rightly the Word of God, that they who are placed in charge, ſhould attend unto it themſelves, which in abſence they cannot do, and that they which have divers Cures, muſt of neceſſity be abſent from ſome, whereby the Law Apoſtolike ſeemeth apparently broken, which Law requiring attendance, cannot otherwiſe be underſtood, than ſo as to charge them with perpetuall reſidence: again, though in every of theſe cauſes, they infinitly heap up the Sentences of Fathers, the Decrees of Popes, the ancient Edicts of Imperiall authority, our own Nationall Laws and Ordinances prohibiting the ſame, and grounding evermore their prohibitions, partly on the Lawes of God, and partly on reaſons drawn from the light of Nature, yet hereby to gather and inferre contradiction between thoſe Laws which forbid indefinitely, and ours which in certain caſes have allowed the ordaining of ſundry Miniſters, whoſe ſufficiency for learning is but meane, againſt the licenſing of ſome to be abſent from their Flocks, and of others to hold more than one only Living which hath cure of ſoules, I ſay, to conclude repugnancy between theſe eſpeciall permiſſions, and the former generall prohibitions, which ſet not down their own limits, is erronious, and the manifeſt cauſe thereof ignorance in differences of matter which both ſorts of Law concerne. If then the conſiderations be reaſonable, juſt and good, whereupon wee ground whatſoever our Lawes have by ſpeciall right permitted; if only the effects of abuſed Priviledges be repugnant to the Maximes of common right, this maine foundation of repugnancy being broken, whatſoever they have built thereupon, falleth neceſſarily to the ground. Whereas therefore, upon ſurmiſe or vaine ſuppoſall of oppoſition between our ſpeciall, and the principles of common right, they gather that ſuch as are with us ordained Miniſters, before they can preach, be neither lawfull, becauſe the Laws already mentioned, forbid generally to create ſuch, neither are they indeed Miniſters, although we commonly

[a] αὖτε γεωργὸν ὔτε βδλανεῦον ἱερία κατασατέων. ὁ γὰρ τῶν πελίκων ἀρέτει τιμᾶσθαι τὲς θεὲς. *Ariſt. Po.7.c.6.*

[b] *Acts* 20.34. 1 *Cor.*4.12. 1 *Theſ.*2.9. 2 *Theſ.*3.8.

monly ſo name them, but whatſoever they execute by vertue of ſuch their pretended vocation is voyd; that all our grants and tolerations, as well of this as the reſt are fruſtrate and of no effect, the perſons that enjoy them poſſeſſe them wrongfully, and are deprivable at all houres; finally, that other juſt and ſufficient remedy of evils there can bee none beſides the utter abrogation of theſe our mitigations, and the ſtrict eſtabliſhment of former Ordinances to bee abſolutely executed whatſoever follow, albeit the anſwer already made in diſcovery of the weak and unſound foundation whereupon they have built theſe erronious collections may bee thought ſufficient, yet becauſe our deſire is rather to ſatisfie, if it bee poſſible, than to ſhake them off, wee are with very good will contented to declare the cauſes of all particulars more formally and largely, than the equity of our own defence doth require. There is crept into the minds of men, at this day, a ſecret pernicious and peſtilent conceit, that the greateſt perfection of a Chriſtian man doth conſiſt in diſcovery of other mens faults, & in wit to diſcourſe of our own profeſſion. When the World moſt abounded with juſt, righteous and perfect men, their chiefeſt ſtudy was the exerciſe of piety, wherein for their ſafeſt direction, they reverently hearkened to the readings of the Law of God, they kept in mind the Oracles and Aphoriſmes of wiſdome, which tended unto vertuous life, if any ſcruple of Conſcience did trouble them for matter of Actions which they tooke in hand, nothing was attempted before counſell and adviſe were had for feare leſt raſhly they might offend. We are now more confident, not that our knowledge and judgement is riper, but becauſe our deſires are another way. Their ſcope was obedience, ours is skill; their endevour was reformation of life, [a] our vertue nothing but to heare gladly the reproofe of vice; they in the practice of their Religion wearied chiefly their knees and hands, wee eſpecially our eares and tongues. We are grown, as in many things elſe, ſo in this, to a kind of intemperancy, which (only Sermons excepted) hath almoſt brought all other duties of Religion out of taſte. At the leaſt they are not in that account and reputation which they ſhould bee. Now becauſe men bring all Religion in a manner to the only office of hearing Sermons, if it chance that they who are thus conceited do imbrace any ſpeciall opinion different from other men, the Sermons that relliſh not that opinion, can in no wiſe pleaſe their appetite. Such therefore as preach unto them, but hit not the ſtring they look for, are rejected as unprofitable, the reſt as unlawfull, and indeed no Miniſters, if the faculty of Sermons want. For why? A Miniſter of the Word ſhould, they ſay, bee able rightly to *divide* the Word. Which Apoſtolike Canon, many think they do well obſerve, when in opening the ſentences of holy Scripture, they draw all things favourably ſpoken unto one ſide, but whatſoever is reprehenſive, ſevere, and ſharp, they have others on the contrary part whom that muſt alwayes concerne, by which their over partiall and unindifferent proceeding while they thus labour amongſt the people to divide the Word, they make the Word a meane to divide and diſtract the people. Ὀρθοτομεῖν *to divide a right*, doth note in the Apoſtles Writings, ſoundneſſe of doctrine only, and in meaning ſtandeth oppo-

[a] Ἀλλ' ὅτι πολλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν πράξεσιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν λόγον καταφεύγοντες ὅσιοι εἶναι φιλοσοφεῖν. ὡς ἔστι σπουδαῖοι: ὁμοίοις τοῖς παιδίοις τοῖς κάμνουσιν οἱ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀνόυσοι μὲν ἐπιμελῶς θεῖεσι δὲ ἐδὲν τῶν προσταττομένων ὥσπερ ἐν ἐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἔυεξεσι τὸ σῶμα ἀτω θεραπευόμενοι, ἐδ' ἄτοι τὴν ψυχὴν ὠφελησοῦσιν. *Arift. Eth. lib. 2. cap. 3.*

site to καινοτομεῖν *the broaching of new opinions againſt that which is received.* For queſtionleſſe the firſt things delivered to the Church of Chriſt, were pure and ſincere Truth. Which whoſoever did afterwards opugne, could not chooſe but divide the Church into two moities, in which diviſion, ſuch as taught what was firſt believed, held the truer part, the contrary ſide in that they were teachers of novelty, erred. For prevention of which evill there are in this Church many ſingular and well deviſed remedies, as namely the uſe of ſubſcribing to the Articles of Religion before admiſſion to degrees of learning, or to any Eccleſiaſticall living, the cuſtome of reading the ſame Articles and of approving them in publike Aſſemblies whereſoever men have Benefices with cure of Soules, the order of teſtifying under their hands allowance of the Book of Common-Prayer, and the Book of ordayning Miniſters; finally, the Diſcipline and moderate ſeverity which is uſed either in other wiſe correcting or ſilencing them that trouble and diſturbe the Church with Doctrines which tend unto Innovation, it being better that the Church ſhould want altogether the benefit of ſuch mens labours, than indure the miſchiefe of their inconformity to good Laws; in which caſe if any repine at the courſe and proceedings of juſtice, they muſt learne to
Valer. l. 6. c. 3. content themſelves with the anſwer of *M. Curius*, which had ſometime occaſion to cut off one from the Body of the Common-wealth, in whoſe behalfe becauſe it might have been pleaded that the party was a man ſerviceable, he therefore began his judiciall ſentence with this preamble, *non eſſe opus Reip. eo cive qui parere neſciret; The Common-wealth needeth men of quality, yet never thoſe men which have not learned how to obey.* But the wayes which the Church of *England* hath taken to provide that they who are Teachers of others may do it ſoundly, that the Purity and Vnity as well of ancient Diſcipline as Doctrine may be upheld, that avoyding ſingularities, we may all glorifie God with one heart, and one tongue, they of all men do leaſt approve, that moſt urge the Apoſtles Rule and Canon. For which cauſe they alleage it not ſo much to that purpoſe, as to prove that unpreaching Miniſters (for ſo they terme them) can have no true nor lawfull calling in the Church of God. Saint *Auguſtin* hath ſaid of the will of man, that *ſimply to will proceedeth from Nature, but our wel-willing is from Grace.* We ſay as much of the Miniſter of God, *publikly to teach and inſtruct the Church, is neceſſary in every Eccleſiaſticall Miniſter, but ability to teach by Sermons is a Grace which God doth beſtow on them whom hee maketh*
Ox. manuſ. 21 *ſufficient for the commendable diſcharge of their duty.* That therefore wherein a Miniſter differeth from other Chriſtian men, is not as ſome have childiſhly imagined, the *ſound preaching of the Word of God*, but as they are lawfully and truly governours to whom authority of Regiment is given in the Common-wealth, according to the order which Polity hath ſet, ſo Canonicall Ordination in the Church of Chriſt is that which maketh a lawfull Miniſter, *as touching the validity of any Act which appertaineth to that vocation.* The cauſe why Saint *Paul* willed *Timothy* not to be overhaſty in ordaining Miniſters, was (as we very well may conjecture) becauſe impoſition of hands doth conſecrate and make them Miniſters, whether they have gifts and qualities fit for the laudable diſcharge of their duties or no.

If

If want of learning and skill to preach did fruſtrate their Vocation, Miniſters ordained before they be grown unto that maturity ſhould receive new Ordination, whenſoever it chanceth, that ſtudy and induſtry doth make them afterwards more able to performe the office, than which what conceit can be more abſurd? Was not S. *Auguſtin* himſelfe contented to admit an Aſſiſtant in his own Church, a man of ſmall Erudition, conſidering that what he wanted in knowledge, was ſupplied by thoſe vertues, which made his life a better Orator, than more learning could make others whoſe converſation was leſſe Holy? Were the Prieſts, ſithence *Moſes*, all able and ſufficient men, learnedly to interpret the Law of God? or was it ever imagined, that this defect ſhould fruſtrate what they executed, and deprive them of right unto any thing they claimed by vertue of their Prieſthood? Surely, as in Magiſtrates, the want of thoſe gifts which their Office needeth, is cauſe of juſt imputation of blame in them that wittingly chooſe unſufficient and unfit men when they might do otherwiſe, and yet therefore is not their choice void, nor every action of Magiſtracie fruſtrate in that reſpect. So whether it were of neceſſitie, or euen of very careleſſenes, that men unable to preach ſhould be taken in Paſtors roomes, nevertheleſſe, it ſeemeth to bee an errour in them, which thinke that the lack of any ſuch perfection defeateth utterly their Calling. To wiſh that all men were ſo qualified, as their Places and Dignities require, to hate all ſiniſter and corrupt dealings which hereunto are any let; to covet ſpeedie redreſſe of thoſe things whatſoever, whereby the Church ſuſtaineth detriment, theſe good and vertuous deſires cannot offend any but ungodly minds. Nothwithſtanding, ſome in the true vehemencie, and others under the faire pretence of theſe deſires, have adventured that which is ſtrange, that which is violent and unjuſt. There are which in confidence of their generall allegations concerning the knowledge, the Reſidence and the ſingle Livings of Miniſters, preſume not onely to annihilate the ſolemne Ordinations of ſuch as the Church muſt of force admit, but alſo to urge a kind of univerſall proſcription againſt them, to ſet downe Articles, to draw Commiſſions, and almoſt to name themſelves of the *Quorum*, for inquirie into mens eſtates and dealings, whom at their pleaſure they would deprive and make obnoxious to what puniſhment themſelves liſt, and that not for any violation of Lawes, either Spirituall or Civill, but becauſe men have truſted the Lawes too farre, becauſe they have held and injoyed the libertie which Law granteth, becauſe they had not the wit to conceive as theſe men doe, that Lawes were made to intrap the ſimple, by permitting thoſe things in ſhew and appearance, which indeed ſhould never take effect, for as much as they were but granted with a ſecret condition to bee put in practice, *If they ſhould be profitable and agreeable with the Word of God*, which condition failing in all Miniſters that cannot preach, in all that are abſent from their Livings, and in all that have divers Livings (for ſo it muſt bee preſumed, though never as yet prooved) therefore as men which have broken the Law of God, and Nature, they are depriveable at all houres. Is this the Iuſtice of that Diſcipline whereunto all Chriſtian Churches muſt ſtoop and ſubmit themſelves? is this the equitie wherewith they labour to reforme the World? I will no

The Authour of the *Abſtract.*

way diminish the force of those Arguments wherupon they ground. But if it please them to behold the visage of these collections in another Glasse, there are Civill as well as Ecclesiasticall Vnsufficiencies, Non-residences, and Pluralities; yea the reasons which Light of Nature hath ministred against both are of such affinity, that much lesse they cannot inforce in the one than in the other. When they that beare great Offices, be persons of meane worth, the contempt whereinto their authority groweth, [n] weakneth the sinewes of the whole State. Notwithstanding, where many Governors are needfull, and they not many, whom their quality can commend, [o] the penury of worthier must needs make the meaner sort of men capable: Cities in the absence of their Governors, are as ships wanting Pilots at Sea. But were it therfore [p] Iustice to punish whom superiour Authority pleaseth to call from home, or alloweth to be employed elsewhere? In committing many Offices to one man, there are apparantly these inconveniences, the Common-wealth doth lose the benefit of serviceable men, which might be trained up in those roomes; it is not easie for one man to discharge many mens duties well; in service of Warfare & Navigation, were it not the overthrow of whatsoever is undertaken, if one or two should ingross such Offices as being now divided into many hands, are discharged with admirable both perfection and expedition? Nevertheless, be it far from the mind of any reasonable man to imagine, that in these considerations, Princes either ought of duty to revoke all such kind of grants, though made with very speciall respect to the extraordinary merit of certain men, or might in honour demand of them the resignation of their Offices, with speech to this or the like effect, *For as much as you* A. B. *by the space of many yeeres, have done us that faithfull service in most important affaires, for which we alwayes judging you worthy of much honour, have therefore committed unto you from time to time, very great and weighty Offices, which hitherto you quietly injoy: we are now given to understand, that certain grave and learned men have found in the books of ancient Philosophers, divers Arguments drawne from the common light of Nature, and declaring the wonderfull discommodities which use to grow by Dignities thus heaped together in one; For which cause, at this present, moved in conscience and tender care for the publique good, we have summoned you hither, to dispossesse you of those places, and to depose you from those roomes, whereof indeed by vertue of our own grant, yet against reason, you are possessed. Neither ought you, or any other to think us rash, light, or inconstant, in so doing: For we tell you playne, that herein we will both say and doe that thing which the noble and wise Emperour sometime both sayd, and did, in a matter of farre lesse waight than this,* Quod inconsulto fecimus, consulto revocamus, *That which we unadvisedly have done, we advisedly will revoke and undo.* Now for mine own part, the greatest harme I would wish them who think that this were consonant with equitie and right, is, that they might but live where all things are with such kind of Iustice ordered, till experience have taught them to see their errour. As for the last thing which is incident into the cause wherof we speak, namely, what course were the best and safest wherby to remedy such evils as the Church of God may sustain, where the present liberty of Law is turned to great abuse, some light we may receive from abroad, not unprofitable for direction of Gods owne

n μεγάλων κύριοι καθεστῶτες ἐν ὀλιγεῖς ὦσι, μεγάλα βλάπτουσι. Arist. Polit. 2. cap. 11.

o *Nec ignoro maximos honores ad parum dignos penuria meliorum solere deferri.* Mamertin. paneg. ad Iulian.

p *Neque enim æquum visum est absentem reipub. causa inter reos referri dum reipub. operatur.* Vlpian. l. 15 *si maritus, ad legem* Iulian. *de adulter.*

q *Arist. Polit. lib. 2. cap. 11.* See the like Preample framed by the Author of the *Abstract*, where hee fancieth a Bishop, deposing one unapt to preach, whom himself had before ordained.

own ſacred houſe and family. The Romanes being a people full of generoſity, and by nature courteous, did no way more ſhew their gentle diſpoſition, than by eaſie condeſcending to ſet their bondmen at liberty. Which benefit in the happier and better times of the Commonwealth, was beſtowed for the moſt part as an ordinary reward of vertue, ſome few now and then alſo purchaſing freedom with that which their juſt labours could gaine, and their honeſt frugality ſave. But as the Empire daily grew up, ſo the manners and conditions of men decayed, wealth was honored, and vertue not cared for, neither did any thing ſeem opprobious out of which there might riſe commodity and profit, ſo that it could be no marvell in a State thus far degenerated, if when the more ingenious ſort were become baſe, the baſer laying aſide all ſhame and face of honeſty, did ſome by robberies, burglaries, and proſtitutions of their bodies gather wherwith to redeem liberty; others obtain the ſame at the hands of their Lords, by ſerving them as vile inſtruments in thoſe attempts, which had been worthy to be revenged with ten thouſand deaths. A learned, judicious, and polite Hiſtorian, having mentioned ſo foule diſorders, giveth his judgement and cenſure of them in this ſort, *Such eye-ſores in the Commonwealth have occaſioned many vertuous minds, to condemn altogether the cuſtome of granting liberty to any bondſlave, for as much as it ſeemed a thing abſurd, that a people which commanded all the world, ſhould conſiſt of ſo vile refuſe. But neither is this the only caſtome wherin the profitable inventions of former are depraved by later Ages, and for my ſelfe I am not of their opinion that wiſh the abrogation of ſo groſly uſed cuſtomes, which abrogation might peradventure be cauſe of greater inconveniences enſuing, but as much as may be I would rather adviſe that redreſſe were ſought, through the carefull providence of chiefe Rulers and Overſeers of the Common-wealth, by whom a yearly ſurvay being made of all that are manumiſed, they which ſeeme worthy might be taken and divided into Tribes with other Citizens, the reſt diſperſed into Colonies abroad, or otherwiſe diſpoſed of, that the Common-wealth might ſuſtaine neither harme nor diſgrace by them.* The wayes to meet with diſorders growing by abuſe of Laws, are not ſo intricate and ſecret eſpecially in our caſe, that men ſhould need either much advertiſement or long time for the ſearch thereof. And if counſell to that purpoſe may ſeeme needfull, this Church (God be thanked) is not deſtitute of men indued with ripe judgement, whenſoever any ſuch thing ſhall be thought neceſſary. For which end at this preſent to propoſe any ſpeciall inventions of mine owne, might argue in a man of my place and calling more preſumption perhaps than wit. I will therfore leave it intire unto graver conſideration, ending now with requeſt only and moſt earneſt ſute, firſt, that they which give Ordination, would, as they tender the very honor of Ieſus Chriſt, the ſafety of men, & the endles good of their own ſouls, take heed, leſt unneceſſarily, & through their default the Church be found worſe, or leſſe furniſhed than it might be: ſecondly, that they which by right of Patronage have power to preſent unto ſpirituall Livings, and may in that reſpect much damnifie the Church of God, would, for the eaſe of their own account in that dreadfull day, ſomwhat conſider what it is to betray for gaine the ſouls which Chriſt hath redeemed with bloud, what to violate the ſacred bond of fidelity & ſolemn promiſe, given at the firſt to God & his Church by them,

Dionyſ. Halicar. Rom. antiq. l. 4.

from

from whose originall interest together with the selfe-same Title of right, the same Obligation of duty likewise is descended: Thirdly, that they unto whom the granting of Dispensations is committed; or which otherwise have any stroke in the disposition of such preferments as appertain unto learned men, would bethink themselves what it is to respect any thing either above or besides merit, considering how hardly the world taketh it, when to men of commendable note and quality there is so little respect had, or so great unto them whose deserts are very meane, that nothing doth seem more strange than the one sort, because they are not accounted of, & the other because they are, it being every mans hope and expectation in the Church of God especially, that the only purchase of greater rewards should be alwayes greater deserts, and that nothing should ever be able to plant a Thorn where a Vine ought to grow: Fourthly, that honorable Personages, and they, who by vertue of any principall office in the Commonwealth are inabled to qualifie a certain number, and make them capable of favours or faculties above others, suffer not their names to be abused, contrary to the true intent and meaning of wholsome Laws, by men in whom there is nothing notable besides covetousnesse and ambition: Fiftly, that the graver and wiser sort in both Universities, or whosoever they be, with whose approbation the markes and recognisances of all learning are bestowed, would think the Apostles caution against unadvised Ordinations, not impertinent or unnecessary to be born in mind, even when they grant those degrees of Schooles, which degrees are not *gratiæ gratis datæ*, kindnesses bestowed by way of humanity, but they are *gratiæ gratum facientes*, favours which alwaies imply a testimony given to the Church and Commonwealth, concerning mens sufficiency for manners and knowledge; a testimony, upon the credit whereof sundry Statutes of the Realme are built, a testimony so far available, that nothing is more respected for the warrant of divers mens ability, to serve in the affaires of the Realme, a testimony wherin if they violate that Religion wherwith it ought to be alwayes given and do therby induce into errour such as deem it a thing uncivill to call the credit thereof in question, let them look that God shall return back upon their heads, and cause them in the state of their own Corporations to feele either one way or other the punishment of those harmes, which the Church through their negligence doth sustaine in that behalfe: Finally, and to conclude, that they who injoy the benefit of any speciall Indulgence or favour, which the Laws permit, would as well remember what in duty towards the Church, and in conscience towards God they ought to do, as what they may do by using to their own advantage whatsoever they see tolerated, no man being ignorant that the cause why absence in some cases hath been yeelded unto, and in equity thought sufferable, is the hope of greater fruit through industry elswhere, the reason likewise wherefore pluralities are allowed unto men of note, a very soveraigne and speciall care that as Fathers in the ancient world did declare the preeminence of priority in birth, by doubling the worldly portions of their first borne; so the Church by accourse not unlike in assigning mens rewards, might testifie an estimation had proportionably of their vertues, according to the ancient rule Apostolike, *They which excell in labour, ought to excell*

excell in honour, and therefore unleſſe they anſwer faithfully the expectation of the Church herein, unleſſe ſincerely they bend their wits day and night, both to ſow becauſe they reap, and to ſow as much more abundantly, as they reap more abundantly than other men, wherunto by their very acceptance of ſuch benignities, they formally bind themſelves, let them be well aſſured that the hony which they eat with fraud, ſhall turne in the end into true gall, for as much as Laws are the ſacred image of his wiſdom who moſt ſeverely puniſheth thoſe colourable and ſubtle crimes that ſeldome are taken within the walke of humane Juſtice, I therfore conclude that the grounds and maximes of common right whereupon Ordinations of Miniſters unable to preach, tolerations of abſence from their cures, and the multiplications of their ſpirituall livings are diſproved, do but indefinitely enforce them unlawfull, not unlawfull univerſally and without exception; that the Laws which indefinitely are againſt all theſe things, & the Priviledges which make for them in certain caſes are not the one repugnant to the other, that the Laws of God and Nature are violated through the effects of abuſed Priviledges; that neither our Ordinations of men unable to make Sermons, nor our diſpenſations for the reſt can be juſtly proved fruſtrate by vertue of any ſuch ſurmiſed oppoſition between the ſpeciall Laws of this Church which have permitted, and thoſe generall which are alledged to diſprove the ſame; that when priviledges by abuſe are grown incommodious, there muſt be redreſſe; that for remedy of ſuch evils, there is no neceſſity, the Church ſhould abrogate either in whole or in part, the ſpecialties before mentioned; and that the moſt to bee deſired were a voluntary reformation thereof on all hands which may give paſſage unto any abuſe.

For the maine Hypotheſis or foundation of theſe concluſions: let that before ſet down in the 9. be read together with this laſt the 81. Paragraph.

FINIS.

Certain

DIVINE TRACTATES, and other Godly SERMONS.

By

RICHARD HOOKER, sometimes Fellow of CORPUS CHRISTI Colledge in OXFORD.

The Contents follow.

LONDON,
Printed by R. BISHOP.

1639.

TO THE READER.



He pleaſures of thy ſpacious walkes in Maſter HOOKERS Temple-Garden (*not vnfitly ſo called, both for the* Temple *whereof he was* Maſter, *and the Subiect,* Eccleſiaſticall Politie) *doe promiſe acceptance to theſe* Flowers, *planted and watered by the ſame hand, & for thy ſake compoſed into this Poſie. Sufficiently are they commended, by their fragrant ſmell, in the dogmaticall Truth; by their beautifull colours, in the accurate ſtile; by their medicinable vertue, againſt ſome diſeaſes in our neighbour-Churches now prouing epidemicall, and threatning farther infection, by their ſtrait feature and ſpreading nature, growing from the root of* Faith (*which, as here is proued, can neuer be rooted vp*) *and extending the branches of* Charitie *to the couering of* Noahs nakednesſe, *opening the windowes of* Hope *to mens miſtie conceits of their bemiſted forefathers. Thus and more then thus, doe the workes commend themſelues; the Work-man needs a better workman to commend Him* (ALEXANDERS *picture requires* APELLES *his pencill*) *nay, he needs it not,* His owne workes commend him in the gates, *and* being dead, he yet ſpeaketh; *the ſyllables of that memorable name Maſter* RICHARD HOOKER, *proclaiming more, then if I ſhould here ſtile him a painefull Student, a profound Scholler, a iudicious Writer, with other due titles of his honour. Receiue then this poſthume Orphan, for his owne, yea for thine owne ſake: and if the Printer hath with ouer-much haſte, like* MEPHIBOSHETHS *Nurſe, lamed the Child with ſlips and falls, yet be thou of* DAVIDS *mind,* Shew kindneſſe to him for his Father IONATHANS ſake. *God grant that the reſt of his brethren be not more then lamed, and that as* SAVLS three ſonnes died the ſame day with him, *ſo thoſe Three promiſed to perfect his* Politie, *with other iſſues of that learned braine, be not buried in the graue with their renowned Father. Farewell.*

W. S.

H. R. The 3 to perfect his Politie are ſince publiſhed.

The Contents of theſe Treatiſes following.

1. *A Supplication made to the Councell by Maſter* WALTER TRAVERS.

2. *Maſter* HOOKERS *anſwer to the Supplication that Maſter* TRAVERS *made to the Councell.*

3. *A learned Diſcourſe of Iuſtification, Workes, and how the foundation of Faith is ouer-throwne.*

4. *A learned Sermon of the nature of Pride.*

5. *A Remedie againſt Sorrow and Feare, deliuered in a Funerall Sermon.*

6. *Of the certainty and perpetuitie of Faith in the Elect: eſpecially of the Prophet* HABAKKVKS *Faith.*

7. *Two Sermons vpon part of Saint* IVDES *Epiſtle.*

A SVPPLICATION MADE TO THE COVNCELL BY MASTER WALTER TRAVERS.

RIGHT Honourable, the manifold benefits which all the Subiects within this Dominion do at this preſent, and haue many yeeres enioyed, vnder her Maieſties moſt happie and proſperous raigne, by your godly wiſedome, and carefull watching ouer this eſtate night and day: I truly and vnfainedly acknowledge from the bottome of my heart, ought worthily to binde vs all, to pray continually to Almightie God for the continuance and encreaſe of the life and good eſtate of your Honors, and to be readie with all good duties to ſatisfie and ſerue the ſame to our power. Beſides publique benefits common vnto all, I muſt needs, and doe willingly confeſſe my ſelfe to ſtand bound by moſt ſpeciall obligation to ſerue and honor you more then any other, for the honourable fauour it hath pleaſed you to vouchſafe both oftentimes heretofore, & alſo now of late, in a matter more deare vnto me thē any earthly commoditie, that is, the vpholding & furthering of my ſeruice in the miniſtring of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt. For which cauſe, as I haue been alwaies careful ſo to carrie my ſelfe as I might by no means giue occaſion to be thought vnworthie of ſo great a benefit, ſo do I ſtill, next vnto her Maieſties gracious countenance, hold nothing more deare and precious vnto me, then that I may alwaies remaine in your Honors fauour, which hath oftentimes bin helpfull and comfortable vnto me in my Miniſterie, and to all ſuch as reaped any fruit of my ſimple and faithfull labour. In which dutifull regard, I humbly beſeech your Honours to vouchſafe to do me this grace, to conceiue nothing of me otherwiſe then according to the dutie wherin I ought to liue, by any information againſt me, before your Honours haue heard my anſwer, and bin throughly informed of the matter. Which although it be a thing, that your

wiſdomes, not in fauour, but in iuſtice yeeld to all men, yet the ſtate of the calling vnto the Miniſterie, whereunto it hath pleaſed God of his goodnes to call me, though vnworthieſt of all, is ſo ſubiect to miſ-information, as except we may find this fauour with your Honours, we cannot looke for any other, but that our vnindifferēt parties may eaſily procure vs to be hardly eſteemed of, & that we ſhal be made like the poore fiſher-boates in the Sea, which euery ſwelling waue & billow raketh and runneth ouer. Wherin my eſtate is yet harder then any others of my rank & calling, who are indeed to fight againſt fleſh & bloud in what part ſoeuer of the Lords hoſt and field they ſhall ſtand marſhalled to ſerue, yet many of them deale with it naked & vnfurniſhed of weapons: but my ſeruice was in a place where I was to encounter with it wel appointed & armed with skill and with authoritie, whereof as I haue alwaies thus deſerued, & therefore haue bin careful by al good meanes to entertaine ſtil your Honors fauorable reſpect of me, ſo haue I ſpecial cauſe at this preſent, wherin miſ-information to the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and other of the high Commiſſion hath bin able ſo far to preuaile againſt me, that by their letter they haue inhibited me to preach, or execute any act of miniſterie in the Temple or elſewhere, hauing neuer once called me before them to vnderſtād by mine anſwer the truth of ſuch things as had bin informed againſt me. We haue a ſtorie in our books, wherein the Phariſes proceeding againſt our Sauiour Chriſt without hauing heard him, is reproued by an honorable Counſellour (as the Euangeliſt doth tearme him) ſaying, Doth our Law iudge a man before it heare him, and know what he hath done? Which I do not mention to the end that by an indirect & couert ſpeech I might ſo compare thoſe, who haue without euer hearing me, pronounced a heauie ſentence againſt me; for, notwithſtanding ſuch proceedings, I purpoſe by Gods grace to carry my ſelf towards them in all ſeeming dutie agreeable to their places: much leſſe do I preſume to liken my cauſe to our Sauiour Chriſts, who hold it my chiefeſt honor & happines to ſerue him, though it be but among the hindes & hired ſeruāts, that ſerue him in the baſeſt corners of his houſe. But my purpoſe in mentioning it, is, to ſhew by the iudgement of a Prince & great man in Iſrael, that ſuch proceeding ſtandeth not with the law of God & in a princely pattern to ſhew it to be a noble part of an honorable Counſellour, not to allow of indirect dealings, but to allow & affect ſuch a courſe in iuſtice, as is agreeable to the law of God. We haue alſo a plain rule in the word of God, not to proceed any otherwiſe againſt any Elder of the Church; much leſſe againſt one that laboureth in the word & in teaching: which rule is deliuered with this moſt earneſt charge and obteſtation, I beſeech and charge thee in the ſight of God, & the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, & the Elect Angels, that thou keepe thoſe [rules] without preferring one before another, doing nothing of partialitie, or inclining to either part; which Apoſtolicall & moſt earneſt charge, I referre it to your Honors wiſdome how it hath bin regarded in ſo heauie a iudgement againſt me, without euer hearing my cauſe; and whether, as hauing God before their eies, and the Lord Ieſus, by whom all former iudgements ſhall be tried again, and as in the preſence of the elect Angels, witneſſes & obſeruers of the regimēt of the Church, they haue proceeded thus to ſuch a ſentēce. They alleage indeed

1. Tim. 5. verſe 19, 21.

two

two reaſons in their letters whereupon they reſtraine my Miniſtery, which, if they were as ſtrong againſt me as they are ſuppoſed, yet I referre to your Honors wiſdomes, whether the quality of ſuch an offēce as they charge me with, which is in effect but an indiſcretion, deſerue ſo grieuous a puniſhmēt both to the Church and me, in taking away my Miniſtery, and that poore little commodity which it yeeldeth for the neceſſary maintenance of my life; if ſo vnequall a ballancing of faults and puniſhments ſhould haue place in the common-wealth, ſurely we ſhould ſhortly haue no actions vpon the caſe, nor of treſpaſſe, but al ſhould be pleas of the Crown, nor any man amerced, or fined but for euery light offence put to his ranſome. I haue credibly heard, that ſome of the Miniſtery haue bin committed for grieuous tranſgreſſions of the lawes of God and men, being of no ability to do other ſeruice in the Church then to reade, yet hath it bin thought charitable & ſtanding with Chriſtian moderation and temperancy, not to depriue ſuch of miniſtery & beneficency, but to inflict ſome more tolerable puniſhment. Which I write not becauſe ſuch, as I think, were to be fauoured, but to ſhew how vnlike their dealing is with me, being through the goodnes of God not to be touched with any ſuch blame, and one who according to the meaſure of the gift of God, haue laboured now ſome yeers painefully, in regard of the weake eſtate of my body in preaching the Goſpell, and as I hope, not altogether vnprofitably in reſpect of the Church. But I beſeech your Honours to giue me leaue briefly to declare the particular reaſons of their Letters, and what anſwer, I haue to make vnto it.

The firſt is, that as they ſay I am not lawfully called to the function of the Miniſtery, nor allowed to preach according to the lawes of this Church of England.

For anſwer to this, I had need to diuide the points, and firſt to make anſwer to the former, wherein leauing to ſhew what by the holy Scriptures is required in a lawfull calling, and that all that is to be found in mine, that I be not too long for your other waighty affaires, I reſt.

I this anſwer: My calling to the Miniſtery was ſuch as in the calling of any thereunto, is appointed to be vſed by the orders agreed vpon in the National Synods of the Low Countries, for the direction and guidance of their Churches, which orders are the ſame with thoſe wherby the French and Scottiſh Churches are gouerned, wherof I haue ſhewed ſuch ſufficient teſtimonial to my Lord the Archbiſhop of Cant. as is requiſite in ſuch a matter: whereby it muſt needs fall out, if any man be lawfully called to the Miniſtery in thoſe Churches, then is my calling, being the ſame with theirs, alſo lawful. But I ſuppoſe notwithſtanding they vſe this generall ſpeech, they meane only my calling is not ſufficient, to deale in the Miniſtery within this land, becauſe I was not made Miniſter according to that order which in this cauſe is ordained by our lawes. Wherunto I beſeech your Honors to conſider throughly of mine anſwer, becauſe exceptiō now again is taken to my Miniſtery, wheras hauing bin heretofore called in queſtion for it, I ſo anſwered the matter, as I continued my miniſtery, & for any thing I diſcerned, looked to heare that no more obiected vnto me. The communion of Saints (which euery Chriſtian man profeſſeth to beleeue) is ſuch, as that the acts which are done in any true Church

of Christs according to his word, are held as lawful, being done in one Church as in another. Which as it holdeth in other acts of ministery, as baptisme, marriage and such like, so doth it in the calling to the ministery; by reason wherof all Churches doe acknowledge & receiue him for a minister of the word who hath beene lawfully called thereunto in any Church of the same profession. A Doctor created in any Vniuersity of Christendome, is acknowledged sufficiently qualified to teach in any country. The Church of Rome it selfe & the Canon law holdeth it, that being ordered in Spaine, they may execute that belõgeth to their order in Italy, or in any other place. And the Churches of the Gospel neuer made any question of it. Which if they shall now begin to make doubt of, and deny such to be lawfully called to the Ministery, as are called by another order then our own, then may it well be looked for that other Churches will doe the like: and if a Minister called in the Low-Countries be not lawfully called in Englãd, then may they say to our preachers which are there that being made by another order then theirs, they cãnot suffer them to execute any act of Ministery amongst them; which in the end must needs breed a schisme & dangerous diuision in the Churches. Further I haue heard of those that are learned in the lawes of this land, that by expresse Statute to that purpose *Anno* 13. vpon subscription of the Articles agreed vpon *An.* 62. that they who pretend to haue bin ordered by another order then that which is now established, are of like capacity to enioy any place of ministery within the lãd, as they that haue bin ordered according to that is now by law in this case established. Which comprehending manifestly al, euen such as were made Priests according to the order of the Church of Rome, it must needs be, that the law of a Christiã land professing the Gospel, should be as fauourable for a minister of the word as for a Popish priest, which also was so found in M. *Whittingames* case, who notwithstãding such replies against him, enioyed still the benefit he had by his ministery, and might haue done vntill this day if God had spared him life so long; which if it be vnderstood so & practised in others, why should the change of the person alter the right, which the Law giueth to all other? The place of ministery, whereunto I was called, was not presentatiue: & if it had bin so, surely they would neuer haue presented any man whõ they neuer knew; & the order of this Church is agreeable herein to the Word of God, & the ancient & best Canons, that no man should be made minister *sine titulo*: therfore hauing none, I could not by the orders of this Church haue entred into the ministery, before I had charge to tend vpon. When I was at *Antwerp*, & to take a place of ministery among the people of that nation, I see no cause why I should haue returned again ouer the seas for orders here, nor how I could haue done it, without disallowing the orders of the Churches prouided in the country where I was to liue. Whereby I hope it appeareth, that my calling to the ministery is lawfull, and maketh me by our law of capacity to enioy any benefit or commodity, that any other by reason of his ministery may enioy. But my cause is yet more easie, who reaped no benefit of my ministery by law, receiuing onely a beneuolence and voluntary contribution, and the ministery I dealt with being preaching only, which euery Deacon here may doe being licensed, and certaine that are neither Ministers

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nor Deacons: thus I anſwer the former of theſe two points, whereof if there be yet any doubt, I humbly deſire for a finall end thereof, that ſome competent Iudges in Law may determine of it; whereunto I referre and ſubmit my ſelfe with all reuerence and duty.

The ſecond is, that I preached without licence: whereunto this is my anſwer; I haue not preſumed vpon the calling I had to the Miniſtery abroad, to preach, or deale with any part of the Miniſtery within this Church, without the conſent and allowance of ſuch as vvere to allow me vnto it: my allowance vvas from the Biſhop of *London*, teſtified by his tvvo ſeueral Letters to the Inner Temple, vvho vvithout ſuch teſtimony vvould by no means reſt ſatisfied in it; vvhich letters being by me produced, I referre it to your Honors vviſedome, vvhether I haue taken vpon me to preach vvi hout being allowed (as they charge) according to the orders of the Realme. Thus hauing anſwered the ſecond point alſo, I haue done vvith the obiection of dealing vvithout calling or licence.

The other reaſon they alleadge is, concerning a late action wherin I had to deale vvith Maſter *Hooker*, Maſter of the Temple: in the handling of vvhich cauſe they charge me vvith an indiſcretion and vvant of duty, in that I inueighed (as they ſay) againſt certaine points of doctrine taught by him as erroneous not conferring vvith him, nor complayning of it to them. My anſwer hereunto ſtandeth in declaring to your Honors the vvhole courſe and carriage of that cauſe, and the degrees of proceeding in it, which I will do as briefly as I can, and according to the truth, God be my witneſſe, as neere as my beſt memory and notes of remembrance may ſerue me thereunto. After that I haue taken away that which ſeemeth to haue moued them to think me not charitably minded to Maſter *Hooker*, which is, becauſe he was brought in to Maſter *Alueyes* place, wherin this Church deſired that I might haue ſucceeded; vvhich place, if I vvould haue made ſute to haue obtained, or if I had ambitiouſly affected and ſought, I would not haue refuſed to haue ſatisfied by ſubſcription ſuch as the matter then ſeemed to depend vpon: wheras contrariwiſe, notwithſtanding I would not hinder the Church to doe that they thought to be moſt for their edification and comfort, yet did I neither by ſpeech, nor letter, make ſute to any for the obtaining of it, following herein that reſolution which I iudge to be moſt agreeable to the Word and Will of God, that is, That labouring and ſuing for places and charges in the Church is not lawfull. Further, whereas at the ſute of the Church ſome of your Honors entertained the cauſe, and brought it to a neere iſſue, that there ſeemed nothing to remaine, but the commendation of my Lord the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, when as he could not be ſatisfied but by my ſubſcribing to his late Articles, & that my anſwer agreeing to ſubſcribe according to any Law, and to the Statute prouided in that caſe, but praying to be reſpited for ſubſcribing to any other, which I could not in conſcience doe, either for the Temple (which otherwiſe, he ſaid, he would not commend me to) nor for any other place in the Church, did ſo little pleaſe my Lord Archbiſhop, as he reſolued that otherwiſe I ſhould not be commended to it. I had vtterly here no cauſe of offence againſt Maſter *Hooker*, whom I did in no ſort eſteeme to haue pre-

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uented or vndermined me, but that God diſpoſed of me as it pleaſed him by ſuch meanes and occaſions as I haue declared. Moreouer, as I had taken no cauſe of offence at Mr. *Hooker* for being preferred, ſo there were many witneſſes that I was glad that the place was giuen him, hoping to liue in all godly peace and comfort with him, both for acquaintance & good will which hath bin betweene vs, and for ſome kind of affinity in the matriage of his neereſt kinred and mine: ſince his comming I haue ſo carefully endeuoured to entertaine all good correſpondence & agreement with him, as I think he himſelfe will beare me witneſſe of many earneſt Diſputations and Conferences with him about the matter; the rather, becauſe that contrary to my expectation, he inclined from the beginning but ſmally thereunto, but ioyned rather with ſuch as had alwayes oppoſed themſelues to any good order in this charge, and made themſelues to be brought indiſpoſed to his preſent ſtate and proceedings. For both knowing that Gods commandement charged me with ſuch duty, and diſcerning how much our peace might further the good ſeruice of God and his Church, and the mutuall comfort of vs both, I had reſolued conſtantly to ſeeke for peace, & though it ſhould flie from me (as I ſaw it did by meanes of ſome, who little deſired to ſee the good of our Church) yet according to the rule of Gods Word, to follow after it. Which being ſo (as hereof I take God to witnes, who ſearcheth the heart, & reines, and by his Sonne will iudge the World, both the quicke and dead) I hope no charitable iudgement can ſuppoſe me to haue ſtood euill-affected towards him for his place, or deſirous to fal into any cõtrouerſie with him. Which my reſolution I purſued, that whereas I diſcouered ſundry vnſound matters in his doctrine (as many of his Sermons taſted of ſome ſowre leauen, or other) yet thus I carried my ſelfe towards him. Matters of ſmaller weight, and ſo covertly diſcovered, that no great offence to the Church was to be feared in them, I wholly paſſed by, as one that diſcerned nothing of them, or had beene vnfurniſhed of replies. For other of great moment, and ſo openly deliuered, as there was iuſt cauſe of feare, leſt the Truth and Church of God ſhould be preiudiced and perilled by it, and ſuch as the conſcience of my duty and calling would not ſuffer me altogether to paſſe ouer, this was my courſe, To deuer, when I ſhould haue iuſt cauſe by my Text, the truth of ſuch doctrine as he had otherwiſe taught in generall ſpeeches, without touch of his perſon in any ſort, and further at conuenient opportunity to conferre with him in ſuch points. According to which determination, whereas he had taught certaine things concerning Predeſtination otherwiſe then the Word of God doth, as it is vnderſtood by all Churches profeſſing the Goſpell, and not vnlike that wherwith *Coranus* ſometimes troubled his Church, I both deliuered the truth of ſuch points in a generall doctrine, without any touch of him in particular, and conferred with him alſo priuately vpon ſuch Articles. In which Conference, I remember, when I vrged the conſent of all Churches, & good Writers againſt him that I knew, and deſired if it were otherwiſe, what Authors he had ſeene of ſuch doctrin, he anſwered me, That his beſt Authour was his owne reaſon: which I wiſhed him to take heed of as a matter ſtanding with Chriſtian modeſty and wiſedome in a doctrine not receiued by the Church,

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not to truſt to his owne iudgement ſo far, as to publiſh it before he had conferred with others of his profeſſion, labouring by daily praier and ſtudie, to know the will of God, as he did, to ſee how they vnderſtood ſuch Doctrine: notwithſtanding, hee with wauering replying, that hee would ſome other time deale more largely in the matter, I wiſhed him, and praied him not ſo to doe, for the Peace of the Church, which by ſuch meanes might be hazarded; ſeeing he could not but thinke, that men, who make any conſcience of their Miniſterie, will iudge it a neceſſarie dutie in them, to teach the Truth, and to conuince the contrarie. Another time, vpon like occaſion of this Doctrine of his, that the aſſurance of that we beleeue by the Word, is not ſo certaine, as of that we perceiue by ſenſe; I both taught the Doctrine otherwiſe, namely, the aſſurance of Faith to be greater, which aſſured both of things aboue, and contrarie to all ſenſe and humane vnderſtanding, and dealt with him alſo priuately vpon that point. According to which courſe, of late, when as he had taught that the Church of Rome is a true Church of Chriſt, and a ſanctified Church by profeſſion of that Truth, which God hath reuealed vnto vs by his Sonne, though not a pure, and perfect Church: and further that hee doubted not, but that thouſands of the Fathers, which liued and died in the Superſtitions of that Church, were ſaued becauſe of their ignorance, which excuſeth them, miſ-alleaging to that end a * Text of Scripture to proone it: the matter being of ſet purpoſe openly and at large handled by him, and of that moment that might preiudice the Faith of Chriſt, encourage the ill-affected to continue ſtill in their damnable waies, and other weake in Faith to ſuffer themſelues eaſily to be ſeduced to the deſtruction of their Soules; I thought it my moſt bounden dutie to God, and to his Church, whileſt I might haue oportunitie to ſpeake with him, to teach the Truth in a generall ſpeech in ſuch points of Doctrine.

* 1. *Tim.* 1. 13.

At which time I taught that ſuch as die, or haue died at any time in the Church of Rome, holding in their ignorance that Faith, which is taught in it, and namely, Iuſtification in part by works, could not be ſaid by the Scriptures to be ſaued. In which matter foreſeeing that, if I waded not warily in it, I ſhould be in danger to be reported (as hath falne out ſince notwithſtanding) to condemne all the Fathers: I ſaid directly and plainly to all mens vnderſtanding, that it was not indeed to be doubted, but many of the Fathers were ſaued, but the meanes (I ſaid) was not their ignorance, which excuſeth no man with God, but their knowledge and Faith of the Truth, which it appeareth God vouchſafed them by many notable Monuments and Records extant of it in all Ages. Which being the laſt point in all my Sermon, riſing ſo naturally from the Text I then expounded, as would haue occaſioned me to haue deliuered ſuch matter, notwithſtanding the former Doctrine had beene ſound, and being dealt in by a generall ſpeech without touch of his particulat: I looked not that a matter of controuerſie would haue beene made of it, no more then had beene of my like dealing in former time. But farre otherwiſe then I looked for, M. *Hooker* ſhewing no griefe of offence taken at my ſpeech all the weeke long, the next Sabbath, leauing to proceed vpon his ordinarie Text, profeſſed to preach againe that he had done the day before, for

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ſome queſtion that his Doctrine was drawne into, which he deſired might be examined with all ſeueritie.

So proceeding, he beſtowed his whole time in that diſcourſe, concerning his former doctrine, and anſwering the places of Scripture, which I had * alleaged, to proue that a man dying in the Church of Rome, is not to be iudged by the Scriptures to be ſaued. In which long ſpeech, and vtterly impertinent to his Text, vnder colour of anſwering for himſelfe, hee impugned directly and openly to all mens vnderſtanding the true Doctrin which I had deliuered, and added to his former points ſome other like (as willingly one errour followeth another) that is, that the Galathians ioyning with Faith in Chriſt Circumciſion, as neceſſarie to Saluation, might not be ſaued. And that they of the Church of Rome may be ſaued by ſuch a Faith of Chriſt, as they had, with a generall Repentance of all their errours, notwithſtanding their opinion of Iuſtification, in part by their Workes and Merits. I was neceſſarily, though not willingly drawne to ſay ſomething to the points he obiected againſt ſound Doctrin, which I did in a ſhort Speech in the end of my Sermon, with proteſtation of ſo doing, not of any ſiniſter affection to any man, but to beare witneſſe to the Truth according to my Calling. And wiſhed, if the matter ſhould needs further be dealt in, ſome other more conuenient way might be taken for it; wherein I hope, my dealing was manifeſt to the conſciences of all indifferent hearers of me that day, to haue beene according to Peace, and without any vncharitableneſſe being duly conſidered.

* Apoc. 18. 4. Gal. 5. 2, 3, 4.

For that I conferred with him the firſt day, I haue ſhewed that the cauſe requiring of mee the dutie, at the leaſt not to be altogether ſilent in it, being a matter of ſuch conſequence, that the time alſo being ſhort, wherin I was to preach after him, the hope of the fruit of our communication being ſmall, vpon experience of former Conferences, my expectation being that the Church ſhould be no further troubled with it, vpon the motion I made of taking ſome other courſe of dealing. I ſuppoſe my deferring to ſpeake with him till ſome fit oportunitie, cannot in Charitie be iudged vncharitable.

The ſecond day, his vnlooked for oppoſition with the former reaſons, made it to be a matter that required of neceſſitie ſome publique anſwer; which being ſo temperate, as I haue ſhewed, if notwithſtanding it be cenſured as vncharitable, and puniſhed ſo grieuouſly as it is, what ſhould haue beene my puniſhment, if (without all ſuch cautions and reſpects as qualified my ſpeech) I had before all, and in the vnderſtanding of all ſo reproued him offending openly, that others might haue feared to do the like? Which yet if I had done might haue beene warranted by the rule and charge of the Apoſtle, *Them that offend openly, rebuke openly, that the reſt may alſo feare*; and by his example, who when *Peter* in this very caſe which is now betweene vs, had (not in preaching) but in a matter of conuerſation not gone with a right foot, as was fit for the truth of the Goſpell, conferred not priuately with him, but, as his own rule required, reproued him openly before all, that others might heare, and feare, and not dare to doe the like: all which reaſons together weighed, I hope, will ſhew the manner of my dealing to haue beene charitable, and warrantable in euerie ſort.

The

The next Sabbath day after this, Maſter *Hooker* kept the way he had entred into before, & beſtowed his whole houre and more only vpon the queſtions he had moued and maintained, wherein he ſo ſet forth the agreement of the Church of Rome with vs, and their diſagreement from vs, as if we had conſented in the greateſt, and waightieſt points, and differed only in certaine ſmaller matters: which agreement noted by him in two chiefe points, is not ſuch as he would haue made men beleeue. The one in that he ſaid, They acknowledged all men ſinners, euen the bleſſed Virgin, though ſome of them freed her from ſinne: for the Councell of Trent holdeth that ſhe was free from ſinne. Another in that he ſaid, They teach Chriſts righteouſneſſe to be the only meritorious cauſe of taking away ſin, and differ from vs only in the applying of it. For *Thomas Aquinas* their chiefe Schoole-man, and Archbiſhop *Catherinus* teach, That Chriſt tooke away onely originall ſin, and that the reſt are to be taken away by our ſelues; yea, the Councell of Trent teacheth, that righteouſneſſe, wherby we are righteous in Gods ſight, is an inherent righteouſneſſe: which muſt needs be of our owne works, and cannot be vnderſtood of the righteouſnes inherent only in Chriſts perſon, and accounted vnto vs. Moreouer, he taught the ſame time, that neither the Galathians, nor the Church of Rome did directly ouerthrow the foundation of Iuſtification by Chriſt alone, but only by conſequent, and therefore might well be ſaued; or elſe neither the Churches of *Lutheranes*, nor any which hold any manner of error could be ſaued, becauſe (ſaith he) euery error by conſequent ouerthroweth the foundation. In which diſcourſes & ſuch like he beſtowed his whole time and more, which, if he had affected either the truth of God, or the Peace of the Church, he would truly not haue done. Whoſe example could not draw me to leaue the Scripture I took in hand, but ſtanding about an houre to deliuer the doctrine of it, in the end vpon iuſt occaſion of the Text, leauing ſundry other his vnſound ſpeeches, and keeping me ſtill to the principall; I confirmed the beleeuing the doctrine of Iuſtification by Chriſt onely, to be neceſſarie to the iuſtification of all that ſhould be ſaued, and that the Church of Rome directly denieth that a man is ſaued by Chriſt, or by Faith alone without the works of the Law. Which my anſwer, as it was moſt neceſſarie for the ſeruice of God, and the Church, ſo was it without any immodeſt, or reprochfull ſpeech to Maſter *Hooker*. Whoſe vnſound and wilfull dealings in a cauſe of ſo great importance to the faith of Chriſt, and ſaluation of the Church, notwithſtanding I knew well what ſpeech it deſerued, and what ſome zealous earneſt man of the ſpirit of *Iohn* and *Iames*, ſur-named [*] *Boanerges*, ſonnes of Thunder, would haue ſaid in ſuch a caſe: yet I choſe rather to content my ſelfe in exhorting him to reuiſite his doctrine, as [a] *Nathan* the Prophet did the deuice which without cõſulting with God he had of himſelfe giuen to *Dauid*, concerning the building of the Temple, and with [b] *Peter* the Apoſtle to indure to be withſtood in ſuch a caſe, not vnlike vnto this. This in effect was that which paſſed between vs concerning this matter, and the inuectiues I made againſt him, wherwith I am charged; which rehearſall, I hope, may cleere me (with all that ſhall indifferently conſider it) of the blames laid vpon me for want of dutie to M. *Hooker*, in not conferring with him,

[*] *Mark.* 3. 17.
[a] 2 *Sam.* 7. 2, 3, 4, 5.
[b] *Gal.* 2. 11. 14.

him, whereof I haue ſpoken ſufficiently alreadie: and to the high Commiſſion, in not reuealing the matter to them, which yet now I am further to anſwer. My anſwer is, That I proteſt, no contempt nor wilfull neglect of any lawfull authoritie ſtayed me from complaining vnto them, but theſe reaſons following.

Firſt, I was in ſome hope, that Maſter *Hooker*, notwithſtanding he had bin ouercarried with a ſhew of charity to preiudice the Truth, yet whē it ſhould be ſufficiently proued, would haue acknowledged it, or at the leaſt induced with peace, that it might be offered without either offence to him, or to ſuch as would receiue it; either of which would haue taken away any cauſe of iuſt complaint. When neither of theſe fell out according to my expectation, and deſire, but that he replyed to the truth, and obiected againſt it, I thought hee might haue ſome doubts, and ſcruples in himſelfe, which yet if they were cleered, hee would either embrace ſome doctrine, or at leaſt ſuffer it to haue his courſe; which hope of him I nouriſhed ſo long as the matter was not bitterly, and immodeſtly handled betweene vs.

Another reaſon was the cauſe it ſelfe, which according to the parable of the Tares (which are ſaid to be ſowne amongſt the Wheat) ſprung up firſt in his graſſe. Therefore as the ſeruants in that place are not ſaid to haue come to complaine to the Lord, till the Tares came to ſhew their fruits in their kind: ſo I thinking it yet but a time of diſcouering of it, what it was, deſired not their ſickle to cut it downe.

For further anſwer, it is to be conſidered, that the conſcience of my dutie to God, and to his Church, did bind me at the firſt to deliuer ſound doctrine in ſuch points, as had beene otherwiſe vttered in the place, where I had now ſome yeeres taught the truth. Otherwiſe the rebuke of the [b] Prophet had fallen vpon me for not going vp to the breach, & ſtanding in it, and the [c] perill for anſwering the bloud of the Citie, in whoſe watch Tower I ſate, if it had been ſurpriſed by my default. Moreouer, my publike proteſtation, in being vnwilling, that if any were not yet ſatisfied, ſome other more conuenient way might be taken for it. And laſtly, that I had reſolued (which I vttered before to ſome, dealing with me about the matter) to haue proteſted the next Sabbath day, that I would no more anſwer in that place any obiections to the doctrine taught by any meanes, but ſome other way ſatisfie ſuch as ſhould require it. Theſe I truſt may make it appeare, that I failed not in dutie to authoritie; notwithſtanding I did not complaine, nor giue ouer ſo ſoone dealing in the caſe. If I did, how is he cleere, which can alleage none of all theſe for himſelfe, who leauing the expounding of the Scriptures, and his ordinary calling, voluntarily diſcourſed vpon ſchoole-points and queſtions, neither of edification nor of truth, who after all this, as promiſing to himſelfe, and to vntruth a victorie by my ſilence, added yet in the next Sabbath day to the maintenance of his former opinions, theſe which follow?

[b] *Ezec.* 22. 33.
[c] *Ezec.* 33. 6.

That no additament taketh away the foundation, except it be a priuatiue, of which ſort neither the works added to Chriſt by the Church of Rome, nor circumciſion by the Galathians were: as one denyeth him not to be a man, that ſaith he is a righteous man, but he that ſaith he is a dead man: whereby it might

might ſeem that a man might, without hurt, add works of Chriſt, and pray alſo that God and S. *Peter* would ſave them.

That the Galathians caſe is harder than the caſe of the Church of Rome, becauſe the Galathians joyned circumciſion with Chriſt, which God hath forbidden and aboliſhed: but that which the Church of Rome joyned with Chriſt, were good works which God hath commanded. Wherein he committed a double fault; one, in expounding all the queſtions of the Galathians, and conſequently of the Romans, and other Epiſtles, of Circumciſion only, and the Ceremonies of the Law (as they do who anſwer for the Church of Rome in their Writings) contrary to the clear meaning of the Apoſtle, as may appear by many ſtrong and ſufficient reaſons: the other, in that he ſaid, the addition of the Church of Rome was of works commanded of God; whereas the leaſt part of the works whereby they looked to merit, was of ſuch works, and moſt were works of ſupererogation, and of works which God never commanded, but was highly diſpleaſed with, as of Maſſes, Pilgrimages, Pardons, paines of Purgatory, and ſuch like: Further, that no one ſequell urged by the Apoſtle againſt the Galathians for joyning Circumciſion with Chriſt, but might be as wel enforced againſt the Lutherans; that is, that for their ubiquitie it may be aſwell ſaid to them, If yee hold the Body of Chriſt to be in all places, you are fallen from grace, you are under the curſe of the Law ſaying, curſed bee hee that fulfilleth not all things written in this Book, with ſuch like. He added yet further, that to a Biſhop of the Church of Rome, to a Cardinall, yea to the Pope himſelfe acknowledging Chriſt to bee the Saviour of the World, denying other errours, and being diſcomforted for want of works whereby he might be juſtified, he would not doubt, but uſe this ſpeech; Thou holdeſt the foundation of Chriſtian Faith, though it bee but by a ſlender thred; Thou holdeſt Chriſt, though but as by the hemm of his garment; why ſhouldſt thou not hope that vertue may paſſe from Chriſt to ſave thee? That which thou holdeſt of Juſtification by thy works, overthroweth indeed by conſequent the foundation of Chriſtian Faith; but be of good cheer, thou haſt not to do with a captious Sophiſter, but with a mercifull God, who will juſtifie thee for that thou holdeſt, and not take the advantage of doubtfull conſtruction to condemne thee. And if this, he ſaid, be an errour, I hold it willingly; for it is the greateſt comfort I have in this world, without which I would not wiſh either to ſpeak or to live. Thus far, being not to be anſwered in it any more, he was bold to proceed, the abſurdity of which ſpeech I need not to ſtand upon. I think the like to this, and other ſuch in this Sermon, and the reſt of this matter, hath not been heard in publick places within this Land ſince Queen *Maries* daies. What conſequence this Doctrine may be of, if hee be not by authoritie ordered to revoke it, I beſeech your HH. as the truth of God and his Goſpel is dear and precious unto you, according to your godly Wiſdomes to conſider.

I have been bold to offer to your HH. a long and tedious Diſcourſe of theſe matters; but ſpeech being like to Tapeſtry, which if it be folded up, ſheweth but part of that which is wrought, and being unlapt and laid open, ſheweth plainly to the eye all the work that is in it; I thought it neceſſary to unfold this Tapeſtry, and to hang up the whole chamber of it in your

moſt Honourable Senate: that ſo you may the more eaſily diſcerne of all the peeces, and the ſundry works and matters contained in it. Wherein my hope is, your HH. may ſee I have not deſerved ſo great a puniſhment as is laid upon the Church for my ſake, and alſo upon my ſelfe in taking from me the exerciſe of my Miniſtery: which puniſhment, how heavie it may ſeem to the Church, or fall out indeed to be, I refer it to them to judge, and ſpare to write what I feat; but to my ſelfe it is exceeding grievous, for that it taketh from me the exerciſe of my calling. Which I do not ſay is deare unto me as the means of that little benefit whereby I live (although this be a lawfull conſideration, and to be regarded of me in due place, & of the authority under whoſe protection I moſt willingly live, even by Gods Commandement both unto them, and unto me:) but which ought to be more precious to me than my life, for the love which I ſhould bear to the glory and honour of Almighty God, and to the edification and ſalvation of his Church, for that my life cannot any other way be of like ſervice to God, nor of ſuch uſe and profit to men by any means: for which cauſe, as I diſcerne how dear my Miniſtery ought to be unto mee, ſo it is my hearty deſire, and moſt humble requeſt unto God, to your HH. and to all the authority I live under, to whom any dealing herein belongeth, that I may ſpend my life according to his Example, who in a word of like ſound, of fuller ſenſe, comparing by it the beſtowing of his life to the Offering powred out upon the Sacrifice of the faith of Gods people, and eſpecially of this Church, whereupon I have already powred out a great part thereof in the ſame calling, from which I ſtand now reſtrained. And if your HH. ſhall find it ſo that I have not deſerved ſo great a puniſhment, but rather performed the duty, which a good and faithfull Servant ought in ſuch a caſe to doe his Lord, and the people he putteth him in truſt withall carefully to keep; I am a moſt humble Suirer by theſe preſents to your HH. that by your godly wiſdome, ſome good courſe may be taken for the reſtoring of me to my Miniſtery and place againe. Which ſo great a favour ſhall bind me yet in a greater obligation of duty (which is already ſo great, as it ſeemed nothing could bee added unto it to make it greater) to honour God daily for the continuance and increaſe of your good eſtate, and to be readie with all the poor means God hath given mee, to doe your HH. that faithfull ſervice I may poſſibly performe: but if notwithſtanding my cauſe be never ſo good, your HH. can by no means pacifie ſuch as are offended, nor reſtore me again, then am I to reſt in the good pleaſure of God, and to commend to your HH. protection, under her Majeſties, my private life, while it ſhall be led in duty; and the Church to him, who hath redeemed to himſelfe a people with his precious blood, and is making ready to come to judge both the quick and the dead, to give to every one according as he hath done in this life, be it good or evill; to the wicked and unbeleever, juſtice unto death; but to the faithfull, and ſuch as love his truth, mercy and grace to life everlaſting.

Your Honours moſt bounden, and moſt humble Suppliant,
WALTER TRAVERS, *Miniſter of the Word of God.*

THE ANSWER OF Mr. Richard Hooker, TO A SUPPLICATION, Preferred by Mr. WALTER TRAVERS, to the *Honourable Lords of the* Privie Councell.

LONDON, Printed by *R. BISHOP.*

1639.

MASTER HOOKERS ANSWER TO THE SVPPLICATION THAT MASTER TRAVERS made to the COUNCELL.

To my Lord of Canterbury *his Grace.*

MY dutie in moſt humble wiſe remembred. May it pleaſe your Grace to underſtand, that whereas there hath been a late Controverſie raiſed in the Temple, and purſued by Maſter *Travers*, upon conceit taken at ſome words by mee uttered with a moſt ſimple and harmleſſe meaning; in the heat of which purſuit, after three publick Invectives, ſilence being enjoyned him by authoritie; he hath hereupon for defence of his proceedings, both preſented the right Honourable Lords and others of her Majeſties privie Councell with a writing; and alſo cauſed or ſuffered the ſame to be copied out, and ſpred through the hands of ſo many, that well nigh all ſorts of men have it in their boſomes: the matters wherewith I am therein charged being of ſuch qualitie as they are, and my ſelfe being better known to your Grace than to any other of their Honours beſides; I have choſen to offer to your Graces hands a plain declaration of my innocencie in all thoſe things wherewith I am ſo hardly and ſo heavily charged, leſt if I ſtill remaine ſilent, that which I doe for quietneſſe ſake, be taken as an Argument, that I lack what to ſpeak truely and juſtly in mine owne defence.

2. Firſt, becauſe Maſter *Travers* thinketh it is expedient to breed an opinion in mens minds; that the roote of all inconvenient events which are now ſprung out, is, the ſurly and unpeaceable diſpoſition of the man with whom hee hath to doe; therefore the firſt in the ranke of accuſations laid againſt me, is, my inconformitie, which have ſo little inclined to ſo many and ſo earneſt Exhortations and Conferences, as my ſelf,

he saith, can witnesse, to have been spent upon me, for my better fashioning unto good correspondence and agreement.

3. Indeed, when at the first, by means of speciall well-willers, without any sute of mine, as they very well know, (although I do not think it had been a mortall sin, in a reasonable sort to have shewed a moderate desire that way) yet when by their indeavour, without instigation of mine, some reverend and honourable, favourably affecting me, had procured her Majesties grant of the place, at the very point of my entring thereinto, the evening before I was first to preach, hee came, and two other Gentlemen joyned with him: the effect of his Conference then was, that hee thought it his duetie to advise mee not to enter with a strong hand, but to change my purpose of preaching there the next day, and to stay till he had given notice of mee to the Congregation, that so their allowance might seale my calling. The effect of mine Answer was, that as in place where such order is, I would not break it; so here where it never was, I might not of mine owne head take upon mee to beginne it; but liking very well the motion of the opinion which I had of his good meaning who made it, requested him not to mislike my Answer, though it were not correspondent to his mind.

4. When this had so displeased some, that whatsoever was afterwards done or spoken by mee, it offended their taste, angrie informations were daily sent out, intelligence given far and wide what a dangerous enemy was crept in; the worst that jealousie could imagine was spoken and written to so many, that at the length some knowing mee well, and perceiving how injurious the reports were, which grew daily more and more unto my discredit, wrought means to bring Master *Travers* and me to a second Conference. Wherein, when a common friend unto us both had quietly requested him to utter those things wherewith hee found himselfe any way grieved, he first renewed the memorie of my entring into this Charge by vertue only of an humane creature (for so the want of that * formalitie of popular allowance was then censured;) and unto this was annexed a Catalogue, partly of causelesse surmizes; as that I had conspired against him, and that I sought superioritie over him; and partly of faults, which to note, I should have thought it a greater offence than to commit, if I did account them faults, and had heard them so curiously observed in any other than my selfe, they are such silly things; as praying in the entrance of my Sermons only, and not in the end, naming Bishops in my Prayer, kneeling when I pray, and kneeling when I receive the Communion with such like, which I would bee as loth to recite as I was sorrie to heare them objected, if the rehearsall thereof were not by him thus wrested from mee. These are the Conferences wherewith I have beene wooed to entertaine peace and good agreement.

* A meere formalitie it had been to me in that place; where as no man had ever used it before me, so it could neither further me if I did use it, nor hinder me if I did not.

5. As for the vehement exhortations hee speaketh of, I would gladly know some reason wherefore he thought them needfull to bee used. Was there any thing found in my speeches or dealings that gave them occasion, who are studious of peace, to think that I disposed my selfe to some unquiet kind of proceedings? Surely, the speciall Providence of God I doe now see it was, that the first words I spake in this place, should make the first

firſt thing whereof I am accuſed, to appeare not only untrue, but improbable to as many as then heard me with indifferent ears, and do, I doubt not, in their conſciences cleere mee of this ſuſpicion. Howbeit I grant this were nothing, if it might be ſhewed, that my deeds following were not ſuteable to my words. If I had ſpoken of peace at the firſt, & afterwards ſought to moleſt and grieve him, by croſſing him in his function, by ſtorming if my pleaſure were not asked, and my will obeyed in the leaſt occurrences, by carping needleſly ſometimes at the manner of his teaching, ſometimes at this, ſometimes at that point of his doctrine: I might then with ſome likelihood have been blamed, as one diſdaining a peaceable hand when it had been offered. But if I bee able (as I am) to prove that my ſelfe have now a full year together borne the continuance of ſuch dealings, not onely without any manner of reſiſtance, but alſo without any ſuch complaint as might let or hinder him in his courſe; I ſee no cauſe in the world, why of this I ſhould bee accuſed, unleſſe it bee, leſt I ſhould accuſe, which I meant not. If therefore I have given him occaſion to uſe conferences and exhortations to peace, if when they were beſtowed upon me I have deſpiſed them, it will not bee hard to ſhew ſome one word or deed wherewith I have gone about to work diſturbance: one is not much, I require but one. Onely I require if any thing bee ſhewed, it may bee proved, and not objected onely as this is, *That I have joyned with ſuch as have alwaies oppoſed to any good order in his Church, and made themſelves to bee thought indiſpoſed to the preſent eſtate and proceedings.* The words have reference, as it ſeemeth, unto ſome ſuch things as being attempted before my comming to the Temple, went not ſo effectually (perhaps) forward, as hee which deviſed them would have wiſhed. An Order, as I learne, there was tendred, that Communicants ſhould neither kneel, as in the moſt places of the Realme; nor ſit, as in this place the cuſtome is; but walke to the one ſide of the Table, and there ſtanding till they had received, paſſe afterwards away round about by the other. Which being on a ſudden begun to be practiſed in the Church, ſome ſate wondring what it ſhould mean, others deliberating what to doe: till ſuch time as at length by name one of them being called openly thereunto, requeſted that they might doe as they had been accuſtomed, which was granted; and as Maſter *Travers* had miniſtred his way to the reſt, ſo a Curate was ſent to miniſter to them after their way. Which unproſperous beginning of a thing, (ſaving only for the inconvenience of needleſſe alterations, otherwiſe harmleſſe) did ſo diſgrace that order in their conceit, who had to allow or diſallow it, that it took no place. For neither could they ever induce themſelves to think it good, and it ſo much offended Mr. *Travers*, who ſuppoſed it to be the beſt, that he ſince that time, although contented himſelfe to receive it as they do, at the hands of others, yet hath not thought it meet they ſhould ever receive it out of his, which would not admit that order of receiving it, and therefore in my time hath been alwaies preſent not to miniſter, but onely to be miniſtred unto.

6. Another Order there was likewiſe deviſed, but an Order of much more waight and importance. This ſoile, in reſpect of certain immunities and other ſpecialties belonging unto it, ſeemed likely to beare that which

which in other places of the Realme of England doth not take. For which cauſe requeſt was made to ſome of her Majeſties Privie Councell, that whereas it is provided by a Statute, there ſhould bee Collectors and Side-men in Churches, which thing, or ſomewhat correſpondent unto it, this place did greatly want; it would pleaſe their Honours to motion ſuch a matter to the Ancients of the Temple. And according to their Honourable manner of helping forward all motions ſo grounded, they wrote their Letters, as I am informed, to that effect. Whereupon, although theſe Houſes never had uſe of ſuch Collectors & Side-men as are appointed in other places, yet they both erected a Box to receive mens devotion for the poor, appointing the Treaſurer of both Houſes to take care for beſtowing it where need is, and granting further, that if any could be intreated (as in the end ſome were) to undertake the labour of obſerving mens ſlackneſſe in divine duties, they ſhould be allowed, their complaints heard at all times, and the faults they complained of, if Mr. *Alveyes* private admonition did not ſerve, then by ſome other means redreſſed; but according to the old received Orders of both Houſes. Whereby the ſubſtance of their Honours Letters were indeed fully ſatisfied. Yet becauſe Mr. *Travers* intended not this, but as it ſeemed another thing; therfore notwithſtanding the Orders which have been taken, and for any thing I know, do ſtand ſtill in as much force in this Church now, as at any time heretofore: He complaineth much of the good Orders which he doth mean have been withſtood. Now it were hard if as many as any way oppoſe unto theſe and the like Orders, in his perſwaſion good, do thereby make themſelves to be thought diſlikers of the preſent ſtate and proceedings. If they whom he aymeth at, have any otherwiſe made themſelves to be thought ſuch, it is likely he doth know wherein, and will, I hope, diſcloſe to whom it appertaineth, both the perſons whom hee thinketh, and the cauſes why he thinketh them ſo ill-affected. But whatſoever the men be, do their faults make mee faultie? They doe, if I joyne my ſelfe with them. I beſeech him therefore to declare wherein I have joyned with them. Other joyning than this with any man here, I cannot imagine: It may bee I have talked, or walked, or eaten, or interchangeably uſed the duties of common humanitie with ſome ſuch as hee is hardly perſwaded of. For I know no Law of God or man, by force whereof they ſhould be as Heathens and Publicans unto mee, that are not gracious in the eyes of another man, perhaps without cauſe, or if with cauſe, yet ſuch cauſe as he is privie unto, and not I. Could he, or any reaſonable man think it a charitable courſe in me, to obſerve them that ſhew by externall courteſies a favourable inclination towards him, and if I ſpie out any one amongſt them of whom I think not well, hereupon to draw ſuch an accuſation as this againſt him, and to offer it where he hath given up his againſt me? Which notwithſtanding, I will acknowledge to be juſt and reaſonable, if he or any man living ſhall ſhew that I uſe as much as the bare familiar company but of one, who by word or deed hath ever given me cauſe to ſuſpect or conjecture him, ſuch as here they are termed, with whom complaint is made that I joyn my ſelfe. This being ſpoken therefore, and written without all poſſibilitie of proofe, doth not Maſter *Travers* give me over-great cauſe to ſtand in ſome fear, leſt hee make too little conſcience

how

how he uſeth his tongue or pen? Theſe things are not laid againſt me for nothing, they are to ſome purpoſe if they take place. For in a mind perſwaded that I am as he deciphereth me, one which refuſes to be at peace with ſuch as imbrace the truth, and ſide my ſelf with men ſiniſterly affected thereunto, any thing that ſhall bee ſpoken concerning the unſoundneſſe of my Doctrine, cannot chuſe but be favourably entertained. This preſuppoſed, it will have likelihood enough, which afterwards followeth; that *many of my Sermons have taſted of ſome ſowre leaven or other*, that in them he hath *diſcovered ſundry unſound matters*. A thing much to be lamented, that ſuch a place as this, which might have been ſo well provided for, hath falne into the hands of one no better inſtructed in the truth. But what if in the end it be found that hee judgeth my words, as they doe colours, which looke upon them with green ſpectacles, and think that which they ſee is green, when indeed that is green whereby they ſee?

7 Touching the firſt point of this diſcoverie, which is about the matter of Predeſtination, to ſet down that I ſpake, (for I have it written) to declare and confirme the ſeverall branches thereof, would be tedious now in this writing, where I have ſo many things to touch, that I can but touch them only. Neither is it herein ſo needfull for mee to juſtifie my ſpeech, when the very place and preſence where I ſpake, doth it ſelfe ſpeak ſufficiently for my cleering. This matter was not broached in a blind Alley, or uttered where none was to hear it that had skill with authority to controll; or covertly inſinuated by ſome glyding ſentence.

8. That which I taught was at *Pauls Croſſe*; it was not hudled in amongſt other matters in ſuch ſort that it could paſſe without noting; it was opened, it was proved, it was ſome reaſonable time ſtood upon. I ſee not which way my Lord of *London*, who was preſent and heard it, can excuſe ſo great a fault, as patiently without rebuke or controlement afterwards, to hear any man there teach otherwiſe than *the Word of God doth*, not as it is underſtood by the private interpretation of ſome one or two men, or by a ſpeciall conſtruction received in ſome few books, but as it is underſtood *by all Churches profeſſing the Goſpel*, by them all, and therefore even by our owne alſo amongſt others. A man that did mean to prove that hee ſpeaketh, would ſurely take the meaſure of his words ſhorter.

9. The next thing diſcovered, is an opinion about the aſſurance of mens perſwaſion in matters of Faith. I have taught he ſaith; *That the aſſurance of things which wee beleeve by the Word, is not ſo certaine as of that wee perceive by ſence*. And is it as certain? Yea, I taught as he himſelf, I truſt, will not denie, that the things which God doth promiſe in his Word, are ſurer unto us than any thing wee touch, handle or ſee. But are wee ſo ſure and certain of them? If wee bee, why doth God ſo often prove his promiſes unto us, as hee doth by argument taken from our ſenſible experience? Wee muſt be ſurer of the proofe then of the thing proved, otherwiſe it is no proof. How is it that if ten men do all look upon the Moon, every one of them knoweth it as certainly to bee the Moone as another: but many beleeving one and the ſame promiſes, all have not one and the ſame fulneſſe of perſwaſion? How falleth it out, that men being aſſured of any thing by ſenſe, can bee no ſurer of it than they are; whereas the ſtrongeſt

ſtrongeſt in faith that liveth upon the earth, hath alwaies need to labour, and ſtrive, and pray that his aſſurance concerning heavenly and ſpirituall things, may grow, increaſe and be augmented?

10. The Sermon wherein I have ſpoken ſomewhat largely of this point, was long before this late Controverſie roſe between him and mee, upon requeſt of ſome of my friends, ſeen, and read by many, and amongſt many, ſome who are thought able to diſcerne: and I never heard that any one of them hitherto, hath condemned it as containing unſound matter. My caſe were very hard, if as oft as any thing I ſpeake diſpleaſing one mans taſte, my Doctrine upon his onely word ſhould bee taken for ſowre leaven.

11. The reſt of this diſcoverie is all about the matter now in queſtion, wherein hee hath two faults predominant, which would tyre out any that ſhould anſwer unto every point ſeverally: unapt ſpeaking of School-Controverſies; and of my words ſometimes ſo untoward a reciting, that hee which ſhould promiſe to draw a mans Countenance, and did indeed expreſſe the parts, at leaſtwiſe the moſt of them truly, but perverſly place them, could not repreſent a more offenſive viſage, than unto me my owne ſpeech ſeemeth in ſome places, as hee hath ordered it. For anſwer whereunto, that writing is ſufficient wherein I have ſet down both my words and meaning in ſuch ſort, that where this accuſation doth deprave the one, and either miſinterpret, or without juſt cauſe miſlike the other, it will appear ſo plainly, that I may ſpare very well to take upon mee a new and needleſſe labour here.

12. Onely at one thing which is there to bee found, becauſe Maſter *Travers* doth here ſeeme to take ſuch a ſpeciall advantage, as if the matter were unanſwerable; hee conſtraineth mee either to detect his overſight, or to confeſſe mine owne in it. In ſettling the queſtion between the Church of Rome and Us, about Grace and Juſtification, leſt I ſhould give them an occaſion to ſay, as commonly they doe, that when we cannot refute their opinions, we propoſe to our ſelves ſuch in ſtead of theirs, as wee can refute; I tooke it for the beſt and moſt perſpicuous way of teaching, to declare firſt, how far wee do agree, and then to ſhew our diſagreement; not generally (as Maſter *Travers* his * words would carry it, for the eaſier faſtning that upon me, wherewith, ſaving only by him, I was never in my life touched;) but about the matter onely of Juſtification: for further I had no cauſe to meddle at this time. What was then my

* His words be theſe: *The next Sabbath day after this* M. Hooker *kept the way hee entred into before, and beſtowed his whole houre and more, onely upon the queſtions hee had moved and maintained. Wherein hee ſo ſet out the agreement of the Church of Rome with us, and their diſagreement from us, as if we had conſented in the greateſt and weightieſt points, and differed only in certaine ſmaller matters. Which agreement noted by him in two chiefe points, is not ſuch as he would have made men beleeve: The one, in that he ſaid they acknowledge all men ſinners, even the bleſſed Virgin, thorgh ſome of them freed her from ſinne: for the Councell of Trent holdeth that ſhee was free from ſinne: Another in that he ſaid, They teach Chriſts righteouſneſſe to be the only meritorious cauſe of taking away ſi. and differ from us only in the applying of it. For* Thomas Aquinas *their chiefe School-man, and Archbiſhop* Catharinus, *teach, that Chriſt tooke away onely originall ſinne, and that the reſt are to be taken away by our ſelves: yea, the Councell of Trent teacheth, That the righteouſneſſe whereby wee are righteous in Gods ſight, is inherent righteouſneſſe. which muſt needs bee our owne works, and cannot be underſtood of the righteouſneſſe inherent only in Chriſts perſon, and accounted unto us.*

offence

offence in this case? I did as he saith, so set it out, as if wee had consented in the greatest and waightiest points, and differed only in smaller matters. It will not be found, when it commeth to the ballance, a light difference where we disagree, as I did acknowledge that wee do, about the very essence of the Medicine whereby Christ cureth our disease. Did I goe about to make a shew of agreement in the waightiest points, and was I so fond as not to conceale our disagreement about this? I doe wish that some indifferencie were used by them that have taken the weighing of my words.

13. Yea, but our agreement is not such in two of the chiefest points, as I would have men beleeve it is; and what are they? The one is, I said *They acknowledge all men sinners, even the blessed Virgin, though some of them free her from sinne.* Put the case I had affirmed, that onely some of them free her from sin; and had delivered it as the most currant opinion amongst them, that shee was conceived in sinne: doth not *Bonaventure* say plainly *Omnes ferè*, in a manner all men doe hold this? Doth hee not bring many reasons wherefore all men should hold it? Were their voyces since that time ever counted, and their number found smaller which hold it, than theirs that hold the contrarie? Let the question then be, whether I might say, The most of them *acknowledged all men sinners, even the blessed Virgin her selfe.* To shew that their generall received opinion is the contrarie, The Tridentine Councell is alledged, peradventure not altogether so considerately. For if that Councell have by resolute determination freed her, if it hold as Master *Travers* saith it doth, that she was free from sin; then must the Church of Rome, needs condemne them that hold the contrarie. For what that Councell holdeth, the same they all doe and must hold. But in the Church of Rome, who knoweth not that it is a thing indifferent to think and defend the one or the other? So that by this argument, the Councell of Trent holdeth the Virgin free from sin, *Ergo*, It is plain that none of them may, and therefore untrue that most of them do acknowledge her a sinner, were forcible to overthrow my supposed Assertion, if it were true that the Councell did hold this. But to the end it may cleerly appeare, how it neither holdeth this nor the contrary, I will open what many do conceive of the Canon that concerneth this matter. The Fathers of Trent perceived, that if they should define of this matter, it would bee dangerous howsoever it were determined. If they had freed her from her originall sin, the reasons against them are unanswerable, which *Bonaventure* and others do alledge, but especially *Thomas*, whose line, as much as may be, they follow. Again, if they did resolve the other way, they should controll themselves in another thing, which in no case might be altered. For they professe to keep no day holy in the honour of an unholy thing; and the Virgins Conception they honour with a * Feast, which they could not abrogate without cancelling a Constitution of *Xystus Quartus*. And

This doth much trouble *Thomas*, holding her Conception stayned with the naturall blemish inherent in mortall seed. And therefore hee putteth it off with two answers; the one, That the Church of Rome doth not allow but tolerate the Feast; which answer now will not serve: the other, That being sure she was sanctified before Birth, but unsure how long a while after her Conception, therefore under the name of her Conception-day, they honour the time of her Sanctification. So that besides this, they have now no soder to make the certaine allowance of their Feast, and their uncertaine sentence concerning her sin to cleave together. *Tom. 3. part. quæst. 27. art. 2. ad. 2. et 3.*

that

that which is worſe, the world might perhaps ſuſpect, that if the Church of Rome did amiſſe before in this, it is not impoſſible for her to faile in other things. In the end they did wiſely quote out their Canon by a middle third, eſtabliſhing the Feaſt of the Virgins Conception, and leaving the other queſtion doubtfull as they found it: giving only a caveate, that no man ſhould take the decree, which pronounceth all mankind originally ſinfull, for a definitive ſentence concerning the bleſſed Virgin. This in my ſight is plain by their own words, *Declarat hæc ipſa ſancta Synodus, &c.* Wherefore our Countey men at Rhemes, mentioning this point, are marvellous warie how they ſpeak; they touch it as though it were a hot coale: *Many godly devout men judge that our bleſſed Ladie was neither born nor conceived in ſin.* Is it their wont to ſpeak nicely of things definitively ſet downe in that Councell? In like ſort we find that the reſt, which have ſince the time of the Tridentine Synod written of originall ſin, are in this point for the moſt part either ſilent or very ſparing in ſpeech; and when they ſpeake, either doubtfull what to think, or, what ſoever they think themſelves, fearefull to ſet down any certain determination. If I be thought to take the Canon of that Councel otherwiſe than they themſelves do, let him expound it whoſe ſentence was neither laſt asked, nor his pen leaſt occupied in ſetting it down: I mean *Andradius*, whom *Gregory* the thirteenth hath allowed plainly to confeſſe, that it is a matter which neither expreſſe evidence of Scripture, nor the Tradition of the Fathers, nor the ſentence of the Church hath determined; that they are too ſurly and ſelf-willed, which deſending their opinion, are diſpleaſed with them by whom the other is maintained: finally, that the Fathers of Trent have not ſet down any certainty about this queſtion, but left it doubtfull and indifferent. Now whereas my words which I had ſet down in writing, before I uttered them, were indeed theſe, *Although they imagine that the mother of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, were for his honour, and by his ſpeciall protection preſerved clean from all ſin, yet concerning the reſt, they teach as we do, that all have ſinned.* Againſt my words they might with more pretence take exception, becauſe ſo many of them think ſhee had ſin: which exception notwithſtanding, the Propoſition being indefinite, and the matter contingent, they cannot take, becauſe they grant that many whom they count grave and devout amongſt them, think that ſhe was cleare from all ſin. But whether Maſter *Travers* did note my words himſelfe, or take them upon the credit of ſome other mans noting, the Tables were faultie wherein it was noted: *All men ſinners, even the bleſſed Virgin.* When my ſpeech was rather, *All men except the bleſſed Virgin.* To leave this; another fault he findeth that I ſaid, *They teach Chriſts righteouſneſſe to be the onely meritorious cauſe of taking away ſin, and differ from us only in the applying of it.* I did ſay and doe, *They teach as we doe, that although Chriſt bee the onely meritorious cauſe of our juſtice, yet as a medicine which is made for health, doth not heale by being made, but by being applyed: So by the merits of Chriſt there can be no life nor juſtification, without the application of his merits: But about the manner of applying Chriſt, about the number and power of means whereby he is applied, wee diſſent from them.* This of our diſſenting from them is acknowledged.

Annot. in Rom. 5. Sect 9.

Lib. 5. de ſenſ. fidei.

14. Our agreement in the former is denyed to be ſuch as I pretend. Let their

their own words therefore, and mine concerning them, be compared. Doth not *Andradius* plainly confeſſe, *our ſins do ſhut, and only the merits of Chriſt open the entring unto bleſſedneſſe?* And Soto, *It is put for a ground, that all ſince the fall of* Adam *obtain ſalvation only by the paſſion of Chriſt: howbeit, as no cauſe can be effectuall without applying; ſo neither can any man be ſaved to whom the ſuffering of Chriſt is not applyed.* In a word, who not? when the Councell of Trent reckoning up the cauſes of our firſt Juſtification, doth name no end, but Gods Glory and our Felicity; no efficient, but his Mercy; no inſtrumentall, but Baptiſme; no meritorious, but Chriſt; whom to have merited the taking away of no ſin, but originall, is not their opinion: which himſelf will find when he hath well examined his witneſſes, *Catharinus* and *Thomas*. Their Jeſuites are marvelous angry with the men out of whoſe gleanings Mr. *Travers* ſeemeth to have taken this; they openly diſclaime it, they ſay plainly, *Of all the Catholicks there is no one that did ever ſo teach*; they make ſolemne proteſtation, *We beleeve and profeſſe, that Chriſt upon the Croſſe hath altogether ſatisfied for all ſins, as well originall as actuall.* Indeed they teach that the merit of Chriſt doth not take away actuall ſin, in ſuch ſort as it doth originall, wherein if their doctrine had been underſtood, I for my ſpeech had never been accuſed. As for the Councell of Trent concerning inherent righteouſneſſe, what doth it here? No man doubteth but they make another formall cauſe of Juſtification than we doe. In reſpect whereof, I have ſhewed already, that wee diſagree about the very eſſence of that which cureth our ſpirituall Diſeaſe. Moſt true it is which the grand Philoſopher hath, *Every man judgeth well of that which he knoweth*, and therfore till we know the things throughly, whereof we judge, it is a point of judgement to ſtay our judgement.

Orthod. lib. 3.

In 4. Sent. diſt. 1 queſt. 4. art. 6.

Bellarm. Iudic. de lib. Concor. Mendac. 18. Nemo Catholicorum unquam ſic docuit; ſed credimus et profitemur Chriſtum in Cruce pro omnibus omnino peccatis ſatisfeciſſe, tàm originalibus quàm actualibus.

15. Thus much labour being ſpent in diſcovering the unſoundneſſe of my Doctrine, ſome pains he taketh further to open faults in the manner of my teaching, as that *I beſtowed my whole houre and more, my time, and more than my time, in Diſcourſes utterly impertinent to my Text.* Which if I had done, it might have paſt without complaining of to the Privie Councell.

16. But I did worſe, as he ſaith, *I left the expounding of the Scriptures, and my ordinary calling, and diſcourſed upon School-points, and queſtions, neither of edification, nor of truth.* I read no Lecture in the Law or in Phyſick. And except the bounds of ordinary Calling may bee drawne like a purſe, how are they ſo much wider unto him than to me, that he which in the limits of his ordinary Calling, ſhould reprove that in me which hee underſtood not, and I labouring that both he and others might underſtand, could not doe this without forſaking my Calling? The matter whereof I ſpake was ſuch, as being at the firſt by me but lightly touched, hee had in that place openly contradicted, and ſolemnly taken upon him to diſprove. If therefore it were a Schoole-queſtion, and unfit to bee diſcourſed of there, that which was in me but a Propoſition only at the firſt, wherefore made hee a Probleme of it? Why took he firſt upon him to maintain the negative of that, which I had affirmatively ſpoken, onely to ſhew mine owne opinion, little thinking that ever it would have a queſtion? Of what nature ſoever the queſtion were of, I could doe no leſſe than there explaine my ſelfe to them, unto whom I was accuſed of unſound Doctrine; wherein if to ſhew

what had been through ambiguitie mistaken in my words, or misapplied by him in this cause against mee, I used the distinctions and helps of Schooles, I trust that herein I have committed no unlawfull thing. These Schoole-implements are acknowledged by * grave and wise men not unprofitable to have been invented. The most approved for learning and judgement do use them without blame; the use of them hath been well liked in some that have taught even in this very place before me: the quality of my hearers is such, that I could not but think them of capacitie very sufficient for the most part to conceive harder than I used any; the cause I had in hand did in my judgement necessarily require them which were then used; when my words spoken generally without distinctions had been perverted, what other way was there for me, but by distinctions to lay them open in their right meaning, that it might appear to all men whether they were consonant to truth or no? And although Master *Travers* be so inured with the Citie, that he thinketh it unmeet to use any speech which savoureth of the Schoole, yet his opinion is no Canon: though unto him his mind being troubled, my speech did seem like fetters and manicles, yet there might bee some more calmely-affected which thought otherwise; his private judgement will hardly warrant his bold words, that the things which I spake *were neither of edification nor truth*. They might edifie some other for any thing he knoweth, and be true for any thing he proveth to the contrary. For it is no proofe to crie *Absurdities, the like whereunto have not been heard in publick places within this Land since Queen* Maries *dayes*. If this came in earnest from him, I am sorry to see him so much offended without cause. More sorrie that his fit should bee so extreme to make him speak hee knoweth not what: That I neither *affected the truth of God, nor the peace of the Church*. *Mihi pro minimo est*, It doth not much move me; when Master *Travers* doth say that, which I trust a greater than Master *Travers* will gainsay.

* *Calv. Inst. l. 1. cap. 6. Sect. 9.*

17. Now let all this which hitherto he hath said be granted him, let it bee as hee would have it, let my doctrine and manner of teaching be as much disallowed by all mens judgements as by his, what is all this to his purpose? Hee alledgeth this to bee the cause why hee bringeth it in: The high Commissioners *charge him with an indiscretion and want of dutie, in that he inveighed against certaine points of doctrine taught by mee as erroneous, not conferring first with me, nor complaining of it to them*. Which faults, a sea of such matter as hee hath hitherto waded in, will never bee able to scoure from him. For the avoyding Schisme and disturbance in the Church, which must needs grow if all men might think what they list, and speake openly what they thinke, therefore by a * Decree agreed upon by the Bishops, and confirmed by her Majesties authoritie, it was ordered, that erroneous doctrine, if it were taught publickly, should not bee publickly refuted, but that notice thereof should bee given unto such as are by her Highnesse appointed to heare and to determine such

* In the Advertisements published in the 7. year of her Majesties Raigne: if any Preacher or Parson, Vicar or Curate so licenced, shall fortune to preach any matter tending to dissention or to derogation of the Religion and Doctrine received, that the hearers denounce the same to the Ordinary, or to the next Bishop of the same place, but not openly to contrary or to impugne the same speech so disorderly uttered, whereby may grow offence, and disquiet of the people, but shall be convinced & reproved by the Ordinarie, after such agreeable order as shall be seen to him according to the gravitie of the offence: And that it bee presented within one moneth after the words spoken.

causes

cauſes. For breach of which Order, when he is charged with lack of duty, all the faults that can be heaped upon mee, will make but a weak defence for him: as ſurely his defence is not much ſtronger when he alledgeth for himſelfe, that *Hee was in ſome hope his ſpeech in proving the truth, and clearing thoſe ſcruples which I had in my ſelf, might cauſe me either to imbrace ſound doctrine, or ſuffer it to be imbraced of others, which if I did, he ſhould not need to complain*; that, *It was meet he ſhould diſcover firſt what I had ſowne, and make it manifeſt to bee tares, and then deſire their Sithe to cut it down*; that *Conſcience did bind him to do otherwiſe than the foreſaid Order requireth*; that *Hee was unwilling to deal in that publick manner, and wiſhed a more convenient way were taken for it*; that *Hee had reſolved to have proteſted the next Sabbath day that he would ſome other way ſatisfie ſuch as ſhould require it, and not deal more in that place.* Be it imagined; [let me not be taken as if I did compare the offenders when I do not, but their anſwers only] bee it imagined that a Libeller did make this Apologie for himſelf, I am not ignorant that if I have juſt matter againſt any man, the Law is open, there are Judges to hear it, and Courts where it ought to be complained of; I have taken another courſe againſt ſuch or ſuch a man, yet without breach of duty, for as much as I am able to yeeld a reaſon of my doing, I conceive ſome hope that a little diſcred it amongſt men would make him aſhamed of himſelfe, and that his ſhame would work his amendment; which if it did, other accuſation there ſhould not need; could his anſwer bee thought ſufficient, could it in the judgment of diſcreet men free him from all blame? No more can the hope which Maſter *Travers* conceived to reclaime me by publick ſpeech, juſtifie his fault againſt the eſtabliſhed Order of the Church.

18. His thinking it meet *he ſhould firſt openly diſcover to the people the tares that had been ſown amongſt them, and then require the hand of authority to mowe them down*, doth only make it a queſtion, whether his opinion that this was meete, may be a priviledge or protection againſt that lawfull conſtitution which had before determined of it as of a thing unmeet. Which queſtion I leave for them to diſcuſſe whom it moſt concerneth. If the Order be ſuch that it cannot bee kept without hazarding a thing ſo precious as a good conſcience, the perill whereof could bee no greater to him than it needs muſt be to all others whom it toucheth in like cauſes, then this is evident, it will be a moſt effectuall motive, not only for England, but alſo for other reformed Churches, even Geneva it ſelfe [for they have the like] to change or take that away which cannot but with great inconvenience be obſerved. In the mean while the breach of it may in ſuch conſideration be pardoned [which truely I wiſh howſoever it be,] yet hardly defended as long as it ſtandeth in force uncanceld.

19. Now whereas hee confeſſeth another way had *been more convenient*, and that hee found in himſelfe ſecret unwillingneſſe to doe that which hee did, doth hee not ſay plainly in effect that the light of his own underſtanding, proved the way that he took perverſe and crooked; reaſon was ſo plain and pregnant againſt it, that his minde was alienated, his will averted to another courſe? yet ſomewhat there was which ſo far overruled, that it muſt needs be done even againſt the very ſtreame, what doth it bewray? Finally his purpoſed proteſtation, whereby he meant openly to

make it knowne, that he did not allow this kind of proceeding, and therefore would satisfie men otherwise, *and deale no more in this place*, sheweth his good mind in this, that hee meant to stay himselfe from further offending; but it serveth not his turne. Hee is blamed because the thing he had done was amisse, and his answer is, That which I would have done afterwards had been well, if so be I had done it.

20. But as in this he standeth perswaded, that he hath done nothing besides duty, so hee taketh it hardly that the High Commissioners should charge him with indiscretion. Wherefore as if he could so wash his hands, he maketh a long & a large declaration concerning the carriage of himselfe how he waded in matters *of smaller waight*, and how in things *of greater moment*; how warily he dealt; how *naturally* he took his things *rising from the Text*; how closely he kept himselfe to *the Scripture hee tooke in hand*; how much pains he *took to confirme the necessity of beleeving Iustification by Christ only*, and to shew how the *Church of Rome denyeth that a man is saved by faith alone, without works of the Law*; what *the Sons of thunder would have done*, if they had been in his case; that his *answer was very temperate without* immodest *or reproachfull speech*, that when he might *before all have reproved me*, he did not, *but contented himselfe with exhorting me* before all, *to follow Nathans example and revisite my doctrine*; when hee might have followed St. *Pauls* example in *reproving Peter*, he did not, but exhorted me with *Peter, to endure to bee withstood*. This testimony of his discreet carrying himselfe in the handling of his matter, being more agreeably framed and given him by another than by himselfe, might make somewhat for the praise of his person; but for defence of his action unto them by whom hee is thought undiscreet, for not conferring privately before hee spake, will it serve to answer, that when hee spake, he did it considerately? Hee perceiveth it will not, and therefore addeth reasons, such as they are. As namely, how he purposed at the first to take another course, and that was this, *Publickly to deliver the truth of such Doctrine as I had otherwise taught, and at convenient opportunitie to conferre with mee upon such points*. Is this the rule of Christ, If thy brother offend openly in his speech, controll it first with contrary speech openly, and confer with him afterwards upon it, when convenient opportunitie serveth? Is there any Law of God or of Man, whereupon to ground such a resolution, any Church extant in the World, where Teachers are allowed thus to do or to be done unto? He cannot but see how weak an allegation it is, when hee bringeth in his following this course, first in one matter, and so afterwards in another, to approve himselfe, now following it againe. For if the very purpose of doing a thing so uncharitable be a fault, the deed is a greater fault; and doth the doing of it twice, make it the third time fit and allowable to bee done? The waight of the cause, which is his third defence, relieveth him as little. The waightier it was, the more it required considerate advice and consultation, the more it stood him upon to take good heed, that nothing were rashly done or spoken in it. But he meaneth *waightie* in regard of the wonderfull danger, except hee had presently withstood me without expecting a time of conference. *This cause being of such moment that might prejudice the faith of Christ, incourage the ill-affected to continue still in their damnable*

wayes,

wayes, and other weak in faith, to ſuffer themſelves to be ſeduced to the deſtruction of their ſoules, he thought it his bounden dutie to ſpeake before he talked with me. A man that ſhould read this, and not know what I had ſpoken, might imagine that I had at the leaſt denyed the Divinitie of Chriſt. But they which were preſent at my ſpeech, and can teſtifie, that nothing paſſed my lips more than is contained in their writings, whom for ſoundneſſe of doctrine, learning, and judgement Maſter *Travers* himſelfe doth, I dare ſay, not only allow, but honour, they which heard and doe know that the doctrine here ſignified in ſo fearfull manner, the doctrine that was ſo dangerous to the faith of Chriſt, that was ſo likely *to encourage ill-affected men, to continue ſtill in damnable wayes*, that gave ſo great cauſe to tremble for feare of the preſent *deſtruction of ſoules*, was only this, *I doubt not but God was mercifull to ſave thouſands of our Fathers, living heretofore in Popiſh Superſtition, in as much as they ſinned ignorantly*, and this ſpoken in a Sermon, the greateſt part whereof was againſt Poperie, they will hardly be able to diſcerne how Chriſtianitie ſhould herewith be ſo grievouſly ſhaken.

21. Whereby his fourth excuſe is alſo taken from him. For what doth it boot him to ſay, *The time was ſhort wherein he was to preach after me*, when his preaching of this matter perhaps ought, ſurely might have been either verie well omitted, or at leſt more conveniently for a while deferred; even by their judgements that caſt the moſt favourable aſpect towards theſe his haſtie proceedings. The poyſon which men had taken at my hands, was not ſo quick and ſtrong in operation, as in eight dayes to make them paſt cure; by eight dayes delay there was no likelihood that the force and power of his ſpeech could die; longer Meditation might bring better and ſtronger proofes to mind, than extemporall dexteritie could furniſh him with; and who doth know whether Time, the only Mother of ſound judgement and diſcreet dealing, might have given that action of his ſome better ripeneſſe, which by ſo great feſtination hath, as a thing borne out of Time, brought ſmall joy unto him that begat it? Doth he think it had not been better that neither my ſpeech had ſeemed in his eyes as an arrow ſticking in a thigh of fleſh, nor his own as a child whereof hee muſt needs bee delivered by an houre? His laſt way of disburdening himſelfe, is, by caſting his load upon my back, as if I had brought him by former conferences out of hope that any fruit ſhould ever come of conferring with me. Loth I am to rip up thoſe conferences, whereof hee maketh but a ſlippery and looſe relation. In one of them the queſtion between us was wether the perſwaſion of Faith concerning remiſſion of ſins, eternall life, and whatſoever God doth promiſe unto man, be as free from doubting as the perſwaſion which we have by ſenſe concerning things taſted, felt, and ſeen? For the negative, I mentioned their Example, whoſe Faith in Scripture is moſt commended, and the experience which all faithfull men have continually had of themſelves. For proof of the affirmative, which he held, I deſiring to have ſome reaſon, heard nothing but *All good Writers* oftentimes inculcated. At the length, upon requeſt to ſee ſome one of them, *Peter Martyr's* common places were brought, where the leaves were turned down, at a place ſounding to this effect, that *the Goſpel doth make Chriſtians more vertuous, than morall Philoſophie doth mak Heathens*: which came not neer the queſtion by many miles.

22. In the other Conference he queſtioned about the matter of Reprobation, miſliking firſt that I had termed God a permiſſive, and no poſitive cauſe of the evil, which the School-men do call *malum culpæ*: Secondly, that to their objection who ſay, *If I be elected, doe what I will, I ſhall be ſaved*, I had anſwered, that the will of God in this thing is not abſolute, but conditionall, to ſave his Elect beleeving, fearing, and obediently ſerving him: Thirdly, that to ſtop the mouthes of ſuch as grudge and repine againſt God for rejecting Caſt-awayes, I had taught that they are not rejected, no not in the purpoſe & counſell of God, without a forſeen worthineſſe of rejection going, though not in time, yet in order, before. For if Gods electing do in order (as needs it muſt) preſuppoſe the fore-ſight of their being that are elected, though they be elected before they be; nor only the poſitive fore-ſight of their being, but alſo the permiſſive of their being miſerable, becauſe election is through mercy, and mercy doth alwaies preſuppoſe miſerie: it followeth, that the very choſen of God acknowledge to the praiſe of the riches of his exceeding free compaſſion, that when he in his ſecret determination ſet it down, *Thoſe ſhall live and not die*, they lay as ugly ſpectacles before him, as Lepers covered with dung and mire, as ulcers putrified in their Fathers loynes, miſerable, worthy to be had in deteſtation; and ſhall any forſaken creature be able to ſay unto God, Thou didſt plunge me into the depth, and aſſigne me unto endleſſe torments, onely to ſatisfie thine owne will, finding nothing in mee for which I could ſeem in thy ſight ſo well worthy to feele everlaſting flames?

23. When I ſaw that Mr. *Travers* carped at theſe things, onely becauſe they lay not open, I promiſed at ſome convenient time to make them cleer as light, both to him and all others. Which if they that reprove me wil not grant me leave to doe, they muſt think that they are for ſome cauſe or other, more deſirous to have mee reputed an unſound man, than willing that my ſincere meaning ſhould appear and be approved. When I was farther asked, what my grounds were? I anſwered, that S. *Pauls* words concerning this cauſe were my grounds. His next demand, what Authour I did follow in expounding S. *Paul*, and gathering the doctrine out of his words, againſt the judgement (he ſaith) of *all Churches*, and *all good writers*. I was well aſſured that to controll this over-reaching ſpeech, the ſentences which I might have cited out of Church Confeſſions, together with the beſt learned Monuments of former times, and not the meaneſt of our own, were mo in number than perhaps he would willingly have heard of: but what had this booted me? For although he himſelf in generality do much uſe thoſe formall ſpeeches, *All Churches* and *all good writers*: yet as hee holdeth it in Pulpit lawfull to ſay in generall, the *Paynims* think this, or the *Heathens* that, but utterly unlawfull to cite any ſentence of theirs that ſay it; ſo he gave me at that time great cauſe to think that my particular alledging of other mens words, to ſhew their agreement with mine, would as much have diſpleaſed his mind, as the thing it ſelfe for which it had been alledged. For he knoweth how often he hath in publick place bitten me for this, although I did never in any Sermon uſe many of the Sentences of other Writers, and do make moſt without any, having alwaies thought it meeteſt neither to affect nor to contemne the uſe of them.

24. He

24. Hee is not ignorant that in the very entrance to the talke, which we had privately at that time, to prove it unlawfull altogether in preaching, either for confirmation, declaration, or otherwiſe, to cite any thing but meer Canonicall Scripture, he brought in, *The Scripture is given by inſpiration, and is profitable to teach, improve, &c.* urging much the vigour of theſe two clauſes, *The man of God* and *every good work*. If therefore the work were good which hee required at my hands, if privately to ſhew why I thought the Doctrine I had delivered to bee according to S. *Pauls* meaning, were a good work, can they which take the place before alledged for a Law, condemning every man of God, who in doing the work of preaching any other way uſeth humane authority, like it in mee, if in the worke of ſtrengthening that which I had preached, I ſhould bring forth the teſtimonies and the ſayings of mortall men? I alledged therfore that which might under no pretence in the world be diſallowed, namely reaſons, not meaning therby mine own reaſon as now it is reported, but true, ſound, divine reaſon; reaſon whereby thoſe Concluſions might be out of S. *Paul* demonſtrated, and not probably diſcourſed of only; reaſon proper to that ſcience whereby the things of God are known; Theologicall reaſon without principles in Scripture that are plaine, ſoundly deduced more doubtfull inferences, in ſuch ſort that being heard they cannot be denyed, nor any thing repugnant unto them received, but whatſoever was before otherwiſe by miſcollecting gathered out of dark places, is thereby forced to yeeld it ſelfe, and the true conſonant meaning of ſentences not underſtood, is brought to light. This is the reaſon which I intended. If it were poſſible for mee to eſcape the Ferula in any thing I do or ſpeak, I had undoubtedly eſcaped it in this. In this I did that which by ſome is injoyned as the only allowable, but granted by all as the moſt ſure and ſafe way, whereby to reſolve things doubted of in matters appertaining to Faith and Chriſtian Religion. So that Maſter *Travers* had here ſmall cauſe given him to bee weary of conferring, unleſſe it were in other reſpects than that poor one which is here pretended, that is to ſay, the little hope hee had of doing mee any good by conference.

25. Yet behold his firſt reaſon of not complaining to the High Commiſſion, is, that ſith I offended onely through an over-charitable inclination, hee conceived good hope, when I ſhould ſee the truth cleared, and ſome ſcruples, which were in my mind, removed by his diligence, I would yeeld. But what experience ſoever hee had of former conferences, how ſmall ſoever his hope was that fruit would come of it if hee ſhould have conferred, will any man judge this a cauſe ſufficient, why to open his mouth in publick without any one word privately ſpoken? Hee might have conſidered that men doe ſometimes reape where they ſow but with ſmall hope; he might have conſidered that although unto mee (whereof hee was not certaine neither) but if to me his labour ſhould be as water ſpilt or powred into a torne diſh, yet to him it could not bee fruitleſſe to doe that which order in Chriſtian Churches, that which charitie amongſt Chriſtian men, that which at many mens hands even common humanitie it ſelfe, at his, many other things beſides did require. What fruit could there come of his open contradicting in ſo great haſt with ſo ſmall

advice

advice, but such as must needs be unpleasant, and mingled with much acerbity? Surely, he which will take upon him to defend, that in this there was no over-sight, must beware lest by such defences, he leave an opinion dwelling in the minds of men, that hee is more stiffe to maintain what hee hath done, than carefull to doe nothing but that which may justly bee maintained.

26. Thus have I as neer as I could, seriously answered things of weight; with smaller I have dealt as I thought their qualitie did require. I take no joy in striving, I have not been nuzled or trained up in it. I would to Christ they which have at this present inforced me hereunto, had so ruled their hands in any reasonable time, that I might never have been constrained to strike so much as in mine owne defence. Wherefore to prosecute this long and tedious contention no further, I shall wish that your Grace and their Honours (unto whose intelligence the dutifull regard which I have of their judgements, maketh mee desirous, that as accusations have been brought against me, so that this my answer thereunto may likewise come) did both with the one and the other, as *Constantine* with books containing querulous matter. Whether this be convenient to be wish'd or no, I cannot tell. But sith there can come nothing of contention, but the mutuall waste of the parties contending, till a common enemie dance in the ashes of them both, I do wish heartily that the grave advice which *Constantine* gave for reuniting of his Clergie so many times, upon some small occasions, in so lamentable sort divided; or rather the strict commandement of Christ unto his, that they should not be divided at all, may at the length, if it be his blessed will, prevaile so farre, at least in this corner of the Christian world, to the burying and quite forgetting of strife, together with the causes which have either bred it or brought it up, that things of small moment never disjoyne them, whom one God, one Lord, one Faith, one Spirit, one Baptisme, bands of so great force have linked; that a respective eye towards things wherewith we should not be disquieted, make us not, as through infirmity the very Patriarkes themselves sometimes were, full gorged, unable to speake peaceably to their owne brother: finally, that no strife may ever be heard of againe, but this, who shall hate strife most, who shall pursue Peace and Unity with swiftest paces.

FINIS.

A LEARNED DISCOURSE OF *Justification, VVorks,* and how the foundation of FAITH is *overthrowne.*

BY
RICHARD HOOKER, sometimes fellow of CORPVS CHRISTI *Colledge* in OXFORD.

LONDON,
Printed by *R. BISHOP.*

1639.

TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

Whereas many, desirous of resolution in some points handled in this learned Discourse, were earnest to have it copied out; to ease so many labours, it hath beene thought most worthy and very necessarie to be printed: that not onely they might bee satisfied, but the whole Church also hereby edified. The rather, because it will free the Authour from the suspicion of some errours, which he hath been thought to have favoured. Who might well have answered with Cremutius *in* Tacitus, [a] Verba mea arguuntur, adeo factorum innocens sum. *Certainly, the event of that time wherein hee lived, shewed that to be true, which the same* [b] *Authour spake of a worse,* Cui deerat inimicus, per amicos oppressus; *and that there is not* [c] minus periculum ex magna fama, quàm ex mala. *But he hath so quit himselfe, that all may see, how, as it was said of* Agricola, Simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum in ipsam gloriam præceps agebatur. *Touching whom I will say no more, but that which my Authour said of the same man,* Integritatem, &c. in tanto viro referre, injuria virtutum fuerit. *But as of*

[a] Lib. 4. Ann.

[b] Lib. 1. Hist.

[c] In vita Agricolæ.

of all other his writings, so of this I will add that which Velleius *spake in commendation of* Piso, Nemo fuit,
Lib. 2. qui magis quæ agenda erant curaret, sine ulla ostentatione agendi. *So not doubting, Good Christian Reader, of thy assent herein, but wishing thy favourable acceptance of this VVork (which will be an inducement to set forth others of his learned Labours) I take my leave; from*

Corpus Christi Colledge
in Oxford the sixt of
July. 1612.

Thine in Christ Iesus,

HENRY IACKSON.



A LEARNED DISCOVRSE OF IVSTIFICATION, WORKS, AND HOW THE foundation of FAITH is *overthrowne.*

HABAK. 1.4.

The wicked doth compaſſe about the righteous; therefore perverſe judgement doth proceed.

FOR the better manifeſtation of the Prophets meaning in this place, wee are firſt to conſider *the wicked*, of whom hee ſaith, that *They compaſſe about the righteous*: Secondly, *the righteous*, that are compaſſed about by them: and Thirdly, That which is inferred; *Therefore perverſe judgement proceedeth*. Touching the firſt, There are two kinds of wicked men, of whom, in the fift of the former to the Corinthians, the bleſſed Apoſtle ſpeaketh thus: *Doe yee not judge them that are within? But God judgeth them that are without.* There are wicked therefore whom the Church may judge, and there are wicked whom God only judgeth: wicked within, and wicked without the walls of the Church. If within the Church, particular perſons bee apparantly ſuch, as cannot otherwiſe bee reformed; the rule of the Apoſtolicall judgement, is this; *Separate them from among you*: if whole Aſſemblies, this; *Separate your ſelves from among them: For what ſocietie hath light with darkneſſe?* But the wicked, whom the Prophet meaneth, were Babylonians, and therefore without. For which cauſe we have heard at large heretofore in what ſort hee urgeth God to judge them.

1. 2. 3. 1 Cor. 5. 12, 13. 2 Cor. 6. ver. 7.

2. Now concerning the righteous, there neither is, nor ever was any meer naturall man abſolutely righteous in himſelfe, that is to ſay, void of all unrighteouſneſſe of all ſin. We dare not except, no not the bleſſed Virgin her ſelfe, of whom although wee ſay with St. *Auguſtine*, for the honour ſake which wee owe to our Lord and Saviour Chriſt, wee are not willing in this cauſe, to move any queſtion of his mother: yet foraſmuch as the

Schools of Rome have made it a queſtion; we may anſwer with * *Euſebius Emiſſenus*, who, ſpeaketh of her and to her in this effect: *Thou didſt, by ſpeciall prerogative nine moneths together entertain within the cloſet of thy fleſh, the hope of all the ends of the Earth, the honor of the World, the common joy of Men: He, from whom all things had their beginning, had his beginning from thee; of thy body he tooke the bloud, which was to be ſhed for the life of the World; of thee he tooke that, which even for thee he payed. A peccati enim veteris nexu* [a] *per ſe non eſt immunis ipſa genetrix Redemtoris:* the Mother of the Redeemer, her ſelfe is not otherwiſe looſed from the bond of ancient ſinne, than by redemption; if Chriſt have paid a ranſome for all, even for her, it followeth, that all without exception were captives. If one have dyed for all, then all were dead in ſinne; all ſinfull therefore, none abſolutely righteous in themſelves; but we are abſolutely righteous in Chriſt. The World then muſt ſhew a righteous man, otherwiſe it is not able to ſhew a man that is perfectly righteous: *Chriſt is made to us Wiſdome, Iuſtice, Sanctification, and Redemption: Wiſdome*, becauſe he hath revealed his Fathers will: *Iuſtice*, becauſe he hath offered up himſelfe a ſacrifice for ſin: *Sanctification*, becauſe he hath given us his ſpirit, *Redemption*, becauſe he hath appointed a day to vindicate his children out of the bands of corruption into libertie, which is glorious. How Chriſt is made *Wiſdome*, and how *Redemption*, it may be declared, when occaſion ſerveth. But how Chriſt is made the *righteouſneſſe* of men, we are now to declare.

* Or whoſoever it be that was the author of thoſe Homilies that goe under his name.

[a] Knowing how the Schoolmen hold this queſtion, ſome Criticall wits may perhaps halfe ſuſpect that theſe two words, *Per ſe*, are In-mates. But if the place which they have, be their owne, their ſenſe can be none other then that which I have given them by a paraphraſticall interpretation.

3 There is a glorifying righteouſneſſe of men in the World to come; as there is a juſtifying and ſanctifying righteouſneſſe here. The righteouſneſſe, wherewith we ſhall be clothed in the World to come, is both perfect and inherent. That whereby here we are juſtified, is perfect, but not inherent. That whereby we are ſanctifyed, is inherent, but not perfect. This openeth a way to the underſtanding of that grand queſtion, which hangeth yet in controverſie betweene us and the Church of Rome, about the matter of juſtifying righteouſneſſe.

They teach as we doe, that God doth juſtifie the ſoule of man alone, without any coeffective cauſe of juſtice. *Deus ſine medio coeffectivo animam juſtificat. Caſal. de quadr. part. juſt. lect. c. 8. Idem lib. 3. c. 9.*

4 Firſt, although they imagine, that the Mother of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, were for his honour and by his ſpeciall protection, preſerved clean from all ſinne: yet touching the reſt they teach as we doe; that infants which never did actually offend, have their natures defiled, deſtitute of Juſtice, averted from God; that in making man righteous, none doe efficiently worke with God, but God. They teach as we doe, that unto Juſtice no man ever attayned, but by the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt. They teach as we doe, that although Chriſt as God, be the efficient; as Man, the meritorious cauſe of our Juſtice: yet in us alſo there is ſome thing required. God is the cauſe of our naturall life, in him we live: but he quickeneth not the body without the ſoule in the body. Chriſt hath merited to make us juſt: but as a medicine, which is made for health, doth not heale by being made, but by being applied: ſo by the Merits of Chriſt there can be no Juſtification, without the application of his Merits. Thus farre we joyne hands with the Church of Rome.

The difference betwixt the Papiſts and us about juſtification.

5 Where in then do we diſagree? We diſagree about the nature & eſſence of the medicine, whereby Chriſt cureth our Diſeaſe; about the manner of applying it; about the number, and the power of meanes, which God requireth

quireth in us for the effectual applying therof to our ſouls comfort. When they are required to ſhew what the righteouſneſſe is, whereby a Chriſtian man is juſtified: they [a] anſwer, that it is a divine ſpirituall qualitie, which qualitie received into the ſoule, doth firſt make it to be one of them, who are borne of God: and ſecondly, indue it with power, to bring forth ſuch works, as they doe that are borne of him; even as the ſoule of man being joyned to his body, doth firſt make him to be of the number of reaſonable creatures; and ſecondly inable him to performe the naturall functions which are proper to his kind: that it maketh the ſoule amiable and gracious in the ſight of God, in regard whereof it is termed grace; that it purgeth, purifieth, and waſheth out all the ſtaines, and pollutions of ſinne, that by it, through the merit of Chriſt we are delivered as from ſinne, ſo from eternall death and condemnation, the reward of ſinne. This grace they will have to be applyed by infuſion: to the end, that as the body is warme by the heate which is in the body, ſo the ſoule might be righteous by the inherent grace: which grace they make capable of increaſe; as the body may be more and more warme, ſo the ſoule more and more juſtified, according as grace ſhall be augmented; the augmentation whereof is merited by good works, as good works are made meritorious by it. Wherefore, the firſt receit of grace in their divinite, is the firſt juſtification; the increaſe thereof the ſecond juſtification. As grace may be increaſed by the merit of good works: ſo it may be diminiſhed by the demerit of ſins veniall, it may be loſt by mortall ſinne. In as much therefore as it is needfull in the one caſe to repaire, in the other to recover the loſſe which is made: the infuſion of grace hath her ſundry after-meales, for the which cauſe, they make many wayes to apply the infuſion of grace. It is applyed to Infants through Baptiſme, without either Faith or Works, and in them really it taketh away originall ſinne, and the puniſhment due unto it; it is applyed to Infidels and wicked men in the firſt juſtification, through Baptiſme without Works, yet not without Faith; and it taketh away both ſinnes actuall and originall together, withall whatſoever puniſhment, eternall or temporall, thereby deſerved. Unto ſuch as have attained the firſt juſtification, that is to ſay, the firſt receit of grace, it is applyed farther by good works to the increaſe of former grace, which is the ſecond juſtification. If they worke more and more, grace doth more and more increaſe, and they are more and more juſtified. To ſuch as diminiſhed it by veniall ſinnes, it is applyed by holy water, *Ave Maries*, Croſſings, Papall ſalutations, and ſuch like, which ſerve for reparations of grace decayed. To ſuch as have loſt it through mortall ſinne, it is aplyed by the Sacrament (as they terme it) of Penance: which Sacrament hath force to conferre grace anew, yet in ſuch ſort, that being ſo conferred, it hath not altogether ſo much power, as at the firſt. For it only cleanſeth out the ſtaine or guilt of ſinne commited; and changeth the puniſhment eternall into a temporall ſatisfactorie puniſhment, here, if time doe ſerve, if not, here after to be indured, except it be lightned by Maſſes, works of Charitie, Pilgrimages, Faſts, & ſuch like; or elſe ſhortned by pardon for terme, or by plenarie pardon quite removed, and taken away. This is the myſterie of the Man of ſin. This maze the Church of Rome doth cauſe her followers to

[a] Tho. Aquin. 1.2.quæſt. 100. *Gratia gratum faciens, id eſt, juſtificans, eſt in anima quiddam reale & poſitivum, qualitas quædam* (art.2.concl.) *ſupernaturalis, non eadem cum virtute infuſa, ut Magiſter, ſed aliquid* (art.3.) *præter virtutes infuſas fidem, ſpem, charitatem habitudo quædam* (art.3.ad3.) *quæ præſupponitur in virtutibuſiis ſicut earum principium & radix, eſſentiam animæ tanquam ſubjectum occupat non potentias; ſed ab ipſa* (art.4.ad1.) *effluunt virtutes in potentias animæ, per quas potentiæ moventur ad actus. plur. vid. quæſt.113.de Juſtificatione.*

tread, when they aske her the way to juſtification. I cannot ſtand now to unrip this building, and to ſift it peece by peece; onely I will paſſe by it in few words, that that may befall Babylon in the preſence of that which God hath builded, as happened unto *Dagon* before the Arke.

[a] Ph.1.3. 6. Doubtleſſe, ſaith the [a] Apoſtle, *I have counted all things loſſe, and judge them to be dung, that I may winnne Chriſt; and to be found in him, not having my owne righteouſneſſe, but that which is through the faith of Chriſt, the righteouſneſſe which is of God through faith.* Whether they ſpeake of the firſt or ſecond juſtification, they make it the eſſence of a divine quality inherent, they make it righteouſneſſe which is in us. If it be in us, then is it ours, as our ſoules are ours though we have them from God, and can hold them no longer than pleaſeth him: for if hee withdraw the breath of our noſtrils, we fall to duſt: but the righteouſneſſe wherein we muſt be found, if we will be juſtified, is not our owne; therefore we cannot be juſtified by any inherent qualitie. Chriſt hath merited righteouſneſſe for as many as are found in him. In him God findeth us, if wee bee faithfull, for by faith we are incorporated into Chriſt. Then although in our ſelves we be altogether ſinfull and unrighteous, yet even the man which is impious in himſelf, full of iniquity, full of ſin; him being found in Chriſt through faith, and having his ſinne remitted through repentance; him God upholdeth with a gracious eye, putteth away his ſin by not imputing it, taketh quite away the puniſhment due thereunto by pardoning it, and accepteth him in Jeſus Chriſt, as perfectly righteous, as if hee had fulfilled all that was commanded him in the Law: ſhall I ſay more perfectly righteous than if himſelfe had fulfilled the whole Law? I muſt take heed what I ſay: but the

[b] 2 Cor.5.21. Apoſtle ſaith, [b] *God made him to bee ſinne for us who knew no ſinne, that wee might be made the righteouſneſſe of God in him.* Such we are in the ſight of God the Father, as is the very Sonne of God himſelfe. Let it be counted folly, or phrenſie, or furie, whatſoever; it is our comfort, and our wiſdome; we care for no knowledge in the world but this, That Man hath ſinned, and God hath ſuffered; That God hath made himſelfe the Sonne of Man, and that Men are made the righteouſneſſe of God. You ſee therefore that the Church of Rome, in teaching juſtification by inherent grace, doth pervert the Truth of Chriſt, and that by the hands of the Apoſtles we have received otherwiſe than ſhe teacheth. Now concerning the righteouſneſſe of ſanctification, wee deny it not to be inherent: we grant, that unleſſe we work, we have it not: onely we diſtinguiſh it as a thing different in nature from the righteouſneſſe of juſtification: wee are righteous the one way by the faith of *Abraham*; the other way, except wee doe the works of *Abraham*, wee are not righteous. Of the one, Saint *Paul*;

Rom. 4.5. *To him that worketh not, but beleeveth, faith is counted for righteouſneſſe.* Of the other, Saint *Iohn*; *Qui facit juſtitiam juſtus eſt*; Hee is righteous which worketh righteouſneſſe. Of the one, St. *Paul* doth prove by *Abrahams* Example, that wee have it of faith without works. Of the other, St. *Iames* by *Abrahams* Example, that by works we have it, and not onely by faith. Saint *Paul* doth plainely ſever theſe two parts of Chriſtian righteouſ-

Rom. 6. neſſe one from the other. For in the ſixt to the *Rom.* thus he writeth, *Being freed from ſinne, and made ſervants to God, yee have your fruit in holineſſe,*

and

and the end everlaſting life. Yee are made free from ſin, and made ſervants unto God; this is the righteouſneſſe of juſtification: *ye have your fruit in holineſſe*; this is the righteouſneſſe of ſanctification. By the one we are intereſſed in the right of inheriting; by the other we are brought to the actuall poſſeſſion of eternall bliſſe, and ſo the end of both is everlaſting life.

7. The Prophet *Habak.* doth here terme the Jewes *righteous* men, not onely becauſe being juſtified by Faith they were free from ſin: but alſo becauſe they had their meaſure of fruits in holineſſe. According to whoſe example of charitable judgement, which leaveth it to God to diſcerne what we are, and ſpeaketh of them according to that which they doe profeſſe themſelves to bee, although they bee not holy men, whom men doe think, but whom God doth know indeed to bee ſuch: yet let every Chriſtian man know, that in Chriſtian equitie, he ſtandeth bound for to thinke and ſpeak of his Brethren, as of men that have a meaſure in the fruit of holineſſe, and a right unto the Titles, wherewith God, in token of ſpeciall favour and mercie, vouchſafeth to honour his choſen ſervants. So we ſee the Apoſtles of our Saviour Chriſt, doe uſe every where the name of *Saints*; ſo the Prophet, the name of *righteous*. But let us all be ſuch as we deſire to be termed. *Reatus impii eſt pium nomen*, ſaith *Salvianus*. Godly names doe not juſtifie godleſſe men. We are but upbrayded, when we are honoured with Names and Titles, whereunto our lives and manners are not ſutable. If indeed we have our fruit in holineſſe, notwithſtanding wee muſt note, that the more wee abound therein, the more need wee have to crave that wee may be ſtrengthened and ſupported. Our very Vertues may bee ſnares unto us. The enemy, that waiteth for all occaſions to work our ruine, hath found it harder to overthrow an humble Sinner, than a proud Saint. There is no mans caſe ſo dangerous, as his whom Sathan hath perſwaded that his owne righteouſneſſe ſhall preſent him pure and blameleſſe in the ſight of God. If wee could ſay, wee were not guiltie of any thing at all in our conſciences (we know our ſelves farre from this innocencie; we cannot ſay we know nothing by our ſelves; but if we could) ſhould we therefore plead not-guiltie before the preſence of our Judge, that ſees further into our hearts than wee our ſelves can doe? If our hands did never offer violence to our Brethren, a bloudie thought doth prove us Murtherers before him: if we had never opened our mouth to utter any ſcandalous, offenſive or hurtfull word, the cry of our ſecret cogitations is heard in the eares of God. If we did not commit the ſinnes, which daily and hourely, either in deed, word, or thoughts wee doe commit; yet in the good things which wee doe, how many defects are there intermingled! God in that which is done, reſpecteth the mind and intention of the doer. Cut off then all thoſe things wherein wee have regarded our own glorie, thoſe things which men doe to pleaſe men, and to ſatisfie our owne liking, thoſe things which wee doe for any by-reſpect, not ſincerely and purely for the love of God: and a ſmall ſcore will ſerve for the number of our righteous deeds. Let the holyeſt and beſt thing we doe be conſidered; we are never better affected unto God than when we pray; yet when we pray, how are our affections many times diſtracted! How little reverence do we ſhew unto the grand Majeſtie of God, unto whom we ſpeak! How little remorſe

of our owne miseries! How little taste of the sweet influence of his tender mercies do we feel! Are we not as unwilling many times to begin, and as glad to make an end; as if in saying, *Call upon mee*, hee had set us a very burdensome taske? It may seeme somewhat extreme, which I will speak: therefore let every one judge of it, even as his owne heart shall tell him, and no otherwise; I will but onely make a demand: If God should yeeld unto us, not as unto *Abraham*, If fifty, forty, thirty, twenty, yea, or if ten good persons could be found in a Citie, for their sakes that Citie should not be destroyed: but, and if he should make us an offer thus large; Search all the Generations of men, sithence the Fall of our Father *Adam*, find one man, that hath done one action, which hath past from him pure, without any staine or blemish at all, and for that one mans only action, neither man nor Angell shall feel the torments which are prepared for both. Do you think that this ransome, to deliver men and Angels, could be found to be among the sons of men? The best things which wee do, have somewhat in them to be pardoned. How then can we do any thing meritorious, or worthy to be rewarded? Indeed God doth liberally promise whatsoever appertaineth to a blessed life, to as many as sincerely keep his Law, though they be not exactly able to keep it. Wherefore we acknowledge a dutifull necessitie of doing well; but the meritorious dignitie of doing well, we utterly renounce. We see how far we are from the perfect righteousnesse of the Law; the little fruit which wee have in Holinesse, it is, God knoweth, corrupt and unsound: we put no confidence at all in it, we challenge nothing in the world for it, wee dare not call God to reckoning, as if wee had him in our debt-books: our continuall suit to him, is, and must bee, to beare with our infirmities, and pardon our offences.

8. But the people of whom the Prophet speaketh, were they all, or were the most part of them such as had care to walke uprightly? Did they thirst after righteousnesse? Did they wish? Did they long with the righteous Prophet; *Oh that our wayes were so direct, that wee might keep thy statutes?* Did they lament with the righteous Apostle; *Oh miserable men, the good which we wish and purpose, and strive to do, we cannot?* No, the words of the other Prophet concerning this people, do shew the contrary. How grievously hath *Esay* mourned over them! *Oh sinfull nation, laden with iniquitie, wicked seed, corrupt children!* All which notwithstanding, so wide are the bowels of his compassion enlarged, that hee denyeth us not, no, not when we were laden with iniquitie, leave to commune familiarly with him, libertie to crave and intreat, that what plagues soever wee have deserved, wee may not bee in worse case than unbeleevers, that wee may not bee hemmed in by Pagans and Infidels. Jerusalem is a sinfull polluted Citie: but Jerusalem compared with Babylon, is righteous. And shall the righteous bee overborne? shall they be compass'd about by the wicked? But the Prophet doth not onely complaine; Lord, how commeth it to passe, that thou handlest us so hardly, of whom thy Name is called, and beareſt with the Heathen Nations, that despise thee? No, hee breaketh out through extremitie of griefe and inferreth violently: This *proceeding is perverse*, the righteous are thus handled; *therefore perverse judgement doth proceed.*

Rom. 7. 19.

Cap. 1. *vers.* 4.

6. Which

9. Which illation containeth many things, whereof it were better much both for you to hear, and me to ſpeak, if neceſſity did not draw me to another taske. *Paul* and *Barnabas* being requeſted to preach the ſame things againe which once they had preached, thought it their duties to ſatisfie the godly deſires of men, ſincerely affected to the truth. Nor may it ſeem burdenous for me, nor for you unprofitable, that I follow their example, the like occaſion unto theirs being offered me. When we had laſt the Epiſtle of St. *Paul* to the Hebrewes in hand, and of that Epiſtle theſe words: *In theſe laſt dayes he hath ſpoken unto us by his Son:* After we had thence collected the nature of the viſible Church of Chriſt; and had defined it to be a communitie of men * ſanctified through the profeſſion of the Truth, which God hath taught the world by his Son; and had declared, that the ſcope of Chriſtian doctrine is the comfort of them whoſe hearts are over-charged with the burden of ſin; and had proved that the doctrine profeſſed in the Church of Rome, doth bereave men of comfort both in their lives and in their deaths: the concluſion in the end, whereunto we came, was this; the Church of Rome being in faith ſo corrupted, as ſhe is, & refuſing to be reformed, as ſhe doth, we are to ſever our ſelves from her; the example of our Fathers may not retain us in communion with that Church, under hope that wee ſo continuing, may bee ſaved as well as they. God, I doubt not, was merciſull to ſave thouſands of them, though they lived in Popiſh ſuperſtitions, inaſmuch as they ſinned ignorantly: but the truth is now laid before our eyes. The former part of this laſt ſentence, namely, theſe words: *I doubt not, but God was merciſull to ſave thouſands of our Fathers living in Popiſh ſuperſtitions, inaſmuch as they ſinned ignorantly:* this ſentence, I beſeech you to mark, and to ſift it with the ſeveritie of auſtere judgement, that if it be found to be gold, it may be ſuitable to the precious foundation whereon it was then laid: for I proteſt, that if it be hay or ſtubble, my owne hand ſhall ſet fire on it. Two queſtions have riſen by reaſon of this ſpeech before alledged: The one, *whether our Fathers, infected with Popiſh errours and ſuperſtitions, may be ſaved?* The other, *whether their ignorance be a reaſonable inducement to make us think they might?* Wee are then to examine: firſt, what poſſibilitie: then what probabilitie there is that God might be merciſull unto ſo many of our Fathers.

* By ſanctification, I mean a ſeparation from others not profeſſing as they do. For true holineſſe conſiſteth not in profeſſing, but in obeying the truth of Chriſt

10. So many of our Fathers living in Popiſh ſuperſtitions, yet by the mercie of God bee ſaved? No; this could not bee; God hath ſpoken by his Angell from heaven, unto his people concerning Babylon (by Babylon we underſtand the Church of Rome;) *Goe out of her my people, that yee bee not partakers of her plagues.* For anſwer whereunto, firſt, I doe not take the words to bee meant onely of temporall plagues, of the corporall death, ſorrow, famine and fire, whereunto God in his wrath hath condemned Babylon; and that to ſave his choſen people from theſe plagues, hee ſaith, *Goe out*, with like intent, as in the Goſpel, ſpeaking of Jeruſalems deſolations, hee ſaith, *Let them that are in Judea, flie unto the Mountaines, and them that are in the midſt thereof depart out*; or, as in the former times to *Lot*, *Ariſe, take thy wife, and thy daughters which are here, leſt thou bee deſtroyed in the puniſhment of the Citie*: but foraſmuch as here it is ſaid, *Goe out of Babylon*; wee doubt, their everlaſting deſtruction, which

Apoc. 18.4.

Matth. 24 16.

Gen. 19.15.

which are partakers therein, is either principally meant, or neceſſarily implyed in this ſentence. How then was it poſſible for ſo many of your Fathers to be ſaved, ſith they were ſo far from departing out of Babylon, that they took her for their mother, and in her boſome yeelded up the Ghoſt?

11. Firſt, for the plagues being threatned unto them that are partakers in the ſinnes of Babylon, wee can define nothing concerning our Fathers, out of this ſentence: unleſſe we ſhew what the ſinnes of Babylon be; and what they be which are ſuch partakers of them, that their everlaſting plagues are inevitable. The ſinnes which may bee common both to them of the Church of Rome, and to others departed thence, muſt bee ſevered from this queſtion. He which ſaith, *Depart out of Babylon, leſt yee be partakers of her ſinnes:* ſheweth plainly, that he meaneth ſuch ſinnes, as, except we ſeparate our ſelves, we have no power in the world to avoyd; ſuch impieties, as by their Law they have eſtabliſhed, and whereunto all that are among them, either doe indeed aſſent, or elſe are by powerable means forced, in ſhew and appearance, to ſubject themſelves. As for example, in the Church of Rome it is maintained, that the ſame credit and reverence that we give to the Scriptures of God, ought alſo to be given to unwritten verities; That the Pope is ſupreme head miniſteriall over the univerſall Church militant; That the bread in the Euchariſt is transſubſtantiated into Chriſt; That it is to be adored, and to bee offered up unto God, as a ſacrifice propitiatorie for quick and dead; That Images are to be worſhipped; Saints to be called upon as interceſſors, and ſuch like. Now, becauſe ſome Hereſies do concerne things only beleeved, as the tranſubſtantiation of the ſacramentall Elements in the *Euchariſt*; ſome concerne things which are practiſed & put in ure, as the adoration of the Elements tranſubſtantiated: wee muſt note, that *erroneouſly*, the practice of that is ſometime received, whereof the doctrine, that teacheth it, is not *heretically* maintained. They are all partakers of the maintenance of Hereſies, who by word or deed allow them, knowing them, although not knowing them to be Hereſies; as alſo they, and that moſt dangerouſly of all others, who knowing Hereſie to be Hereſie, doe notwithſtanding in worldly reſpects, make ſemblance of allowing that, which in heart and judgement they condemne: but Hereſie is heretically maintained, by ſuch as obſtinately hold it, after wholſome admonition. Of the laſt ſort, as of the next before, I make no doubt, but that their condemnation without an actuall repentance, is inevitable. Leſt any man therefore ſhould think, that in ſpeaking of our Fathers, I ſhould ſpeak indifferently of them all: let my words, I beſeech you be well marked: *I doubt not, but God was mercifull to ſave thouſands of our Fathers:* which thing I will now by Gods aſſiſtance, ſet more plainly before your eyes.

12. Many are partakers of the errour, which are not of the Hereſie of the Church of Rome. The people following the conduct of their guides, & obſerving as they did, exactly that which was preſcribed, thought they did God good ſervice, when indeed they did diſhonour him. This was their error: but the Hereſie of the Church of Rome, their dogmaticall Poſitions oppoſite unto Chriſtian truth, what one man amongſt ten thouſand, did ever underſtand? Of them, which underſtand Roman Hereſies, and allow them, all are

not

not alike partakers in the action of allowing. Some allow them as the firſt Founders and eſtabliſhers of them: which crime toucheth none but their Popes and Councels; the people are cleare and free from this. Of them which maintaine Popiſh Hereſies, not as Authours, but Receivers of them from others, all maintaine them not as Maſters. In this are not the people partakers neither, but onely the Predicants and Schoolemen. Of them which have been partakers in this ſin of teaching Popiſh Hereſie, there is alſo a difference; for they have not all been Teachers of all Popiſh Hereſie. *Put a difference*, ſaith St. *Iude*; *have compaſſion upon ſome.* Shall wee lap up all in one condition? Shall wee caſt them all head-long? Shall we plunge them all into that infernall and everlaſting flaming lake? Them that have been partakers of the errours of Babylon, together with them which are in the Hereſie? Them which have been the Authors of Hereſie, with them that by terrour and violence have been forced to receive it? Them who have taught it, with them whoſe ſimplicitie hath by ſleights and conveyances of falſe Teachers, been ſeduced to beleeve it? Them which have been partakers in one, with them which have beene partakers in many? Them which in many, with them which in all? Veiſe 22.

13. Notwithſtanding I grant, that although the condemnation of them be more tolerable than of theſe: yet from the man that laboureth at the plough, to him that ſitteth in the Vatican; to all partakers in the ſins of Babylon; to our Fathers, thought they did but erroneouſly practiſe that which the guide heretically taught; to all, without exception, plagues were due. The pit is ordinarily the end, as well of the guide, as of the guided in blindneſſe. But woe worth the houre wherein wee were borne, except we might promiſe our ſelves better things; things which accompany mans ſalvation, even where wee know that worſe and ſuch as accompany condemnation are due. Then muſt wee ſhew ſome way how poſſibly they might eſcape. What way is there that ſinners can find to eſcape the judgement of God, but onely by appealing to the ſeate of his ſaving mercie? Which mercy, with *Origen*, we do not extend to Divels and damned ſpirits. God hath mercie upon thouſands, but there be thouſands alſo which he hardeneth. Chriſt hath therefore ſet the bounds, hee hath fixed the limits of his ſaving mercy within the compaſſe of theſe termes: *God ſent not his owne Son to condemne the world, but that the world through him might be ſaved.* In the third of St. *Iohns* Goſpel, mercy is reſtrained to beleevers: *He that beleeveth ſhall not be condemned; Hee that beleeveth not, is condemned already, becauſe hee beleeveth not in the Son of God.* In the ſecond of the Revelation, mercy is reſtrained to the penitent. For of *Iezabel* and her ſectaries, thus he ſpeaketh: *I gave her ſpace to repent, and ſhe repented not. Behold, I will caſt her into a bed, and them that commit fornication with her into great affliction, except they repent them of their works, and I will kill her children with death.* Our hope therefore of the Fathers, is, if they were not altogether faithleſſe and impenitent, that they are ſaved. Iohn 3.17. Revel. 2.22.

14. They are not all faithleſſe that are weak in aſſenting to the truth, or ſtiffe in maintaining things any way oppoſite to the truth of Chriſtian doctrine. But as many as hold the foundation which is precious, though they

they hold it but weakly, and as it were with a ſlender thred, although they frame many baſe and unſutable things upon it, things that cannot abide the tryall of the fire; yet ſhall they paſſe the fierie tryall and be ſaved, which indeed have builded themſelves upon the Rock, which is the foundation of the Church. If then our Fathers did not hold the foundation of Faith, there is no doubt but they were faithleſſe. If many of them held it, then is therein no impediment, but many of them might be ſaved. Then let us ſee what the foundation of Faith is, and whether we may think that thouſands of our Fathers being in Popiſh ſuperſtitions, did notwithſtanding hold the foundation.

15. If the foundation of Faith do import the generall ground, whereupon we reſt when we do beleeve, the writings of the Evangeliſts and the Apoſtles are the foundation of the Chriſtian Faith; *Credimus quia legimus*, ſaith S. *Ierome*: Oh that the Church of Rome did as [a] ſoundly interpret theſe fundamentall writings whereupon wee build our faith, as ſhee doth willingly hold and imbrace them.

[a] They miſinterpret, not only by making falſe and corrupt gloſſes upon the Scripture, but alſo by forcing the old vulgar tranſlation as the only authenticall: howbeit, they refuſe no book which is Canonicall, though they admit ſundry which are not.

16. But if the name of *Foundation* do note the principall thing which is beleeved: then is that the foundation of our Faith which S. *Paul* hath to *Timothy*: [b] *God manifeſted in the fleſh, juſtified in the Spirit, &c.* that of *Nathaniel*, [c] *thou art the Son of the living God: thou art the King of Iſrael*: that of the inhabitants of Samaria, [d] *This is Chriſt the Saviour of the world*: he that directly denyeth this, doth utterly raze the very foundation of our Faith. I have proved heretofore, that, although the Church of Rome hath plaid the Harlot worſe than ever did Iſrael, yet are they not as now the Synagogue of the Jewes, which plainly deny Chriſt Jeſus, quite and cleane excluded from the new Covenant. But as Samaria compared with Jeruſalem is termed *Aholath*, a Church or Tabernacle of her owne; contrariwiſe, Jeruſalem *Aholibath*, the reſting place of the Lord: ſo, whatſoever we terme the Church of Rome, when wee compare her with reformed Churches, ſtill we put a difference, as then between Babylon and Samaria, ſo now between Rome and the Heatheniſh aſſemblies. Which opinion I muſt and will recall; I muſt grant and will, that the Church of Rome together with all her children, is clean excluded. There is no difference in the world between our Fathers and Saracens, Turks and Painims, if they did directly denie Chriſt crucified for the ſalvation of the world.

[b] 1 *Tim.* 3 16.
[c] *Ioh.* 1.49.
[d] *Iohn* 4.42.

17. But how many millions of them were knowne ſo to have ended their lives, that the drawing of their breath hath ceaſed with the uttering of this Faith, *Chriſt my Saviour, my Redeemer Ieſus?* Anſwer is made, That this they might unfainedly confeſſe, and yet bee farre enough from ſalvation. For behold, ſaith the Apoſtle, *I Paul ſay unto you, that if yee bee circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing.* Chriſt in the work of mans ſalvation is alone: the Galathians were caſt away by joyning *Circumciſion* and the other Rites of the Law with Chriſt: the Church of Rome doth teach her children to joyne other things likewiſe with him; therefore their faith, their beleeſe doth not profit them any thing at all. It is true that they doe indeed joyne other things with Chriſt: but how? Not in the work of redemption it ſelfe, which they grant, that Chriſt alone hath performed ſufficiently for the ſalvation of the

Gal. 5.2.

the whole world; but in the application of this ineſtimable treaſure, that it may be effectuall to their ſalvation: how demurely ſoever they confeſſe, that they ſeek remiſſion of ſins no otherwiſe than by the bloud of Chriſt, uſing humbly the meanes appointed by him to apply the benefit of his holy bloud; they teach, indeed, ſo many things pernicious in Chriſtian Faith, in ſetting down the means whereof they ſpeak, that the very foundation of Faith which they hold, is thereby [a] plainly overthrown, & the force of the bloud of Jeſus Chriſt extinguiſhed. We may therefore diſpute with them, urge them even with as dangerous ſequels, as the Apoſtle doth the Galatians. But I demand, if ſome of thoſe Galatians heartily imbracing the Goſpel of Chriſt, ſincere and ſound in faith (this one onely errour excepted) had ended their lives before they were ever taught how perilous an opinion they held: ſhall we think that the danger of this errour did ſo overwaigh the benefit of their faith, that the mercy of God might not ſave them? I grant they overthrew the foundation of faith by conſequent: doth not that ſo likewiſe which the [b] *Lutheran* Churches do at this day ſo ſtifly and ſo firmely maintaine? For mine owne part, I dare not here deny the poſſibility of their ſalvation which have been the chiefeſt inſtruments of ours, albeit they carried to their grave a perſwaſion ſo greatly repugnant to the truth. Foraſmuch therefore as it may be ſaid of the Church of Rome, ſhe hath yet a little ſtrength, ſhe doth not directly deny the foundation of Chriſtianity: I may, I truſt without offence, perſwade my ſelfe, that thouſands of our Fathers in former times living and dying within her walls, have found mercy at the hands of God.

18. What although they repented not of their errours? God forbid that I ſhould open my mouth to gaine-ſay that which Chriſt himſelfe hath ſpoken: *Except ye repent, ye ſhall all periſh*. And if they did not repent, they periſhed. But withall note, that we have the benefit of a double repentance: the leaſt ſin which we commit in Deed, Thought, or Word, is death, without repentance. Yet how many things doe eſcape us in every of theſe, which we do not know? How many, which we do not obſerve to be ſinnes? And without the knowledge, without the obſervation of ſinne, there is no actuall repentance. It cannot then be choſen, but that for as many as hold the foundation, and have all holden ſins and errours in hatred, the bleſſing of repentance for unknowne ſinnes and errours, is obtained at the hands of God, through the gracious mediation of Jeſus Chriſt, for ſuch ſuiters as cry with the Prophet *David: Purge mee, O Lord, from my ſecret ſinnes*.

19. But wee waſh a wall of lome; wee labour in vaine; all this is nothing; it doth not prove; it cannot juſtifie that which we goe about to maintaine. Infidels and Heathen men are not ſo godleſſe, but that they may, no doubt, crie God mercy, and deſire in generall to have their ſinnes forgiven them. To ſuch as deny the foundation of faith there can bee no ſalvation (according to the ordinary courſe which God doth uſe in ſaving men) without a particular repentance of that errour. The Galatians thinking that unleſſe they were circumciſed, they could not bee ſaved, overthrew the foundation of faith directly: therefore if any of them did die ſo perſwaded, whether before or after they were told of,

[a] Plainly in all mens ſight whoſe eyes God hath enlightned to behold his truth. For they wch are in errour, are in darknes, & ſee not that which in light is plain. In that which they teach concerning the natures of Chriſt, they hold the ſame with *Neſtorius* fully, the ſame with *Eutiches* about the proprieties of his nature.

[b] The opinion of the *Lutherans* though it bee no direct denyall of the foūdation, may notwithſtanding bee damnable unto ſome; and I do not think but that in many reſpects it is leſſe damnable, as at this day ſome maintain it, than it was in them which held it at firſt; as *Luther* and others whom I had an eie unto in this ſpeech. The queſtion is not whether an errour with ſuch and ſuch circumſtances: but ſimply, whether an error overthrowing the foundation, doe exclude all poſſibility of ſalvation, if it be not recanted, and expreſly repented of.

of their errours, their end is dreadfull; there is no way with them but one, death and condemnation. For the Apoſtle ſpeaketh nothing of men departed, but ſaith generally of all, *If you bee circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing. You are aboliſhed from Chriſt, whoſoever are juſtified by the law; ye are fallen from grace*, Gal. 5. Of them in the Church of Rome the reaſon is the ſame. For whom Antichriſt hath ſeduced, concerning them did not S. *Paul* ſpeak long before, they received not the word of truth, that they might not be ſaved? therefore God would *ſend them ſtrong deluſions to beleeve lies, that all they might be damned which beleeved not the truth, but had pleaſure in unrighteouſneſſe.* And S. *Iohn*, *All that dwell upon the earth ſhall worſhip him, whoſe names are not written in the book of life*, *Apoc.* 13. Indeed many in former times as their Books and Writings do yet ſhew, held the foundation, to wit, ſalvation by Chriſt alone, and therefore might be ſaved. God hath alwaies had a Church amongſt them, which firmely kept his ſaving truth. As for ſuch as hold with the Church of Rome, that we cannot bee ſaved by Chriſt alone without works; they doe not onely by a circle of conſequence, but directly deny the foundation of faith; they hold it not, no not ſo much as by a thred.

2 Theſſ. 2. 11.

Apoc. 13. ver. 8.

20. This to my remembrance, being all that hath been oppoſed with any countenance or ſhew of reaſon, I hope, if this be anſwered, the cauſe in queſtion is at an end. Concerning generall repentance therefore: what? A Murtherer, a Blaſphemer, an unclean perſon, a Turk, a Jew, any ſinner to eſcape the wrath of God by a generall repentance, *God forgive mee?* Truely it never came within my heart, that a generall repentance doth ſerve for all ſins: it ſerveth only for the common overſights of our ſinfull life, and for the faults which either wee doe not marke, or doe not know that they are faults. Our Fathers were actually penitent for ſinnes, wherein they knew they diſpleaſed God; or elſe they fall not within the compaſſe of my firſt ſpeech. Againe, that otherwiſe they could not be ſaved, than holding the foundation of Chriſtian faith, wee have not only affirmed, but proved. Why is it not then confeſſed, that thouſands of our Fathers which lived in Popiſh ſuperſtitions, might yet by the mercy of God bee ſaved? Firſt, if they had directly denyed the very foundations of Chriſtianity, without repenting them particularly of that ſin: he which ſaith there could be no ſalvation for them, according to the ordinary courſe which God doth uſe in ſaving men, granteth plainly, or at the leaſt cloſely inſinuateth, that an extraordinary priviledge of mercy might deliver their ſouls from hell, which is more than I required. Secondly, if the foundation be denied, it is denied for fear of ſome hereſie which the Church of Rome maintaineth. But how many were there amongſt our Fathers, who being ſeduced by the common errour of that Church, never knew the meaning of her Hereſies? So that although all Popiſh Hereticks did periſh; thouſands of them which lived in Popiſh ſuperſtitions, might be ſaved. Thirdly, ſeeing all that held Popiſh Hereſies, did not hold all the Hereſies of the Pope: why might not thouſands which were infected with other leaven, live and die unſowred with this, and ſo be * ſaved? Fourthly, if they all held this Hereſie, many there were that held it, no doubt, but onely in a generall forme of words, wch a favourable interpretation might expound in a ſenſe differing farre

* For this is the only thing alledged to prove the impoſſibility of their ſalvation: The Church of Rome joyneth workes with Chriſt, which is a denyall of the foundatiō, and unleſſe we hold the foundation, we cannot bee ſayed.

farre enough from the poyſoned conceit of Herefie. As for example; Did they hold, that wee cannot bee ſaved by Chriſt, without good workes? Wee our ſelves doe, I thinke, all ſay as much, with this conſtruction, ſalvation being taken as in that ſentence, *Corde creditur ad juſtitiam, ore fit confeſſio ad ſalutem*, except infants and men, cut off upon the point of their converſion: of the reſt none ſhall ſee God, but ſuch as ſeeke peace and holines, though not as a cauſe of their ſalvation, yet as a way which they muſt walke, which will be ſaved. Did they hold, that without workes we are not juſtified? Take juſtification ſo as it may alſo imply ſanctification, and Saint *Iames* doth ſay as much. For except there bee an ambiguity in the ſame terme, Saint *Paul*, and Saint *Iames* doe contradict each the other: which cannot be. Now there is no ambiguity in the name either of faith, or of workes, being meant by them both in one and the ſame ſenſe. Finding therefore, that juſtification is ſpoken of by Saint *Paul*, without implying ſanctification, when he proveth, that a man is juſtified by faith without works; finding likewiſe that juſtification doth ſometime imply ſanctification alſo with it: I ſuppoſe nothing to bee more ſound, then ſo to interpret Saint *Iames*, ſpeaking not in that ſenſe, but in this.

21. We have already ſhewed, that there be two kinds of Chriſtian righteouſneſſe: the one without us, which we have by imputation; the other in us, which conſiſteth of faith, hope, and charity, and other Chriſtian vertues. And S. *Iames* doth prove, that *Abraham* had not onely the one, becauſe the thing beleeved was imputed unto him for righteouſneſs: but alſo the other, becauſe he offered up his Son. God giveth us both the one juſtice and the other: the one by accepting us for righteous in Chriſt; the other, by working Chriſtian righteouſneſſe in us. The proper and moſt immediate efficient cauſe in us of this latter, is the Spirit of adoption we have received into our hearts. That whereof it conſiſteth, whereof it is really and formally made, are thoſe infuſed vertues, proper and peculiar unto Saints, which the Spirit in the very moment, when firſt it is given of God, bringeth with it: the effects whereof are ſuch actions as the Apoſtle doth call the fruits of workes, the operations of the Spirit. The difference of the which operations from the root whereof they ſpring, maketh it needfull to put two kinds likewiſe of ſanctifying righteouſneſs, *Habituall*, and *Actuall*. *Habituall*, that holineſſe, wherewith our ſoules are inwardly indued, the ſame inſtant, when firſt we begin to bee the Temples of the holy Ghoſt. *Actuall*, that holineſſe, which afterwards beautifieth all the parts and actions of our life; the holineſs for the which *Enoch*, *Iob*, *Zacharie*, *Elizabeth*, and other Saints, are in the Scriptures ſo highly commended. If here it be demanded, which of theſe we do firſt receive: I anſwer, that the Spirit, the vertues of the Spirit, the habituall juſtice, which is ingrafted, the externall juſtice of *Ieſus Chriſt*, which is imputed: theſe we receive all at one and the ſame time; whenſoever we have any of theſe, we have all; they goe together. Yet ſith no man is juſtified except he beleeve, and no man believeth except he hath faith, and no man except hee hath received the Spirit of adoption, hath faith: foraſmuch as they doe neceſſarily inferre juſtification, and juſtification doth of neceſſity preſuppoſe them: wee muſt needs hold that imputed righteouſneſſe, in dignitie being the chiefeſt, is notwithſtanding in

order the laſt of all theſe: but *actuall righteouſneſſe*, which is the righteouſneſſe of good workes, ſucceedeth all, followeth after all, both in order and time. Which being attentively marked, ſheweth plainly how the faith of true Beleevers cannot be divorced from hope and love; how faith is a part of ſanctification, and yet unto juſtification neceſſary; how faith is perfected by good workes, and not workes of ours without faith: finally, how our Fathers might hold, that we are juſtified by Faith alone, and yet hold truly that without workes weare not juſtified. Did they thinke that men doe merit rewards in heaven, by the workes they performe on earth? The ancient uſe *meriting* for *obtaining*, and in that ſenſe they of *Wittinberge* have it in their confeſſion; *We teach that good workes commanded of God, are neceſſarily to be done, and by the free kindneſſe of God they merit their certaine rewards.* Therefore ſpeaking as our Fathers did, and we taking their ſpeech in a ſound meaning, as we may take our Fathers, and might, for as much as their meaning is doubtfull, and charity doth alwaies interpret doubtfull things favourably: what ſhould induce us to thinke, that rather the damage of the worſt conſtruction did light upon them all, then that the bleſſing of the better was granted unto thouſands? Fiſtly, if in the worſt conſtruction that may be made, they had generally all imbraced it living, might not many of them dying utterly renounce it? Howſoever men when they ſit at eaſe, doe vainely tickle their hearts with the vaine conceit, of I know not what proportionable correſpondence, betweene their merits and their rewards, which in the trance of their high ſpeculations they dreame that God hath meaſured, weighed, and laid up, as it were, in bundles for them: notwithſtanding, wee ſee by daily experience, in a number even of them, that when the houre of death approacheth, when they ſecretly heare themſelves ſummoned forthwith to appeare, and ſtand at the Bar of that Judge, whoſe brightneſſe cauſeth the eyes of the Angels themſelves to dazle, all theſe idle imaginations doe then begin to hide their faces, to name merits then is to lay their ſoules upon the rack, the memorie of their owne deeds is lothſome unto them, they forſake all things, wherein they have put any truſt or confidence, no ſtaffe to leane upon, no eaſe, no reſt, no comfort then, but onely in Jeſus Chriſt.

22. Wherefore if this propoſition were true: *To hold in ſuch wiſe, as the Church of Rome doth, that we cannot be ſaved by Chriſt alone without workes, is directly to deny the foundation of Faith*; I ſay, that if this propoſition were true: *neverthleſſe ſo many wayes I have ſhewed, whereby wee may hope that thouſands of our Fathers which lived in Popiſh ſuperſtition, might bee ſaved. But what if it be not true? What if neither that of the Galatians, concerning Circumciſion; nor this of the Church of Rome, by Workes be, any direct deniall of the foundation, as it is affirmed, that both are? I need not wade ſo farre as to diſcuſſe this Controverſie, the matter which firſt was brought into queſtion being ſo cleare, as I hope it is. Howbeit, becauſe I deſire, that the truth even in that alſo ſhould receive light, I will doe mine endevour to ſet downe ſomewhat more plainly: firſt, the foundation of Faith, what it is: Secondly, what is directly to deny the foundation: Thirdly, whether they whom God hath choſen to bee Heires of life, may fall ſo farre as directly to denie it: Fourthly, whether the

* They may ceaſe to put any confidence in works, and yet never thinke, living in Popiſh ſuperſtition, they did amiſſe. *Pighius* dyed Popiſh, & yet denied Popery in the Article of Juſtification by works long before his death.

the Galatians did ſo by admitting the errour about *Circumciſion* & the *Law*: laſt of all, whether the Church of Rome for this one opinion of Workes, may be thought to doe the like, and thereupon to be no more a Chriſtian Church, then are the Aſſemblies of Turkes and Jewes.

23. This word foundation being figuratively uſed, hath alwayes reference to ſomewhat which reſembleth a materiall building, as both that Doctrine of *Lawes* and the communitie of Chriſtians doe. By the Maſters of Civill Policie nothing is ſo much inculcated, as *that Common-weales are founded upon Lawes*; for that a multitude cannot be compacted into one body otherwiſe then by a common acception of Laws, whereby they are to be kept in order. The ground of all civill Lawes is this: *No man ought to be hurt or injured by another*; Take away this perſwaſion, and yee take away all the Lawes: take away Lawes, and what ſhall become of Common-weales? So it is in our ſpirituall Chriſtian Communitie: I doe not meane that Body Myſticall, whereof Chriſt is onely * the head, that building undiſcernable by mortall eyes, wherein Chriſt is the [a] chiefe corner ſtone: but I ſpeake of the viſible Church; the foundation whereof is the [b] doctrine which the Prophets and Apoſtles profeſt. The marke whereunto their Doctrine tendeth, is pointed at in theſe words of *Peter* unto Chriſt, [c] *Thou haſt the words of eternall life*: in thoſe words of *Paul* to Timothy, [d] *The holy Scriptures are able to make thee wiſe unto ſalvation.* It is the demand of Nature it ſelfe, *What ſhall wee doe to have eternall life?* The deſire of immortality and the knowledge of that, whereby it may be obtained, is ſo naturall unto all men, that even they who are not perſwaded, that they ſhall, doe notwithſtanding wiſh, that they might know a way how to ſee no end of life. And, becauſe naturall meanes are not able ſtill to reſiſt the force of death: there is no people in the earth ſo ſavage, which hath not deviſed ſome ſupernaturall helpe or other, to flye for ayd and ſuccour in extremities, againſt the Enemies of the Lawes. A longing therefore to be ſaved, without underſtanding the true way how, hath beene the cauſe of all the Superſtitions in the World. O that the miſerable ſtate of others, which wander in darkneſſe, and wot not whither they goe, could give us underſtanding hearts, worthily to eſteeme the riches of the mercy of God towards us, before whoſe eyes the doores of the Kingdome of Heaven are ſet wide open! ſhould wee offer violence unto it? it offereth violence unto us, and we gather ſtrength to withſtand it. But I am beſides my purpoſe, when I fall to bewaile the cold affection, which wee beare towards that wherby we ſhould be ſaved; my purpoſe being only to ſet downe, what the ground of ſalvation is. The Doctrine of the Goſpell propoſeth ſalvation as the end: and doth it not teach the way of attayning thereunto? Yet the Damoſell poſſeſt with a Spirit of divination, ſpake the truth: [e] *Theſe men are the Servants of the moſt high God, which ſhew unto us the way of Salvation:* [f] *A new and living way, which Chriſt hath prepared for us, through the vaile, that is, his fleſh*; Salvation purchaſed by the death of Chriſt. By this foundation the children of God before the written Law, were diſtinguiſhed from the ſons of men; the reverend Patriarks both poſſeſt it living, & ſpake expreſly of it [g] at the houre of their death. It [h] comforted *Iob* in the midſt of griefe; as it was afterwards the anker-hold of all the righteous in Iſ-

What the foundation of Faith is: *Vocatâ ad cõcionem multitudine, quæ coaleſcere in populi unius corpus nulla re præterquã legibus poterat*, Liu. de Rom. lib. 1.

* *Epheſ.* 1. 23. & 4. 15.

a *Epheſ.* 2. 20.

b *Epheſ.* 2. 20.

c *Iohn* 6. 63.

d 2. *Tim.* 3. 15.

e *Acts* 16. 17.

f *Heb.* 10. 20.

g *Gen.* 49.

h *Iob* 19.

rael, from the writing of the Law, to the time of grace. Every Prophet maketh mention of it. It was famouſly ſpoken of about the time, when the comming of Chriſt to accompliſh the promiſes, which were made long before it, drew neere, that the ſound thereof was heard even amongſt the Gentiles. When hee was come, as many as were his, acknowledged that hee was their Salvation; hee, that long expected hope of Iſrael; hee, that *Seed, in whom all the Nations of the earth ſhall bee bleſſed.* So that now hee is a name of ruine, a name of death and condemnation, unto ſuch as dreame of a new *Meſſias*, to as many as looke for ſalvation by any other, but by him. *For* [i] *amongſt men there is given no other name under heaven whereby wee muſt bee ſaved.* Thus much *S. Marke* doth intimate by that, which hee doth put in the front of this Booke, making his entrance with theſe words: *The beginning of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, the Sonne of God.* His Doctrine he termeth the Goſpell, becauſe it teacheth Salvation; the Goſpell of Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God, becauſe it teacheth Salvation by him. This is then the foundation, whereupon the frame of the Goſpell is erected; that very Jeſus whom the *Virgin* conceived of the holy Ghoſt, whom *Simeon* imbraced in his armes, whom *Pilate* condemned, whom the *Iewes* crucified, whom the *Apoſtles* preached, he is [k] Chriſt, the Lord, the only Saviour of the World: [l] *Other foundation can no man lay.* Thus I have briefly opened that principle in Chriſtianity, which wee call the foundation of our faith. It followeth now, that I declare unto you, what is directly to overthrow it. This will be better opened, if we underſtand, what it is to hold the foundation of Faith.

i Act. 4. 12.

k Luke 1. 11.

l 1. Cor. 3.

24. There are which defend, that many of the Gentiles, who never heard the Name of Chriſt, held the foundation of Chriſtianity, and why? they acknowledged many of them, the Providence of God: his infinite Wiſedome, ſtrength, power; his goodneſſe, and his mercy towards the children of men; that God hath judgement in ſtore for the wicked, but for the righteous, which ſerve him, rewards, &c. In this which they confeſſed, that lyeth covered, which wee beleeve, in the Rudiments of their knowledge concerning God, the foundation of our faith concerning Chriſt, lieth ſecretly wrapt up, and is vertually contained: therefore they held the foundation of Faith, though they never had it. Might we not with as good a colour of Reaſon defend, that every Plough-man hath all the Sciences, wherein Philoſophers have exceld? For no man is ignorant of their firſt Principles, which doe vertually containe, whatſoever by naturall meanes is or can be knowne. Yea, might wee not with as great reaſon affirme, that a man may put three mightie Oakes whereſoever three Akornes may be put? For vertually an Akorne is an Oake. To avoide ſuch Paradoxes, we teach plainely, that to hold the foundation, is in expreſſe termes to acknowledge it.

25. Now, becauſe the foundation is an affirmative Propoſition, they all overthrow it who deny it; they directly overthrow it, who deny it directly; and they overthrow it by conſequent, or indirectly, which hold any one aſſertion whatſoever, whereupon the direct deniall thereof may be neceſſarily concluded. What is the Queſtion betweene the Gentiles and us, but this, *Whether ſalvation be by Chriſt?* What betweene the Jewes and us, but

but this, *Whether by this Ieſus, whom we call Chriſt, yea or no?* This is to bee the maine point, whereupon Chriſtianity ſtandeth, it is cleere by that one ſentence of *Feſtus* concerning *Pauls* accuſers: *They brought no crime of ſuch things as I ſuppoſed, but had certaine queſtions againſt him of their ſuperſtition, and of one Ieſus, which was dead, whom* Paul *affirmed to bee alive.* Where we ſee that Jeſus, dead and raiſed for the ſalvation of the World, is by Jewes denied, deſpiſed by a Gentile, by a Chriſtian Apoſtle maintained. The Fathers therefore in the Primitive Church when they wrote; *Tertullian*, the Booke, which he called *Apolegeticus*, *Minutius Fœlix*, the Booke which he intitleth *Octavius*; *Arnobius*, the ſeaven Bookes againſt the Gentiles; *Chryſoſtome*, his Orations againſt the Jewes; *Euſebius*, his ten Books of *Evangelicall demonſtration*: they ſtand in defence of Chriſtianity againſt them, by whom the foundation thereof was directly denied. But the writings of the Fathers againſt *Novatians*, *Pelagians*, and other Heretikes of the like note, refell Poſitions, whereby the foundation of Chriſtian Faith was overthrowne by conſequent onely. In the former ſort of Writings the foundation is proved; in the later, it is alledged as a proofe, which to men that had been known directly to deny, muſt needs have ſeemed a very beggerly kind of diſputing. All Infidels therefore denie the foundation of Faith directly; by conſequent, many a Chriſtian man, yea whole Chriſtian Churches have denied it, and doe denie it at this preſent day. Chriſtian Churches, the foundation of Chriſtianitie: not directly; for then they ceaſe to be Chriſtian Churches: but by conſequent, in reſpect whereof we condemne them as erroneous, although for holding the foundation wee doe and muſt hold them Chriſtians.

26. Wee ſee what it is to hold the foundation; what directly, and what by conſequent, to deny it. The next thing which followeth, is, whether they whom God hath choſen to obtaine the glory of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, may once effectually called, and through faith juſtified truly, afterwards fall ſo far, as directly to denie the foundation, which their hearts have before imbraced with joy and comfort in the holy Ghoſt: for ſuch is the faith, which indeed doth juſtifie. Divels know the ſame things, which we believe, and the minds of the moſt ungodly may be fully perſwaded of the Truth: which knowledge in the one and in the other is ſometimes termed faith, but equivocally, being indeed no ſuch faith as that, whereby a Chriſtian man is juſtified. It is the Spirit of Adoption, which worketh faith in us, in them not: the things which we believe, are by us apprehended, not only as true, but alſo as good, and that to us: as good, they are not by them apprehended, as true, they are. Whereupon followeth the third difference, the Chriſtian man the more hee increaſeth in faith, the more his joy and comfort aboundeth: but they, the more ſure they are of the truth, the more they quake and tremble at it. This begetteth another effect, where the hearts of the one ſort have a different diſpoſition from the other. *Non ignoro pleroſque conſcientia meritorum, nihil ſe eſſe per mortem magis optare, quàm credere. Malunt enim extingui penitus, quam ad ſupplicia reparari.* I am not ignorant, ſaith *Minutius*, that there bee many, who being conſcious, what they are to looke for, doe rather wiſh that they might, then thinke that they ſhall ceaſe, when they ceaſe to live, becauſe they

hold it better that death ſhould conſume them unto nothing, then God revive them unto puniſhment. So it is in other Articles of Faith, whereof wicked men thinke, no doubt, many times they are too true: on the contrarie ſide, to the other, there is no griefe or torment greater, then to feele their perſwaſion weake in things, whereof when they are perſwaded, they reape ſuch comfort and joy of ſpirit: ſuch is the faith whereby wee are juſtified; ſuch, I meane, in reſpect of the qualitie. For touching the principall object of faith, longer then it holdeth the foundation whereof wee have ſpoken, it neither juſtifieth, nor is, but ceaſeth to bee faith, when it ceaſeth to beleeve, that Jeſus Chriſt is the onely Saviour of the World. The cauſe of life ſpirituall in us, is Chriſt, not carnally or corporally inhabiting, but dwelling in the ſoule of man, as a thing which (when the minde apprehendeth it) is ſaid to inhabite or poſſeſſe the minde. The minde conceiveth Chriſt by hearing the Doctrine of Chriſtianitie, as the light of Nature doth the minde to apprehend thoſe truthes which are meerely rationall, ſo that ſaving truth, which is farre above the reach of humane reaſon, cannot otherwiſe, then by the Spirit of the Almighty, bee conceived. All theſe are implyed, whereſoever any of them is mentioned as the cauſe of the ſpirituall life. Wherefore if wee have read that [a] *the Spirit is our life*; or [b] *the Word our life*; or [c] *Chriſt our life*: wee are in every of theſe to underſtand, that our life is Chriſt, by the hearing of the Goſpell, apprehended as a Saviour, and aſſented unto through the power of the Holy Ghoſt. The firſt intellectuall conceit and comprehenſion of Chriſt ſo imbraced, Saint *Peter* calleth [d] *the ſeed whereof wee bee new borne*: our firſt imbracing of Chriſt, is our firſt [e] reviving from the ſtate of death and condemnation. [f] *Hee that hath the Sonne, hath life*, ſaith S. John, *and hee that hath not the Sonne of God hath not life*. If therefore hee which once hath the Sonne, may ceaſe to have the Sonne, though it bee for a moment, hee ceaſeth for that moment to have life. But the life of them which have the Sonne of God [g] is everlaſting *in the World to come*. But becauſe as Chriſt being raiſed from the dead dieth no more, death hath no more power over him: So the juſtified man [h] being allyed to God in Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, doth as neceſſarily from that time forward alwayes live, as Chriſt [i] by whom he hath life, liveth alwayes. I might if I had not otherwhere largely done it already, ſhew by many & ſundry manifeſt, and cleere proofes, how the motions and operations of life, are ſometimes ſo indiſcernable, and ſo ſecret, that they ſeeme ſtone-dead, who notwithſtanding are ſtill alive unto God in Chriſt. For as long as that abideth in us which animateth, quickneth, and giveth life, ſo long we live, and we know that the cauſe of our faith abideth in us for ever. If Chriſt the fountaine of life, may flit and leave the habitation, where once he dwelleth, what ſhall become of his promiſe, *I am with you to the Worlds end?* If the Seed of God which containeth Chriſt, may be firſt conceived, and then caſt out: how doth *S. Peter* tearme it [k] *immortall?* How doth *S. John* affirme, [l] *It abideth?* If the Spirit, which is given to cheriſh, and preſerve the Seed of life, may be given and taken away, how is it [m] the earneſt of our inheritance untill Redemption? how doth it continue with us for ever? If therefore the man which is once juſt by faith, ſhall live by faith, and live for ever: it followeth that

a Rom. 8. 10.
b Phil. 2. 15.
c Col. 3. 4.
d 1 Pet. 1.
e Epheſ. 2. 5.
f 1 Iohn 5. 12.
g 1 Iohn 5. 13. *Perpetuitie of Faith.*
h Rom. 6. 10.
i Iohn 14. 19.
k 1 Pet. 1.
l 1 Iohn 3. 9.
m Epheſ. 1. 14. Iohn 4. 16.

that hee which once doth believe the foundation, muſt needs believe the foundation for ever. If he believe it for ever, how can he ever directly denie it? Faith holding the direct affirmation, the direct negation, ſo long as Faith continueth, is excluded. But you will ſay, that as hee that is to day holy, may to morrow forſake his holineſſe, and become impure; as a friend may change his minde, and be made an enemy; as hope may wither; ſo Faith may dye in the heart of man, the Spirit may be quenched, grace may bee extinguiſhed, they which believe, may bee quite turned away from the Truth. The caſe is cleere, long experience hath made this manifeſt: it needs no proofe. I grant wee are apt, prone, and ready to forſake God: but is God as ready to forſake us? Our minds are changeable: is his ſo likewiſe? Whom God hath juſtified, hath not Chriſt aſſured, that it is *his Fathers will to give them a kingdome?* Notwithſtanding it ſhall not be otherwiſe given them, then if they continue * grounded & ſtabliſhed in the faith, and be not moved away from the hope of the Goſpell; [a] *if they abide in love and holineſſe.* Our Saviour therefore, when he ſpake of the ſheepe effectually called, and truely gathered into his fold, [b] *I give unto them eternall life, and they ſhall never periſh, neither ſhall any plucke them out of my hands*; in promiſing to ſave them, hee promiſed, no doubt, to preſerve them in that, without which there can be no ſalvation, as alſo from that whereby it is irrecoverably loſt. Every error in things appertaining unto God, is repugnant unto faith; every fearefull cogitation, unto hope; unto love, every ſtragling inordinate deſire; unto holineſſe, every blemiſh wherewith either the inward thoughts of our minds, or the outward actions of our lives are ſtained: But Hereſie; ſuch as that of *Ebion*, *Cerinthus*, and others againſt whom the Apoſtles were forced to bend themſelves both by word, and alſo by writing; that repining diſcouragement of heart, which tempteth God, whereof we have Iſrael in the Deſart for a patterne: coldneſſe, ſuch as that in the Angels of Epheſus; foule ſins, knowne to bee expreſly againſt the firſt, or ſecond table of the Law, ſuch as *Noah*, *Manaſſes*, *David*, *Salomon*, and *Peter* committed; theſe are each in their kind ſo oppoſite to the former vertues, that they leave no place for ſalvation without an actuall repentance. But Infidelitie, extreame deſpaire, hatred of God and all goodneſſe, obduration in ſinne cannot ſtand where there is but the leaſt ſparke of faith, hope, love, and ſanctitie: even as cold in the loweſt degree cannot bee, where heat in the higheſt degree is found. Whereupon I conclude, that although in the firſt kind, no man liveth, which ſinneth not; and in the ſecond, as perfect as any doe live may ſinne: yet ſith the man which is borne of God, hath a promiſe, that in him [c] *the ſeed of God ſhall abide*, which ſeed is a ſure preſervative againſt the ſins that are of the third ſuite: greater and cleerer aſſurance wee cannot have of any thing then of this, that from ſuch ſinnes God ſhall preſerve the righteous, as the apple of his eye for ever. Directly to denie the foundation of faith, is plaine Infidelitie; where faith is entred, there Infidelitie is for ever excluded; therfore by him which hath once ſincerely believed in Chriſt, the foundation of Chriſtian faith can never bee directly denied. Did not *Peter*? Did not *Marcellinus*? Did not others both directly denie Chriſt, after that they had believed, and againe believe, after they had denied? No doubt, as they

Ob.

Sol.

* Col. 1. 23.

a 1 Tim. 2. 15.

b Iohn 10.

c 1 Iohn 3. 9.

they confeſſe in words, whoſe condemnation is nevertheleſſe their not believing: (for example we have *Iudas*:) So likewiſe, they may believe in heart, whoſe condemnation, without repentance, is their not confeſſing. Although therefore *Peter* and the reſt, for whoſe faith Chriſt hath prayed, that it might not faile, did not by deniall, ſin the ſin of Infidelity, which is an inward abnegation of Chriſt, (for if they had done this, their faith had cleerely fayled:) yet becauſe they ſinned notoriouſly and grievouſly, committing that which they knew to bee expreſly forbidden by the Law, which ſaith, *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him onely ſhalt thou ſerve*; neceſſary it was that hee, which purpoſed to ſave their ſoules, ſhould, as hee did, touch their hearts with true unfained repentance, that his mercie might reſtore them againe to life, whom ſinne had made the children of death and condemnation. Touching the point therefore, I hope I may ſafely ſet downe, that if the juſtified erre, as hee may, and never come to underſtand his errour, God doth ſave him through generall repentance: but if hee fall into Hereſie, hee calleth him at one time or other by actuall repentance: but from Infidelity, which is an inward direct deniall of the foundation, hee preſerveth him by ſpeciall providence for ever. Whereby wee may eaſily know, what to thinke of thoſe Galatians, whoſe hearts were ſo poſſeſt with the love of the Truth, that if it had beene poſſible, they would have pluckt out their eyes to beſtow upon their Teachers. It is true, that they were greatly * changed, both in perſwaſion and affection: ſo that the Galatians, when S. *Paul* wrote unto them were not now the Galatians, which they had beene in former time, for that through errour they wandred, although they were his ſheepe. I doe not deny, but that I ſhould deny, that they were his ſheepe, if I ſhould grant, that through errour they periſhed. It was a perilous opinion that they held; perillous, even in them which held it only as an errour, becauſe it overthroweth the foundation by conſequent. But in them which obſtinately maintaine it, I cannot thinke it leſſe then a damnable Hereſie. Wee muſt therefore put a difference betweene them which erre of Ignorance, retaining nevertheleſſe a mind deſirous to bee inſtructed in truth, and them, which, after the truth is laid open perſiſt in the ſtubborne defence of their blindneſſe. Hereticall defenders, froward and ſtif-necked teachers of circumciſion, the bleſſed Apoſtle cals doggs: Silly men, who were ſeduced to thinke they taught the truth, hee pitieth, he taketh up in his armes, hee lovingly imbraceth, hee kiſſeth, and with more then fatherly tenderneſſe doth ſo temper, qualifie, and correct the ſpeech hee uſeth toward them, that a man cannot eaſily diſcerne, whether did moſt abound, the love, which hee bare to their godly affection, or the griefe, which the danger of their opinion bred him. Their opinion was dangerous: was not theirs alſo, who thought the Kingdome of Chriſt ſhould bee earthly? was not theirs which thought the Goſpell only ſhould be preached to the Jewes? What more oppoſite to propheticall doctrine, concerning the comming of Chriſt, then the one? Concerning the Catholike Church, then the other? Yet they which had theſe fancies, even when they had them, were not the worſt men in the world. The Hereſie of *Free-will* was a milſtone about the Pelagians necke: ſhall wee therefore give ſentence of death inevitable againſt

* Howſoever men be changed (for changed they may bee, even the beſt amongſt men if they that have received, as it ſeemeth, ſome of the Galatians which fell into error, had received the gifts and graces of God which are called χαρισματα, ſuch as faith, hope, and Charity are, which God doth never take away from him, to whom they are given, as if it repented him to have given them; if ſuch might bee ſo farre changed by errour, as that the very roote of faith ſhould be quite extinguiſhed in them, and ſo their ſalvation utterly loſt: it would ſhake the hearts of the ſtrongeſt and ſtouteſt of us all. See the contrary in *Beza* his obſervations upon the harmony of Confeſſions.

againſt all thoſe Fathers in the Greeke Church, which being miſſe-perſwaded, died in the error of free Will? Of theſe Galatians therefore, which firſt were juſtified and then deceived, as I can ſee no cauſe, why as many as died before admonition, might not by mercy be received, even in error: ſo I make no doubt, but as many as lived, till they were admoniſhed, found the mercy of God effectuall in converting them from their * errour, leſt any one that is Chriſts, ſhould periſh. Of this I take it, there is no controverſie; only againſt the ſalvation of them that died, though before admonition, yet in errour, it is objected, that their opinion was a very plaine direct deniall of the foundation. If *Paul* and *Barnabas* had been ſo perſwaded, they would haply have uſed the termes otherwiſe ſpeaking of the Maſters themſelves, who did firſt ſet that error abroach, [a] certaine of the Sects of the Phariſes which beleeved. What difference was there between theſe Phariſes, and other Phariſes, from whom by a ſpeciall deſcription they are diſtinguiſhed, but this? Theſe which came to *Antioch*, teaching the neceſſitie of Circumciſion, were Chriſtians; the other, enemies of Chriſtianitie. Why then ſhould theſe be termed ſo diſtinctly Beleevers, if they did directly deny the foundation of our beleefe; beſides which there was no other thing, that made the reſt to be no beleevers? Wee need goe no farther then S. *Pauls* very reaſoning againſt them, for proofe of this matter: ſeeing you know God, or rather are knowne of God, how turne you againe to impotent rudiments? [b] The Law engendreth ſervants, her children are in bondage; [c] They which are gotten by the Goſpell, are free. [d] Brethren, wee are not children of the ſervant, but of the free woman, and will yee yet bee under the Law? That they thought it unto ſalvation neceſſarie, for the Church of Chriſt, to [e] obſerve Dayes, and Moneths, and Times, and Yeeres, to keepe the Ceremonies and Sacraments of the Law, this was their errour. Yet hee which condemneth their errour, confeſſeth, that notwithſtanding, they knew God, and were knowne of him; hee taketh not the honour from them to bee termed Sons begotten of the immortall ſeed of the Goſpell. Let the heavieſt words which hee uſeth, bee waighed, conſider the drift of thoſe dreadfull concluſions: If yee be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing: As many as are juſtified by the Law, are fallen from Grace. It had been to no purpoſe in the world, ſo to urge them; had not the Apoſtle been perſwaded, that at the hearing of ſuch ſequels, no benefit by Chriſt, a defection from Grace, their hearts would tremble and quake within them: and why? becauſe that they knew, that in Chriſt, and in Grace, their ſalvation lay, which is a plaine direct acknowledgement of the foundation. Leſt I ſhould herein ſeeme, to hold that which no one learned, or godly hath done: let theſe words be conſidered, which import as much as I affirme. * Surely thoſe brethren, which in S. *Pauls* time, thought that God did lay a neceſſitie upon them to make choice of dayes & meates; ſpake as they beleeved, and could not but in words condemne the libertie, which they ſuppoſed to bee brought in againſt the authoritie of divine Scripture. Otherwiſe it had beene needleſſe for Saint *Paul* to admoniſh them, not to condemne ſuch as eate without ſcrupuloſitie, whatſoever was ſet before them. This errour, if you weigh what it is of it ſelfe, did at once overthrow all Scriptures, whereby wee are taught ſalvation by faith in

* Errour convicted, and afterwards maintained, is more then error: for although opinion be the ſame it was, in which reſpect I ſtill call it errour, yet they are not now the ſame they were when they are taught what the truth is, and plainly taught.

[a] *Act.* 15. 5.

[b] *Gal.* 4. 24. 25.

[c] *Verſe* 28.

[d] *Verſe* 31.

[e] *Verſe* 21.

* *Bucer. de Veris. Eccleſ. ſervanda.*

in Chriſt, all that ever the Prophets did foretell, all that ever the Apoſtles did preach of Chriſt, it drew with it the deniall of Chriſt utterly: in ſo much that S. *Paul* complaineth, that his labour was loſt upon the Galatians, unto whom this error was obtruded, affirming that Chriſt, if ſo be they were circumciſed ſhould not profit them any thing at all. Yet ſo farre was S. *Paul* from ſtriking their names out of Chriſts booke, that hee commandeth others to entertaine them, to accept with ſingular humanity, to uſe thē like brethren; hee knew mans imbecillity; hee had a feeling of our blindneſſe which are mortall men, how great it is, and being ſure that they are the Sonnes of God whoſoever bee indued with his feare, would not have them counted enemies of that wherunto they could not as yet frame themſelves to bee friends, but did ever upon a very religious affection to the Truth, willingly reject the Truth. They acknowledged Chriſt to be their only and perfect Saviour, but ſaw not how repugnant their beleeving the neceſſitie of Moſaicall Ceremonies was to their faith in Jeſus Chriſt. Hereunto a reply is made, that if they had not directly denied the foūdation, they might have been ſaved; but ſaved they could not bee, therefore their opinion was not onely by conſequent, but directly a deniall of the foundation. When the queſtion was about the poſſibility of their ſalvation, their denying of the foundation was brought to proove, that they could not be ſaved; now that the queſtion is about their deniall of the foundation, the impoſſibilitie of their ſalvation, is alledged to proove, they denied the foundation. Is there nothing, which excludeth men from ſalvation, but onely the foundation of faith denied? I ſhould have thought, that beſides this, many other things are death unto as many as underſtanding, that to cleave thereunto, was to fall from Chriſt, did notwithſtanding cleave unto them. But of this enough. Wherefore I come to the laſt queſtion, *Whether that the doctrine of the Church of Rome, concerning the neceſſitie of works unto ſalvation, be a direct deniall of our faith.*

27. I ſeeke not to obtrude unto you any private opinion of mine owne; the beſt learned in our profeſſion are of this judgement, that all the corruptions of the Church of Rome, doe not proove her to deny the foundation directly; if they did, they ſhould grant her ſimply to bee no Chriſtian Church. *But I ſuppoſe*, ſaith one, *that in the Papacy ſome Church remaineth, a Church crazed, or, if you will, broken quite in pieces, forlorne, miſſe-ſhapen, yet ſome Church:* his reaſon is this, *Antichriſt muſt ſit in the Temple of God.* Leſt any man ſhould thinke ſuch ſentences as theſe to be true, only in regard of them, whom that Church is ſuppoſed to have kept by the ſpeciall providence of God, as it were in the ſecret corners of his boſome, free from infection, and as ſound in the faith, as we truſt, by his mercy, we our ſelves are; I permit it to your wiſe conſiderations, whether it be more likely, that as frenzie, though it ſelfe take away the uſe of reaſon, doth notwithſtanding prove them reaſonable creatures which have it, becauſe none can bee franticke but they? ſo Antichriſtianitie being the bane and plaine overthrow of Chriſtianity, may nevertheleſſe argue the Church wherein Antichriſt ſitteth, to bee Chriſtian. Neither have I ever hitherto heard orread any one word alledged of force to warrant, that God doth otherwiſe, then ſo as in the two next queſtions before hath beene declared,

Calvin. Ep. 104.

red, bind himſelfe to keepe his Elect from worſhipping the Beaſt, and from receiving his marke in their foreheads: but hee hath preſerved, and will preſerve them from receiving any deadly wound at the hands of the Man of ſin, whoſe deceit hath prevailed over none unto death, but only unto ſuch as never loved the truth, ſuch as tooke a pleaſure in unrighteouſneſſe: they in all ages, whoſe hearts have delighted in the principall truth, and whoſe ſoules have thirſted after righteouſneſſe, if they received the marke of Errour, the mercie of God, even erring, and dangerouſly erring, might ſave them: if they received the marke of Hereſie, the ſame mercy did, I doubt not, convert them. How farre Romiſh Hereſies may prevaile over Gods Elect, how many God hath kept falling into them, how many have beene converted from them, is not the queſtion now in hand: for if heaven had not received any one of that coate for theſe thouſand yeares, it may ſtill be true, that the doctrine which this day they doe profeſſe, doth not directly denie the foundation, and ſo prove them ſimply to be no Chriſtian Church. One I have alleaged, whoſe words, in my eares, ſound that way: ſhall I adde * another, whoſe ſpeech is plaine? *I denie her not the name of a Church* ſaith another, *no more then to a man the name of a man, as long as hee liveth, what ſickneſſe ſoever he hath.* His reaſon is this; *Salvation in Ieſus Chriſt, which is the marke which joyneth the head with the bodie, Ieſus Chriſt with the Church is ſo cut off by many merits, by the merits of Saints, by the Popes Pardons, and ſuch other wickedneſſe, that the life of the Church holdeth by a very threed*, yet ſtill the life of the Church holdeth. * A third hath theſe words, *I acknowledge the Church of Rome, even at this preſent day, for a Church of Chriſt, ſuch a Church as Iſrael did Ieroboam, yet a Church.* His reaſon is this; *Every man ſeeth, except hee willingly hoodwinke himſelfe, that as alwayes, ſo now, the Church of Rome holdeth firmely and ſtedfaſtly the doctrine of truth concerning Chriſt, and baptizeth in the Name of the Father, the Sonne and the Holy Ghoſt, confeſseth and avoucheth Chriſt, for the onely Redeemer of the World, and the Iudge that ſhall ſit upon quicke and dead, receiving true beleevers into endleſſe joy, faithleſſe and godleſſe men being caſt with Satan and his angels into flames unquenchable.*

* *Morn. de Eccleſ.*

* *Zanch. præfat. de relig.*

28. I may, and will, reine the queſtion ſhorter then they doe. Let the Pope take downe his top, and captivate no more mens ſoules by his Papall juriſdiction: let him no longer count himſelfe *Lord Paramount* over the Princes of the world: no longer hold Kings as his ſervants *paravaile:* let his ſtately Senate ſubmit their necks to the yoke of Chriſt, and ceaſe to die their garments like *Edom*, in blood: let them from the higheſt to the loweſt, hate and forſake their Idolatrie, abjure all their errours and hereſies, wherewith they have any way perverted the truth: let them ſtrippe their Churches, till they leave no polluted rag, but onely this one about her, *By Chriſt alone, without workes, wee cannot bee ſaved:* it is enough for mee, if I ſhew, that the holding of this one thing doth not proove the foundation of faith directly denied in the Church of Rome.

29. Workes are an addition: bee it ſo: what then? the foundation is not ſubverted by every kinde of addition: Simply to adde unto thoſe fundamentall words, is not to mingle Wine with Water, Heaven and Earth,

Earth, things polluted, with the ſanctified blood of Chriſt: of which crime indict them, which attribute thoſe operations in whole or in part to any creature, which in the worke of our ſalvation wholly are peculiar unto Chriſt, and if I open my mouth to ſpeak in their defence, if I hold my peace and plead not againſt them as long as breath is within my body, let me bee guiltie of all the diſhonor that ever hath beene done to the Sonne of God. But the more dreadfull a thing it is to denie ſalvation by Chriſt alone; the more ſlow and fearefull I am, except it be too manifeſt, to lay a thing ſo grievous to any mans charge. Let us beware, leſt if wee make too many wayes of denying Chriſt, we ſcarce leave any way for our ſelves truly and ſoundly to confeſſe him. Salvation onely by Chriſt is the true foundation, whereupon indeed Chriſtianitie ſtandeth. But what if I ſay you cannot bee ſaved onely by Chriſt, without this addition, Chriſt believed in heart, confeſſed with mouth, obeyed in life and converſation? Becauſe I adde, doe I therefore deny, that which I did directly affirme? There may bee an aditament of explication, which overthroweth not, but proveth & concludeth the propoſition, whereunto it is annexed. Hee which ſaith, *Peter* was a chiefe Apoſtle, doth prove that *Peter* was an Apoſtle; he which ſaith, Our
*2 Theſſ. 2.13. ſalvation is of the Lord, *through ſanctification of the Spirit & Faith of the truth, proveth that our ſalvation is of the Lord. But if that which is added be ſuch a privation as taketh away the very eſſence of that whereunto it is added, then by the ſequell it overthroweth. He which ſaith *Iudas* is a dead man, though in word he granteth *Iudas* to be a man, yet in effect he proveth him by that very ſpeech no man; becauſe death depriveth him of being. In like ſort, hee that ſhould ſay, our election is of grace for our workes ſake, ſhould grant in ſound of words, but indeed by conſequent denie that our e-
* *Rom.* 11.6. lection is of Grace; for the * grace which electeth us, is no grace, if it elect us for our works ſake.

30. Now whereas the Church of Rome addeth workes, wee muſt note farther, that the adding of * Works is not like the adding of Circumciſion unto Chriſt. Chriſt came not to abrogate and put away good works: hee did, to change Circumciſion; for wee ſee that in place thereof, hee hath ſubſtituted holy Baptiſme. To ſay, yee cannot bee ſaved by Chriſt except yee bee circumciſed, is to adde a thing excluded, a thing not onely not neceſſary to bee kept, but neceſſarie not to bee kept by them that will be ſaved. On the other ſide, to ſay yee cannot be ſaved by Chriſt without works, is to adde things, not onely not excluded, but commanded, as being in their place, and in their kind neceſſary, and therefore ſubordinated unto Chriſt, by Chriſt himſelfe, by whom the web of ſalvation is ſpun: [a] *Except your righteouſnes exceede the righteouſnes of the Scribes and Phariſes, yee ſhall not enter into the Kingdome of Heaven.* They were [b] rigorous exacters of things not utterly to be neglected, & left undone, Waſhing, and Tithing, &c. As they were in theſe, ſo muſt we be in iudgement and the love of God. Chriſt in works ceremoniall, giveth more liberty, in [c] morall much leſſe, then they did. Workes of righteouſneſſe therefore are

* I deny not but that the Church of Rome requireth ſome kinds of works which ſhee ought not to require at mēs hands. But our queſtion is generall about the adding of good workes, not whether ſuch or ſuch works be good. In this compariſon it is enough to touch ſo much of the matter in queſtion betweene Saint *Paul* and the Galathians, as inferreth thoſe Concluſions, *Yee are fallen from grace; Chriſt can profit you nothing*: which Concluſions will follow Circumciſion and rites of the Law ceremoniall, if they bee required as things neceſſary to ſalvation. This onely was alleaged againſt mee: and need I touch more then was alleaged? *Matth.* 5. 20. b. *Luke.* 11. 39. c. *Matth.* 5. 21.

not

not ſo repugnantly added in the one propoſition; as in the other, Circumciſion is.

31. But we ſay, our ſalvation is by Chriſt alone, therefore howſoever, or whatſoever we add unto Chriſt in the matter of ſalvation, wee overthrow Chriſt. Our caſe were very hard, if this argument ſo univerſally meant as it is propoſed, were ſound & good. We our ſelves do not teach Chriſt alone, excluding our owne faith, unto juſtification; Chriſt alone, excluding our own works, unto ſanctification; Chriſt alone, excluding the one or the other unneceſſary unto ſalvation. It is a childiſh cavil wherewith in the matter of juſtification our Adverſaries do ſo greatly pleaſe themſelves, exclaiming, that we tread all Chriſtian vertues under our feet, and require nothing in Chriſtians but faith, becauſe we teach that faith alone juſtifieth: whereas by this ſpeech wee never meant to exclude either hope or charity from being alwaies joyned as inſeparable Mates with Faith in the man that is juſtified; or works from being added as neceſſary duties required at the hands of every juſtified man: but to ſhew that faith is the only hand which putteth on Chriſt unto juſtification; & Chriſt, the only garment which being ſo put on, covereth the ſhame of our defiled natures, hideth the imperfection of our works, preſerveth us blameleſſe in the ſight of God, before whom otherwiſe, the weakneſſe of our faith were cauſe ſufficient to make us culpable, yea, to ſhut us from the Kingdome of heaven, where nothing that is not abſolute, can enter. That our dealing with them be not as childiſh as theirs with us, when we hear of ſalvation by Chriſt alone, conſidering that [*alone*] as an excluſive particle, wee are to note what it doth exclude, and where. If I ſay, *Such a Iudge only ought to determine ſuch a caſe*, all things incident to the determination thereof, beſides the perſon of the Judge, as Lawes, Depoſitions, Evidences, &c. are not hereby excluded; perſons are not excluded from witneſſing herein, or aſſiſting, but only from determining and giving ſentence. How then is our ſalvation wrought by Chriſt alone? Is it our meaning that nothing is requiſite to mans ſalvation but Chriſt to ſave, and he to be ſaved quietly without any more adoe? No; we acknowledge no ſuch foundation. As we have received, ſo wee teach, that beſides the bare and naked work, wherein Chriſt without any other Aſſociate, finiſhed all the parts of our Redemption, and purchaſed ſalvation himſelfe alone: for conveyance of this eminent bleſſing unto us, many things are of neceſſity required, as to be known and choſen of God before the foundation of the World; in the World to be called, juſtified, ſanctified; after we have left the World, to bee received unto glory; Chriſt in every of theſe hath ſomewhat which he worketh alone. Through him according to the eternall purpoſe of God, before the foundation of the World, Born, Crucified, Buryed, Raiſed, &c. we were in a gracious acceptation known unto God, long before we were ſeen of men: God [a] knew us, loved us, was kind to us in Jeſus Chriſt; in him we were elected to bee heires of life. Thus far God through Chriſt hath wrought in ſuch ſort alone, that our ſelves are meere Patients, working no more than dead and ſenſeleſſe Matter, Wood, or Stone, or Iron doth in the Artificers hands; no more than Clay when the Potter appointeth it to be framed for an honourable uſe; nay, not ſo much; for the Matter whereupon the Craftſman worketh, hee chuſeth

[a] Eph. 1.6. 2.7.

being moved by the fitneſſe which is in it to ſerve his turne; in us no ſuch thing. Touching the reſt, which is laid for the foundation of our Faith, importeth farther; That * by him we are called, that [a] we have Redemption, [b] Remiſſion of ſins through his bloud, [c] Health by his ſtripes, [d] Juſtice by him; that hee [e] doth ſanctifie his Church, and make it glorious to himſelfe; that [f] entrance into joy ſhall bee given us by him; yea, all things by him alone. Howbeit, not ſo by him alone, as if in us to [g] our Vocation, the hearing of the Goſpell; to our Juſtification, Faith; to our Sanctification, the fruits of the Spirit; to our entrance into reſt, perſeverance in Hope, in Faith, in Holineſſe, were not neceſſarie.

* Gal. 1. 8.
a 1 Pet. 2. 9.
1 Pet. 5. 3.
b Epheſ. 1. 7.
c Eſa. 53. 11.
d Ier. 23. 6.
e Epheſ. 8. 26.
f Mat. 25. 23.
g 2 Theſ. 2. 14.
Gal. 2. 16.
Gal. 5. 23.
2 Theſ. 2. 15.

32. Then what is the fault of the Church of Rome? Not that ſhee requireth works at their hands which will be ſaved: but that ſhe attributeth unto works a power of ſatisfying God for ſinne; yea, a vertue to merit both grace here, and in heaven glory. That this overthroweth the foundation of faith, I grant willingly; that it is a direct denyall thereof, I utterly deny: what it is to hold, and what directly to deny the foundation of faith, I have already opened. Apply it particularly to this cauſe, and there needs no more adoe. The thing which is handled, if the forme under which it is handled be added thereunto, it ſheweth the foundation of any doctrine whatſoever. Chriſt is the Matter whereof the doctrine of the Goſpel treateth; and it treateth of Chriſt as of a Saviour. Salvation therefore by Chriſt is the foundation of Chriſtianitie: as for works, they are a thing ſubordinate, no otherwiſe than becauſe our ſanctification cannot bee accompliſhed without them; the doctrine concerning them is a thing builded upon the foundation: therefore the doctrine which addeth unto them the power of ſatisfying or of meriting, addeth unto a thing ſubordinated, builded upon the foundation, not to the very foundation it ſelfe: yet is the foundation by this addition conſequently overthrowne, forasmuch as out of this addition it may bee negatively concluded; Hee which maketh any work good and acceptable in the ſight of God, to proceed from the naturall freedome of our will; He which giveth unto any good works of ours, the force of ſatisfying the wrath of God for ſinne, the power of meriting either earthly or heavenly rewards; Hee which holdeth works going before our Vocation, in congruity to merit our Vocation; works following our firſt, to merit our ſecond Juſtification, and by condignity our laſt reward in the Kingdome of heaven, pulleth up the doctrine of faith by the roots; for out of every of theſe the plaine direct denyall thereof may bee neceſſarily concluded. Not this onely, but what other Hereſie is there that doth not raze the very foundation of faith by conſequent? Howbeit, we make a difference of Hereſies; accounting them in the next degree to Infidelity, which directly deny any one thing to bee, which is expreſly acknowledged in the Articles of our Beleefe; for out of any one Article ſo denyed, the denyall of the very foundation it ſelfe is ſtraightway inferred. As for example; if a man ſhould ſay, *There is no Catholick Church*, it followeth immediately thereupon, that this Jeſus whom we call the Saviour, is not the Saviour of the World; becauſe all the Prophets beare witneſſe, tha the true *Meſſias* ſhould [h] *ſhew light unto the Gentiles*, that is to ſay, gather ſuch a Church as is Catholick, not re-

Hæc ratio Eccleſiaſtici Sacramenti & Catholicæ Fidei eſt, ut qui partem divini Sacramenti negat, partem non valeat confiteri. Ita enim ſibi connexa & concorporata ſunt omnia, ut aliud ſine alio ſtare non poſſit, & qui unum ex omnibus denegaverit; alia ei omnia credidiſſe non proſit, Caſſiaſt. lib. 6. de Incarnat. Dom. If he obſtinately ſtand in denyall. *Pag.* 193.

h Acts 26. 23.

reſtrained any longer unto one circumciſed Nation. In the ſecond rank we place them, out of whoſe Poſitions, the deniall of any the fore-ſaid Articles may bee with like facility concluded: ſuch as are they which have denyed either the Divinity of Chriſt with *Hebion*, or with *Marcion* his Humanity; an example whereof may be that of *Caſſianus*, defending the incarnation of the Sonne of God, againſt *Neſtorius* Biſhop of Antioch, which held, that the Virgin, when ſhe brought forth Chriſt, did not bring forth the Sonne of God, but a ſole and meere man: out of which Hereſie, the deniall of the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith he deduceth thus: *If thou doeſt deny our Lord Ieſus Chriſt; in denying the Son, thou canſt not chooſe but deny the Father: for according to the voyce of the Father himſelfe, he that hath not the Sonne, hath not the Father. Wherefore denying him which is begotten, thou denieſt him which doth beget. Again, denying the Sonne of God to have been born in the fleſh, how canſt thou beleeve him to have ſuffered? beleeving not his Paſſion, what remaineth, but that thou deny his Reſurrection? For we beleeve him not raiſed, except we firſt beleeve him dead: neither can the reaſon of his riſing from the dead, ſtand without the faith of his death going before. The denyall of his Death and Paſſion inferreth the deniall of his Riſing from the depth. Whereupon it followeth that thou alſo deny his Aſcenſion into Heaven. The Apoſtle affirmeth, that he which Aſcended, did firſt Deſcend; ſo that aſmuch as lyeth in thee, our Lord Ieſus Chriſt hath neither riſen from the depth, nor is aſcended into Heaven, nor ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father, neither ſhall he come at the day of the finall account which is looked for, nor ſhall judge the quick & dead. And dareſt thou yet ſet foot in the Church? Canſt thou think thy ſelfe a Biſhop, when thou haſt denyed all thoſe things whereby thou doſt obtaine a Biſhoply Calling? Neſtorius* confeſſed all the Articles of the Creed, but his opinion did imply the denyall of every part of his Confeſſion. Hereſies there are of the third ſort: ſuch as the Church of Rome maintaineth, which be removed by a greater diſtance from the foundation, although indeed they overthrow it. Yet becauſe of that weakneſſe which the Philoſopher noteth in mens capacities, when he ſaith, that the common ſort cannot ſee things which follow in reaſon, when they follow as it were afarr off by many deductions; therefore the repugnancie of ſuch Hereſie and the foundation, is not ſo quickly or ſo eaſily found, but that an Heretick of this, ſooner than of the former kind, may directly grant, and conſequently nevertheleſſe deny the foundation of Faith.

Lib. 6 de Incar. Dom. cap. 16.

33. If reaſon bee ſuſpected, tryall will ſhew that the Church of Rome doth no otherwiſe, by teaching the doctrine ſhee doth teach concerning good works. Offer them the very fundamentall words; and what man is there that will refuſe to ſubſcribe unto them? Can they directly grant, and directly deny one and the very ſelfe-ſame thing? Our owne proceedings in diſputing againſt their works ſatisfactory and meritorious, doe ſhew not onely that they hold, but that wee acknowledge them to hold the foundation, notwithſtanding their opinion. For are not theſe our Arguments againſt them? *Chriſt alone hath ſatiſfied and appeaſed his Fathers wrath: Chriſt hath merited ſalvation alone.* Wee ſhould doe fondly to uſe ſuch diſputes, neither could wee think to prevaile by them, if that, whereupon wee ground, were a thing which wee know they doe not hold,

which wee are aſſured they will not grant. Their very anſwers to all ſuch reaſons as are in this Controverſie brought againſt them, will not permit us to doubt, whether they hold the foundation, or no. Can any man that hath read their books concerning this matter, be ignorant how they draw all their anſwers unto theſe heads? *That the remiſſion of all our ſins, the pardon of all whatſoever puniſhments thereby deſerved, the rewards which God hath laid up in Heaven, are by the bloud of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt purchaſed, and obtained ſufficiently for all men: but for no man effectually, for his benefit in particular, except the bloud of Chriſt be applyed particularly unto him, by ſuch means as God hath appointed that to work by. That thoſe meanes of themſelves, being but dead things; onely the bloud of Chriſt is that which putteth life, force, and efficacie in them to worke, and to be available, each in his kind, to our ſalvation. Finally, that grace being purchaſed for us by the bloud of Chriſt, and freely without any merit or deſert at the firſt beſtowed upon us, the good things which wee doe, after grace received, be thereby made ſatisfactory and meritorious.* Some of their ſentences to this effect I muſt alledge for mine owne warrant. If we deſire to heare forrain judgements, we find in one this confeſſion: *He that could reckon how many the vertues & merits of our Savior Ieſus Chriſt have been, might likewiſe underſtand how many the benefits have been that are to come to us by him, forſomuch as men are made partakers of them all by means of his Paſſion: by him is given unto us remiſſion of our ſinnes, grace, glory, liberty, praiſe, ſalvation, redemption, juſtification, juſtice, ſatisfaction, ſacraments, merits, and all other things which we had, and were behoovefull for our ſalvation.* In another wee have theſe oppoſitions, and anſwers made unto them. *All grace is given by Chriſt Ieſus; True, but not except Chriſt Ieſus bee applyed. He is the propitiation for our ſin; by his ſtripes we are healed, he hath offered himſelfe up for us: all this is true; but apply it: wee put all ſatisfaction in the bloud of Ieſus Chriſt; but wee hold that the meanes which Chriſt hath appointed for us in the caſe to apply it, are our penall works.* Our Countrymen in Rhemes make the like anſwer, that they ſeeke ſalvation no other way than by the bloud of Chriſt; and that humbly they doe uſe Prayers, Faſtings, Almes, Faith, Charitie, Sacrifice, Sacraments, Prieſts, only as the means appointed by Chriſt, to apply the benefit of his holy bloud unto them: touching our good works, that in their own natures they are not meritorious, nor anſwerable to the joyes of Heaven; it commeth by the grace of Chriſt, and not of the worke it ſelfe, that we have by well-doing a right to Heaven, and deſerve it worthily. If any man think that I ſeek to varniſh their opinions, to ſet the better foot of a lame cauſe formoſt: let him know, that ſince I began throughly to underſtand their meaning, I have found their halting greater than perhaps it ſeemeth to them which know not the deepneſſe of Satan, as the bleſſed Divine ſpeaketh. For although this bee proofe ſufficient, that they doe not directly deny the foundation of Faith; yet if there were no other leaven in the whole lumpe of their Doctrine, but this; this were ſufficient to prove, that their Doctrine is not agreeable unto the foundation of Chriſtian Faith. The Pelagians being over-great friends unto Nature, made themſelves enemies unto Grace, for all their confeſſing, that men have their ſoules, and all the faculties thereof, their wils, and all the abilitie of their wils from God. And is not the Church of Rome

Lewis of Granud. *Medit. cap.* laſt. 3.

Paulgarola lect. 11.

Annot. in 1 *Iohn* 1.

ſtill

ſtill an adverſarie unto Chriſts Merits, becauſe of her acknowledging, that we have received the power of meriting by the bloud of Chriſt? Sir *Thomas Moore* ſetteth down the odds between us and the Church of Rome in the matter of works, thus; *Like as we grant them, that no good worke of man is rewardable in heaven of his owne nature, but through the meer goodneſſe of God, that liſts to ſet ſo high a price upon ſo poor a thing; and that this price God ſetteth through Chriſts paſſion, and for that alſo they bee his owne workes with us; for good works to God-ward worketh no man, without God work in him; and as we grant them alſo that no man may be proud of his works, for his imperfect working, and for that in all that man may doe, hee can doe God no good, but is a ſervant unprofitable, and doth but his bare dutie; as we, I ſay, grant unto them theſe things: ſo this one thing or twaine do they grant us againe, That men are bound to work good works, if they have time and power; and that whoſo worketh in true faith moſt, ſhall be moſt rewarded: but then ſet they thereto, That all his rewards ſhall be given him for his faith alone, and nothing for his works at all, becauſe his faith is the thing, they ſay, that forceth him to work well.* I ſee by this of Sir *Thomas Moore*, how eaſie it is for men of the greateſt capacitie, to miſtake things written or ſpoken, as well on the one ſide as on the other. Their doctrine, as hee thought, maketh the work of man rewardable in the world to come, through the goodneſſe of God, whom it pleaſed to ſet ſo high a price upon ſo poor a thing: and ours, that a man doth receive that eternall and high reward, not for his works, but for his faiths ſake, by which he worketh: whereas in truth our doctrine is no other than that wee have learned at the feet of Chriſt; namely, That God doth juſtifie the beleeving man, yet not for the worthineſſe of his beleefe, but for the worthineſſe of him which is beleeved; God rewardeth abundantly every one which worketh, yet not for any meritorious dignitie which is, or can bee in the work, but through his meer mercie by whoſe commandement hee worketh. Contrariwiſe, their doctrine is, That as pure water of it ſelfe hath no ſavour, but if it paſſe through a ſweet Pipe, it taketh a pleaſant ſmell of the Pipe through which it paſſeth: ſo, although before grace received, our works do neither ſatisfie nor merit; yet after, they doe both the one and the other. Every vertuous action hath then power in ſuch to ſatisfie; that if we our ſelves commit no mortall ſin, no haynous crime whereupon to ſpend this treaſure of ſatisfaction in our owne behalfe, it turneth to the benefit of other mens releaſe, on whom it ſhall pleaſe the Steward of the houſe of God to beſtow it; ſo that wee may ſatisfie for our ſelves and others, but merit only for our ſelves. In meriting, our actions doe worke with two hands: with one they get their morning ſtipend, the encreaſe of grace; with the other their evening hire, the everlaſting Crown of Glory. Indeed they teach that our good works doe not theſe things as they come from us, but as they come from grace in us: which grace in us is another thing in their Divinitie, than is the meer goodneſſe of Gods mercy towards us in Chriſt Jeſus.

In his Book of Conſolation.

Works of Supererrogation.

34. If it were not a ſtrong deluding Spirit which hath poſſeſſion of their hearts; were it poſſible but that they ſhould ſee how plainly they do herein gain-ſay the very ground of Apoſtolique faith? Is this that ſalvation by grace, whereof ſo plentifull mention is made in the Scriptures of God?

Was this their meaning, which firſt taught the world to look for ſalvation only by Chriſt? By grace, the Apoſtle ſaith, and by grace in ſuch ſort as a gift: a thing that commeth not of our ſelves, nor of our works, leſt any man ſhould boaſt, and ſay, *I have wrought out my owne ſalvation.* By grace they confeſſe; but by grace in ſuch ſort, that as many as weare the Diademe of bliſſe, they weare nothing but what they have wonne. The Apoſtle, as if hee had fore-ſeene how the Church of Rome would abuſe the world in time, by ambiguous terms, to declare in what ſenſe the name of grace muſt be taken, when we make it the cauſe of our ſalvation, ſaith, *Hee ſaved us according to his mercie:* which mercie, although it exclude not the waſhing of our new birth, the renewing of our hearts by the Holy Ghoſt, the means, the vertues, the duties which God requireth of our hands which ſhall bee ſaved; yet it is ſo repugnant unto merits, that to ſay wee are ſaved for the worthineſſe of any thing which is ours, is to deny wee are ſaved by grace. Grace beſtoweth freely; and therefore juſtly requireth the glory of that which is beſtowed. We deny the grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, we abuſe diſanull and annihilate the benefit of his bitter paſſion, if wee reſt in theſe proud imaginations, that life is deſervedly ours, that wee merit it, and that we are worthy of it.

35. Howbeit, conſidering how many vertuous and juſt men, how many Saints, how many Martyrs, how many of the ancient Fathers of the Church, have had their ſundry perilous opinions: and amongſt ſundry of their opinions, this, that they hoped to make God ſome part of amends for their ſins, by the voluntary puniſhments which they laid upon themſelves, becauſe by a conſequent it may follow hereupon, that they were injurious unto Chriſt: ſhall we therefore make ſuch deadly Epitaphs, & ſet them upon their graves, *They denyed the foundation of faith directly, they are damned, there is no ſalvation for them?* S. *Auſtin* ſaith of himſelfe, *Errare poſſum, hæreticus eſſe nolo.* And except we put a difference between them that erre, and them that obſtinately perſiſt in errour, how is it poſſible that ever any man ſhould hope to be ſaved? Surely in this caſe, I have no reſpect of any perſon alive or dead. Give mee a man, of what eſtate or condition ſoever, yea, a *Cardinall* or a *Pope*, whom in the extreme point of his life, affliction hath made to know himſelfe, whoſe heart God hath touched with true ſorrow for all his ſins, and filled with love towards the Goſpel of Chriſt, whoſe eyes are opened to ſee the Truth, and his mouth to renounce all hereſie and errour any wiſe oppoſite thereunto: this one opinion of Merits excepted, hee thinketh God will require at his hands, and becauſe he wanteth, therefore trembleth, and is diſcouraged; It may be I am forgetfull, unskilfull, not furniſhed with things new and old, as a wiſe and learned Scribe ſhould bee, nor able to alledge that, whereunto if it were alledged, he doth bear a mind moſt willingly to yeeld, and ſo to bee recalled as well from this as from other errours. And ſhall I think becauſe of this onely errour, that ſuch a man toucheth not ſo much as the hemme of Chriſts garment? If he doe, wherefore ſhould not I have hope, that vertue may proceed from Chriſt to ſave him? Becauſe his errour doth by conſequent overthrow his faith, ſhall I therefore caſt him off as one that hath utterly caſt off Chriſt? one that holdeth not ſo much as by a ſlender thred? No, I will not be afraid

to

to ſay unto a *Pope* or *Cardinall* in this plight, Be of good comfort, we have to doe with a mercifull God ready to make the beſt of a little which we hold well, and not with a captious Sophiſter which gathereth the worſt out of every thing wherein we erre. Is there any reaſon that I ſhould bee ſuſpected, or you offended for this ſpeech? * Is it a dangerous thing to imagine that ſuch men may find mercy? The hour may come when we ſhall think it a bleſſed thing to heare, that if our ſins were the ſins of the *Popes* and *Cardinals*, the bowels of the mercie of God are larger. I do not propoſe unto you a Pope with the neck of an Emperour under his feet, a Cardinall riding his horſe to the bridle in the bloud of Saints: but a *Pope* or a *Cardinall* ſorrowfull, penitent, diſrobed, ſtript, not only of uſurped power, but alſo delivered and re-call'd from errour and Antichriſt, converted and lying proſtrate at the foot of Chriſt: and ſhall I thinke that Chriſt will ſpurne at him? And ſhall I croſſe and gaine-ſay the mercifull promiſes of God, generally made unto penitent ſinners, by oppoſing the name of a *Pope* or a *Cardinall*? What difference is there in the world between a *Pope* and a *Cardinall*, and *Iohn Stile* in this caſe? if we think it impoſſible for them, after they be once come within that rank, to be afterwards touched with any ſuch remorſe, let that be granted. The Apoſtle ſaith, *If I, or an Angell from heaven preach unto &c.* Let it be as likely that St. *Paul* or an Angell from heaven ſhould preach Hereſie, as that a *Pope* or a *Cardinal* ſhould be brought ſo far forth to acknowledge the truth: yet if a *Pope* or a *Cardinall* ſhould, what finde wee in their perſons why they might not bee ſaved? It is not the perſons you will ſay, but the errour, wherein I ſuppoſe them to die, which excludeth them from the hope of mercie; the opinion of merits doth take away all poſſibility of ſalvation from them. What if they hold it only as an errour? Although they hold the truth truly and ſincerely in all other parts of Chriſtian faith? Although they have in ſome meaſure all the vertues and graces of the Spirit, all other tokens of Gods elect children in them? Although they be farre from having any proud preſumptuous opinion, that they ſhall be ſaved by the worthineſſe of their deeds? Although the only thing which troubleth and moleſteth them, be but a little too much dejection, ſomewhat too great a feare, riſing from an erroneous conceit that God will require a worthineſſe in them, which they are grieved to find wanting in themſelves? Although they be not obſtinate in this perſwaſion? Although they be willing, and would bee glad to forſake it, if any one reaſon were brought ſufficient to diſprove it? Although the only let, why they do not forſake it ere they die, be the ignorance of the means, by which it might bee diſproved? Although the cauſe why the ignorance in this point is not removed, bee the want of knowledge in ſuch as ſhould be able, and are not to remove it? Let me die if ever it be proved, that ſimply an errour doth exclude a *Pope* or a *Cardinall* in ſuch a caſe, utterly from hope of life. Surely, I muſt confeſſe unto you, if it be an errour that God may be mercifull to ſave men even when they erre, my greateſt comfort is my errour; were it not for the love I bear unto this errour, I would never wiſh to ſpeak nor to live.

* Let all affection be laid aſide; Let the matter indifferently be conſidered.

36. Wherefore, to reſume that mother ſentence, whereof I little thought that ſo much trouble would have growne: *I doubt not but that God*

was

was mercifull to ſave thouſands of our Fathers living in popiſh ſuperſtitions, in aſmuch as they ſinned ignorantly. Alas! what bloudy matter is there contained in this ſentence, that it ſhould be an occaſion of ſo many hard cenſures? Did I ſay, that *thouſands of our Fathers might be ſaved?* I have ſhewed which way it cannot be denyed. Did I ſay *I doubt not but they were ſaved?* I ſee no impietie in this perſwaſion, though I had no reaſon for it. Did I ſay *Their ignorance did make me hope they did find mercie, and ſo were ſaved?* What hindreth ſalvation but ſin? Sins are not equal; & ignorance, though it doth not make ſin to be no ſin, yet ſeeing it did make their ſin the leſſe, why ſhould it not make our hope concerning their life, the greater? Wee pitie the moſt, and doubt not but God hath moſt compaſſion over them that ſin for want of underſtanding. As much is confeſſed by ſundry others, almoſt in the ſelfe ſame words which I have uſed. It is but onely my evill hap, that the ſame ſentences which favour veritie in other mens books, ſhould ſeem to bolſter Hereſie when they are once by mee recited. If I be deceived in this point, not they, but the bleſſed Apoſtle hath deceived me. What I ſaid of others, the ſame hee ſaid of himſelfe, *I obtained mercie, for I did ignorantly.* Conſtrue his words, and you cannot miſconſtrue mine. I ſpake no otherwiſe, I meant no otherwiſe than he did.

37. Thus have I brought the queſtion concerning our Fathers, at the length, unto an end. Of whoſe eſtate, upon ſo fit an occaſion as was offered me, handling the weighty cauſes of ſeparation between the Church of Rome and us, and the weak motives which are commonly brought to retaine men in that ſocietie; amongſt which motives, the examples of our Fathers deceaſed is one; although I ſaw it convenient to utter the ſentence which I did, to the end that all men might thereby underſtand, how untruely we are ſaid to condemne as many as have been before us otherwiſe perſwaded than wee our ſelves are; yet more than that one ſentence I did not think it expedient to utter, judging it a great deal meeter for us to have regard to our owne eſtate, than to ſift over-curiouſly what is become of other men. And fearing leſt that ſuch queſtions as theſe, if voluntarily they ſhould bee too far waded into, might ſeeme worthy of that rebuke, which our Saviour thought needfull in a caſe not unlike; *what is this unto thee?* When I was forced, much beſide mine expectation, to render a reaſon of my ſpeech, I could not but yeeld at the call of others, and proceed ſo farre as dutie bound mee, for the fuller ſatisfying of minds. Wherein I have walked as with reverence, ſo with feare: with reverence, in regard of our Fathers, which lived in former times; not without feare, conſidering them that are alive.

38. I am not ignorant, how readie men are to feed and ſooth up themſelves in evill. Shall I, will the man ſay that loveth the preſent world more than hee loveth Chriſt, ſhall I incurre the high diſpleaſure of the mightieſt upon earth? ſhall I hazard my goods, endanger my eſtate, put my ſelfe in jeopardie, rather than to yeeld to that which ſo many of my Fathers imbraced, and yet found favour in the ſight of God? *Curſe Meroz*, ſaith the Lord, *curſe her Inhabitants, becauſe they helped not the Lord, they helped him not againſt the mightie.* If I ſhould not only not helpe the Lord againſt the mightie, but help to ſtrengthen

Iudg.5.23.

ſtrengthen them that are mightie, againſt the Lord: worthily might I fall under the burthen of that curſe, worthy I were to beare my owne judgement. But if the doctrine which I teach, be a flower gathered in the Garden of the Lord; a part of the ſaving truth of the Goſpel; from whence notwithſtanding poyſoned creatures doe ſuck venome: I can but wiſh it were otherwiſe, and content my ſelfe with the lot that hath befallen mee, the rather, becauſe it hath not befallen mee alone. S. *Paul* taught a truth, and a comfortable truth, when hee taught, that the greater our miſery is, in reſpect of our iniquities, the readier is the mercy of God for our releaſe. If we ſeek unto him, the more we have ſinned, the more praiſe, and glory, and honour unto him that pardoneth our ſin. But marke what lewd collections were made hereupon by ſome. *Why then am I condemned for a ſinner?* And the Apoſtle (as we are blamed, and as ſome affirme that wee ſay; *Why do we not evill that good may come of it?*) he was accuſed to teach that which ill-diſpoſed men did gather by his teaching, though it were clean not only beſides, but againſt his meaning. The Apoſtle addeth, *Their condemnation* (which thus doe) *is juſt*. I am not haſty to apply ſentences of condemnation. I wiſh from mine heart their converſion, whoſoever are thus perverſely affected. For I muſt needs ſay, their caſe is fearfull, their eſtate dangerous which harden themſelves, preſuming on the mercy of God towards others. It is true that God is mercifull; but let us beware of preſumptuous ſins. God delivered *Jonah* from the bottome of the Sea; will you therefore caſt your ſelves headlong from the tops of Rocks, and ſay in your hearts, God ſhall deliver us? He pitieth the blind that would gladly ſee; but will hee pitie him that may ſee, and hardeneth himſelfe in blindneſſe? No. Chriſt hath ſpoken too much unto you, to claime the priviledge of your Fathers.

39. As for us that have handled this cauſe concerning the condition of our Fathers, whether it bee this thing or any other, which wee bring unto you, the counſell is good which the wiſe man giveth, *Stand thou faſt in thy ſure underſtanding, in the way and knowledge of the Lord, and have but one manner of word, and follow the Word of peace and righteouſneſſe*. As a looſe tooth is a griefe to him that eateth: ſo doth a wavering and unſtable word in ſpeech that tendeth to inſtruction, offend. *Shall a wiſe man ſpeak words of the wind*, ſaith *Eliphas*, light, unconſtant, unſtable words? Surely, the wiſeſt may ſpeak words of the wind, ſuch is the untoward conſtitution of our nature, that we do neither ſo perfectly underſtand the way and knowledge of the Lord, nor ſo ſtedfaſtly imbrace it when it is underſtood; nor ſo graciouſly utter it when it is imbraced; nor ſo peaceably maintaine it when it is uttered; but that the beſt of us are over-taken ſometime through blindneſſe, ſometime through haſtineſſe, ſometime through impatience, ſometime through other paſſions of the mind, whereunto (God doth know) wee are too ſubject. Wee muſt therefore bee contented both to pardon others, and to crave that others may pardon us for ſuch things. Let no man, that ſpeaketh as a man, think himſelfe whiles hee liveth, alwaies freed from ſcapes and over-ſights in his ſpeech. The things themſelves which I have ſpoken unto you are ſound, howſoever they have ſeemed otherwiſe unto ſome: at whoſe hands I have in that reſpect received injurie.

injurie. I willingly forget it : although indeed, conſidering the benefit which I have reaped by this neceſſary ſpeech of truth, I rather incline to that of the Apoſtle, *They have not injured me at all.* I have cauſe to wiſh them as many bleſſings in the Kingdome of Heaven, as they have forced mee to utter words and ſyllables in this cauſe ; wherein I could not be more ſparing of ſpeech than I have been. *It becommeth no man,* ſaith Saint *Ierome, to be patient in the crime of Hereſie.* Patient, as I take it, we ſhould be alwaies, though the crime of Hereſie were intended ; but ſilent in a thing of ſo great conſequence I could not, beloved, I durſt not be : eſpecially the love that I bear to the truth of Chriſt Jeſus being hereby ſomewhat called in queſtion. Whereof I beſeech them in the meekneſſe of Chriſt, that have been the firſt originall cauſe, to conſider that a watch-man may cry (*an enemie*) when indeed a friend commeth. In which cauſe, as I deem ſuch a watch-man more worthy to be loved for his care, than miſ-liked for his errour : ſo I have judged it my owne part in this, aſmuch as in mee lyeth, to take away all ſuſpicion of any unfriendly intent or meaning againſt the Truth, from which, God doth know, my heart is free.

40. Now to you, Beloved, which have heard theſe things, I will uſe no other words of admonition than thoſe which are offered me by S. *Iames, My Brethren, have not the faith of our glorious Lord Ieſus in reſpect of perſons.* Ye are not now to learne, that as of it ſelfe it is not hurtfull, ſo neither ſhould it be to any ſcandalous and offenſive in doubtfull caſes to hear the different judgements of men. Be it that *Cephas* hath one interpretation, and *Apollos* hath another ; that *Paul* is of this mind, that *Barnabas* of that ; if this offend you, the fault is yours. Carry peaceable minds, and you may have comfort by this variety.

Now the God of Peace give you peaceable minds, and turne it to you everlaſting comfort.

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FINIS.

FIVE LEARNED SERMONS.

Written

By RICHARD HOOKER, sometimes fellow of CORPVS CHRISTI *Colledge* in OXFORD.



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A LEARNED SERMON OF THE NATVRE OF PRIDE.

ABAC. 2. 4.

His minde ſwelleth and is not right in him.
But the Iuſt by his faith ſhall live.

THE nature of man being much more delighted to be led than drawne, doth many times ſtubbornely reſiſt authority, when to perſwaſion it eaſily yeeldeth. Whereupon the wiſeſt Law-makers have endevoured alwayes, that thoſe Lawes might ſeeme moſt reaſonable which they would have moſt inviolably kept. A Law ſimply commanding or forbidding, is but dead in compariſon of that which expreſſeth the reaſon wherefore it doth the one or the other. And ſurely, even in the Lawes of God, although that Hee hath given commandement, bee in it ſelfe a reaſon ſufficient to exact all obedience at the hands of men: yet a forcible inducement it is to obey with greater alacrity and cheerefulneſſe of mind, when we ſee plainely that nothing is impoſed more than wee muſt needs yeeld unto, except wee will be unreaſonable. In a word, whatſoever wee be taught, be it Precept for direction of our manners, or Article for inſtruction of our faith, or Document any way for information of our mindes, it then taketh roote and abideth, when wee conceive not onely what God doth ſpeake, but why. Neither is it a ſmall thing which wee derogate as well from the honour of his truth, as from the comfort, joy, and delight which wee our ſelves ſhould take by it, when wee looſely ſlide over his ſpeech as though it were as our owne is, commonly vulgar and triviall: whereas hee uttereth nothing but it hath beſides the ſubſtance of Doctrine delivered, a depth of Wiſdome, in the very choice and frame of words to deliver it in: the reaſon whereof being not perceived, but by greater intention of braine then our nice minds for the moſt part can well away with, faine wee would bring the World, if wee might, to thinke it but a needleſſe curioſitie, to rip up any thing further than extemporal readineſſe of wit doth ſerve to reach unto. Which courſe, if here wee did liſt to follow, wee might tell you that in the firſt branch of this ſentence, God doth condemne the Babylonians Pride, and in the ſecond teach, what happineſſe of ſtate ſhall grow to the righteous by

the conſtancy of their Faith, notwithſtanding the troubles which now they ſuffer; and after certaine notes of wholeſome inſtruction hereupon collected, paſſe over without detaining your mindes in any further removed ſpeculation. But as I take it, there is a difference betweene the talke that beſeemeth Nurſes amongſt Children, and that which men of capacity and judgement doe or ſhould receive inſtruction by.

The minde of the Prophet being erected with that which hath beene hitherto ſpoken, receiveth here for full ſatisfaction, a ſhort abridgement of that which is afterwards more particularly unfolded. Wherefore as the queſtion before diſputed of doth concerne two ſorts of men, the wicked flourſhing as the Bay, and the righteous like the withered Graſſe; the one full of pride, the other caſt downe with utter diſcouragement: ſo the anſwer which God doth make for reſolution of doubts hereupon ariſen, hath reference unto both ſorts, and this preſent ſentence containing a brief Abſtract thereof, comprehendeth ſummarily as well the fearefull eſtate of iniquity over-exalted, as the hope laid up for righteouſneſſe oppreſt. In the former branch of which ſentence, let us firſt examine what this rectitude or ſtraightneſſe importeth, which God denyeth to be in the minde of the *Babylonian*. All things which God did create, He made them at the firſt, true, good, and right. True, in reſpect of correſpondence unto that patterne of their being, which was eternally drawne in the counſell of Gods foreknowledge; Good, in regard of the uſe and benefit which each thing yeeldeth unto other; Right, by an apt conformity of all parts with that end which is outwardly propoſed for each thing to tend unto. Other things have ends propoſed, but have not the faculty to know, judge, and eſteeme of them, and therefore as they tend thereunto unwittingly, ſo likewiſe in the means whereby they acquire their appointed ends, they are by neceſſity ſo held, that they cannot divert from them. The ends why the Heavens doe move, the heavens themſelves know not, and their motions they cannot but continue. Only men in all their actions know what it is which they ſeek for, neither are they by any ſuch neceſſity tyed naturally unto any certaine determinate meane to obtaine their end by, but that they may, if they will, forſake it. And therefore in the whole World no creature but onely man which hath the laſt end of his actions propoſed as a recompence and reward, whereunto his minde directly bending it ſelfe, is termed right or ſtraight, otherwiſe perverſe.

To make this ſomewhat more plaine, we muſt note, that as they which travell from City to City, enquire ever for the ſtraighteſt way, becauſe the ſtraighteſt is that which ſooneſt bringeth them unto their Journies end: So we having here, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, no abiding City, but being alwayes in travell towards that place of Joy, immortality, and reſt, cannot but in every of our deeds, words and thoughts, thinke that to bee beſt, which with moſt expedition leadeth us thereunto, and is for that very cauſe termed right. That Soveraigne good, which is the eternall fruition of all good, being our laſt and chiefeſt felicity, there is no deſperate deſpiſer of God and godlineſſe living which doth not wiſh for. The difference betweene right and crooked mindes, is in the meanes which the one or the other doe eſchew or follow. Certaine it is, that all particular things

things which are naturally desired in the world, as food, rayment, honour, wealth, pleasure, knowledge, they are subordinated in such wise unto that future good which we looke for in the world to come, that even in them there lyeth a direct way tending unto this. Otherwise we must thinke that God making promises of good things in this life, did seeke to pervert men, and to lead them from their right minds. Where is then the obliquity of the minde of man? His mind is perverse, cam, and crooked, not when it bendeth it selfe unto any of these things, but when it bendeth so, that it swarveth either to the right hand or to the left, by excesse or defect from that exact rule whereby humane actions are measured. The Rule to measure and judge them by, is the Law of God. For this cause the Prophet doth make so often and so earnest sute, *O direct me in the way of thy Commandements*: As long as I have respect to thy Statutes, I am sure not to tread amisse. Vnder the name of the Law, wee must comprehend not onely that which God hath written in Tables and leaves, but that which Nature also hath engraven in the hearts of men. Else how shall those Heathen which never had Books but Heaven and Earth to looke upon, bee convicted of perverseness? But the Gentiles which had not the Law in Books, had, saith the Apostle, the effect of the Law written in their hearts.

Then seeing that the heart of man is not right exactly, unlesse it be found in all parts such, that God examining and calling it unto account with all severity of rigour, be not able once to charge it with declining or swarving aside, (which absolute perfection when did God ever finde in the sonnes of meere mortall men?) Doth it not follow that all flesh must of necessity fall downe and confesse, wee are not dust and ashes, but worse, our mindes from the highest to the lowest are not right? If not right, then undoubtedly not capable of that blessednesse which we naturally seeke, but subject unto that which wee most abhorre, anguish, tribulation, death, woe, endlesse misery. For whatsoever misseth the way of Life, the issue thereof cannot be but perdition. By which reason all being wrapped up in sin, and made thereby the Children of death, the minds of all men being plainly convicted not to be right: shall wee thinke that God hath indued them with so many excellencies, moe not onely then any, but then all the Creatures in the World besides, to leave them in such estate, that they had bin happier if they had never bin? Here commeth necessarily in a new way unto Salvation, so that they which were in the other perverse, may in this bee found straight and righteous. That the way of Nature, this the way of Grace. The end of that way, Salvation merited, presuppoſing the righteousnesse of mens works, their righteousnesse, a naturall hability to doe them, that hability the goodnesse of God which created them in such perfection. But the end of this way, Salvation bestowed upon men as a gift presuppoſing not their righteousnesse, but the forgivenesse of their unrighteousnesse, justification; their justification, not their naturall hability to doe good, but their hearty sorrow for their not doing, and unfained beliefe in him for whose sake not-doers are accepted, which is their vocation; their vocation, the election of God, taking them out from the number of lost children; their election a Mediator in whom to be elect; this mediation, inexplicable mercy; his mercy their misery, for whom hee

vouchſafed to make himſelfe a Mediatour. The want of exact diſtinguiſhing betweene theſe two wayes, and obſerving what they have common, what peculiar, hath beene the cauſe of the greateſt part of that confuſion whereof Chriſtianity at this day laboureth. The lacke of diligence in ſearching, laying downe, and inuring mens minds with thoſe hidden grounds of Reaſon, whereupon the leaſt particulars in each of theſe are moſt firmely and ſtrongly builded, is the onely reaſon of all thoſe ſcruples and uncertainties wherewith wee are in ſuch ſort intangled, that a number deſpaire of ever diſcerning what is right or wrong in any thing. But we will let this matter reſt, whereinto we ſtepped to ſearch out a way how ſome minds may bee and are right truely even in the ſight of God, though they bee ſimply in themſelves not right.

Howbeit there is not onely this difference between the juſt and impious, that the minde of the one is right in the ſight of God, becauſe his obliquity is not imputed; the other perverſe, becauſe his ſin is unrepented of: but even as lines that are drawne with a trembling hand, but yet to the point which they ſhould, are thought ragged and uneven, nevertheleſſe direct in compariſon of them which run cleane another way; ſo there is no incongruity in terming them right-minded men, whom though God may charge with many things amiſſe, yet they are not as thoſe hideous and ugly Monſters, in whom becauſe there is nothing but wilfull oppoſition of mind againſt God, a more than tolerable deformity is noted in them, by ſaying, that their minds are not right. The Angell of the Church of *Thyatira*, unto whom the Son of God, ſendeth this greeting, *I know thy works and thy love, and ſervice, and faith: notwithſtanding I have a few things againſt thee*, was not as he unto whom Saint *Peter*, *Thou haſt no fellowſhip in this buſineſſe, for thy heart is not right in the ſight of God.* So that whereas the orderly diſpoſition of the minde of man ſhould be this, perturbations and ſenſuall appetites all kept in awe by a moderate and ſober will, in all things framed by reaſon; reaſon, directed by the Law of God and Nature; this *Babylonian* had his minde as it were turned upſide downe. In him unreaſonable cecity and blindneſſe trampled all Lawes both of God and Nature under feet; wilfulneſſe tyrannized over reaſon, and brutiſh ſenſuality over will. An evident token that his outrage would worke his overthrow, and procure his ſpeedie ruine. The Mother whereof was that which the Prophet in theſe words ſignifieth; *His minde doth ſwell.*

Immoderate ſwelling, a token of very eminent breach, and of inevitable deſtruction: Pride, a vice which cleaveth ſo faſt unto the hearts of men, that if we were to ſtrip our ſelves of all faults one by one, we ſhould undoubtedly find it the very laſt and hardeſt to put off. But I am not here to touch the ſecret itching humour of vanity wherwith men are generally touched. It was a thing more than meanely inordinate, wherewith the *Babylonian* did ſwell. Which that we may both the better conceive, and the more eaſily reape profit by the nature of this vice, which ſetteth the whole World out of courſe, and hath put ſo many even of the wiſeſt beſides themſelves, is firſt of all to be inquired into; Secondly, the dangers to bee diſcovered, which it draweth inevitably after it, being not cured; and laſt of all, the wayes to cure it.

Whether

Whether we looke upon the gifts of nature, or of grace, or whatſoever is in the world admired as a part of mans excellency, adorning his body, beautifying his minde, or externally any way commending him in the account and opinion of men, there is in every kind ſomewhat poſſible which no man hath, and ſomewhat had which few men can attaine unto. By occaſion whereof there groweth diſparagement neceſſarily; and by occaſion of diſparagement, Pride through mens ignorance. Firſt therefore, although men be not proud of any thing which is not at leaſt in opinion good, yet every good thing they are not proud of, but onely of that which neither is common unto many, and being deſired of all, cauſeth them which have it, to be honoured above the reſt. Now there is no man ſo void of braine, as to ſuppoſe that Pride conſiſteth in the bare poſſeſſion of ſuch things; for then to have Vertue were a Vice, and they ſhould be the happieſt men who are moſt wretched, becauſe they have leaſt of that which they would have. And though in ſpeech wee doe intimate a kind of vanity to bee in them of whom we ſay, *they are Wiſemen and they know it*, yet this doth not prove that every Wiſe man is proud which doth not think himſelf to be blockiſh. What we may have and know that we have it without offence, do we then make offenſive when we take joy and delight in having it? What difference betweene men enriched with all abundance of earthly and heavenly bleſſings, and Idols gorgeouſly attired, but this, *the one takes pleaſure in that which they have, the other none?* If we may be poſſeſt with beauty, ſtrength, riches, power, knowledge, if wee may be privy what we are every way, if glad and joyfull for our own wel-fare, and in all this remaine unblameable, nevertheleſſe ſome there are who granting thus much, doubt whether it may ſtand with humility to accept thoſe teſtimonies of praiſe and commendation, thoſe titles, roomes, and other honours which the World yeeldeth as acknowledgements of ſome mens excellencies above others. For in as much as Chriſt hath ſaid unto thoſe that are his; *The Kings of the Gentiles raigne over them, and they that beare rule over them are called gracious Lords; Be yenot ſo*; The Anabaptiſt hereupon urgeth equality amongſt Chriſtians, as if all exerciſe of authority were nothing elſe but Heatheniſh pride. Our Lord and Saviour had no ſuch meaning. But his Diſciples feeding themſelves with a vaine imagination for the time, that the Meſſias of the World ſhould in Jeruſalem erect his Throne, and exerciſe dominion with great pompe and outward ſtatelineſſe, advanced in honour and terrene power above all the Princes of the Earth, began to thinke how with their Lords condition, their owne would alſo riſe: that having left and forſaken all to follow him, their place about him ſhould not be meane: and becauſe they were many, it troubled them much, which of them ſhould bee the greateſt man: when ſuit was made for two by name, that of them one might ſit at his right hand, and the other at his left; the reſt began to ſtomacke, each taking it grievouſly, that any ſhould have what all did affect, their Lord and Maſter to correct this humour, turneth aſide their cogitations from theſe vaine and fanſiefull conceites, giving them plainely to underſtand that they did but deceive themſelves. His comming was not to purchaſe an earthly, but to beſtow an heavenly Kingdome, wherein they (if any) ſhall bee greateſt, whom unfained Humilitie maketh in this

World loweſt, and leaſt amongſt others: *Ye are they which have continued with mee in my temptations, therefore I leave unto you a Kingdome, as my Father hath appointed me, that ye may eat and drink at my Table in my Kingdome, and ſit on ſeates, and judge the twelve Tribes of Iſrael.* But my Kingdome is no ſuch Kingdome as ye dreame of. And therefore theſe hungry ambitious contentions are ſeemlier in heathens than in you. Wherefore from Chriſts intent and purpoſe nothing further removed, than diſlike of diſtinction in titles and callings annexed for orders ſake unto authority, whether it be Eccleſiaſticall or Civil. And when we have examined throughly what the nature of this vice is, no man knowing it, can be ſo ſimple, as not to ſee an ugly ſhape thereof apparent many times in rejecting honours offered, more than in the very exacting of them at the hands of men. For as *Iudas* his care for the poore was meere covetouſneſſe, and that franck-hearted waſtfulnes ſpoken of in the Goſpel, thrift; ſo there is no doubt but that going in rags may bee Pride, and Thrones be challenged with unfained humility.

Wee muſt goe further therefore and enter ſomewhat deeper, before we can come to the Cloſet wherein this poyſon lyeth. There is in the heart of every proud man, firſt, an errour of underſtanding; a vaine opinion whereby he thinketh his owne excellency, and by reaſon thereof, his worthineſſe of eſtimation, regard, and honour to bee greater than in truth it is. This maketh him in all his affections accordingly to raiſe up himſelfe, and by his inward affections his outward acts are faſhioned. Which if you liſt to have exemplified; you may either by calling to minde things ſpoken of them whom God himſelfe hath in Scripture ſpecially noted with this fault, or by preſenting to your ſecret cogitations that which you daily behold in the odious lives and manners of high-minded men. It were too long to gather together ſo plentifull an harveſt of examples in this kind as the ſacred Scripture affordeth. That which we drinke in at our eares, doth not ſo piercingly enter, as that which the minde doth conceive by ſight. Is there any thing written concerning the Aſſyrian Monarch in the tenth of *Eſay*, of his ſwelling minde, his haughty lookes, his great and preſumptuous taunts; *By the power of mine owne hand I have done all things, and by mine owne wiſdome I have ſubdued the World?* Any thing concerning the Dames of Sion in the third of the Prophet *Eſay*, of their ſtretched out necks, their immodeſt eyes, their Pageant-like, ſtately, and pompous gate? Any thing concerning the practices of *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*; of their impatience to live in ſubjection, their mutinies, repining at lawfull authority, their grudging againſt their ſuperiours Eccleſiaſticall and Civill? Any thing concerning Pride in any ſort of ſect, which the preſent face of the world doth not as in the glaſſe repreſent to the view of all mens beholding? So that if Bookes, both prophane and holy, were all loſt, as long as the manners of men retaine the ſtate they are in: for him that obſerveth how that when men have once conceived an over-weening of themſelves, it maketh them in all their affections to ſwell, how deadly their hatred, how heavie their diſpleaſure, how unappeaſeable their indignation and wrath is above other mens, in what manner they compoſe themſelves to bee as *Heteroclites*, without the compaſſe of all ſuch Rules as common ſort are meaſured by; how the Oathes which religious hearts doe

tremble

tremble at, they affect as principall graces of ſpeech; what felicity they take to ſee the enormity of their crimes above the reach of Lawes and puniſhments; how much it delighteth them when they are able to appale with the cloudineſſe of their looke; how farre they exceed the termes wherewith mans nature ſhould bee limited; how high they beare their heads over others; how they brow-beat all men which doe not receive their Sentences as Oracles with marvellous applauſe and approbation; how they looke upon no man, but with an indirect countenance, nor heare any thing ſaving their owne praiſe, with patience, nor ſpeake without ſcornfulneſſe and diſdaine; how they uſe their ſervants, as if they were beaſts, their inferiours as ſervants, their equals as inferiours, and as for ſuperiours acknowledge none; how they admire themſelves as venerable, puiſſant, wiſe, circumſpect, provident, every way great, taking all men beſides themſelves for cyphers, poore, inglorious, ſilly creatures, needleſs burthens of the earth, off ſcowrings, nothing: in a word, for him which marketh how irregular and exorbitant they are in all things, it can be no hard thing hereby to gather, that Pride is nothing but an inordinate elation of the minde, proceeding from a falſe conceit of mens excellency in things honoured, which accordingly frameth alſo their deeds and behaviour, unleſſe there be cunning to conceale it. For a foule ſcarre may be covered with a faire cloth. And as proud as *Lucifer*, may be in outward appearance lowly.

No man expecteth Grapes of Thiſtles: nor from a thing of ſo bad a nature, can other than ſutable fruits bee looked for. What harme ſoever in private families there groweth by diſobedience of children, ſtubbornneſſe of ſervants, untractableneſſe in them, who although they otherwiſe may rule, yet ſhould in conſideration of the imparity of their ſexe bee alſo ſubject; whatſoever by ſtrife amongſt men combined in the fellowſhip of greater ſocieties, by tyranny of Potentates, ambition of Nobles, rebellion of Subjects in civill States; by Hereſies, Schiſmes, diviſions in the Church; naming Pride, we name the Mother which brought them forth, and the onely Nurſe that feedeth them. Give me the hearts of all men humbled, and what is there that can overthrow or diſturbe the peace of the world? Wherein many things are the cauſe of much evill, but Pride of all.

To declame of the ſwarmes of evils iſſuing out of Pride, is an eaſie labour. I rather wiſh that I could exactly preſcribe and perſwade effectually the remedies, whereby a ſore ſo grievous might bee cured, and the meanes how the pride of ſwelling minds might bee taken downe. Whereunto ſo much wee have already gained, that the evidence of the cauſe, which breedeth it, pointeth directly unto the likelieſt and fitteſt helps to take it away: diſeaſes that come of fulneſſe, emptineſſe muſt remove. Pride is not cured, but by abating the error which cauſeth the mind to ſwell. Then ſeeing that they ſwell by miſconceit of their owne excellency; for this cauſe all which tend to the beating downe of their pride, whether it bee advertiſement from men, or from God himſelfe chaſtiſement, it then maketh them ceaſe to be proud, when it cauſeth them to ſee their errour in over-ſeeing the thing they were proud of. At this marke, *Iob*, in his Apologie unto his eloquent friends, aymeth. For perceiving how

how much they delighted to heare themſelves talke, as if they had given their poore afflicted familiar a ſchooling of marvellous deep and rare inſtruction, as if they had taught him more than all the world beſides could acquaint him with, his anſwer was to this effect: Yee ſwell as though yee had conceived ſome great matter, but as for that which yee are delivered of, who knoweth it not? Is any man ignorant of theſe things? At the ſame marke the bleſſed Apoſtle driveth; yee abound in all things, ye are rich, yee raigne, and would to Chriſt wee did raigne with you, But boaſt not. For what have yee, or are yee of your ſelves? To this marke all thoſe humble confeſſions are referred, which have beene alwaies frequent in the mouthes of Saints, truely wading in the tryall of themſelves: as that of the Prophet, *We are nothing but ſoreneſſe and feſtered corruption:* our very light is darkneſſe, and our righteouſneſſe it ſelfe unrighteouſneſſe; that of Gregory, *let no man ever put confidence in his owne deſerts; Sordet in conſpectu Iudicis, quod fulget in conſpectu operantis,* In the ſight of that dreadfull Judge it is noyſome, which in the doers judgement maketh a beautifull ſhew: That of *Anſelme, I adore thee, I bleſſe thee, Lord God of heaven, and redeemer of the world, with all the power, ability, and ſtrength of my heart and ſoule, for thy goodneſſe ſo unmeaſurably extended, not in regard of my merits, whereunto onely torments were due, but of thy meere unprocured benignity.* If theſe Fathers ſhould be raiſed againe from the duſt, and have the bookes laid open before them wherein ſuch ſentences are found as this, *Workes no other than the value, deſert, price, and worth of the joyes, of the kingdome of heaven; Heaven, in relation to our workes, as the very ſtipend, which the hired Labourer covenanteth to have of him whoſe workes he doth, as a thing equally and juſtly anſwering unto the time and waight of his travels, rather than to a voluntary or bountifull gift.* If, I ſay, thoſe reverend fore-rehearſed Fathers, whoſe bookes are ſo full of ſentences, witneſſing their Chriſtian humility, ſhould be raiſed from the dead, and behold with their eyes ſuch things written; would they not plainly pronounce of the Authors of ſuch writ, that they were fuller of *Lucifer* than of Chriſt, that they were proud-hearted men, and carried more ſwelling minds than ſincerely and feelingly knowne Chriſtianity can tolerate?

Annot. Rhem. in 2 Cor. 3.

But as unruly children, with whom wholſome admonition prevaileth little, are notwithſtanding brought to feare that ever after, which they have once well ſmarted for: ſo the minde which falleth not with inſtruction, yet under the rod of divine chaſtiſement ceaſeth to ſwell. If therefore the Prophet *David* inſtructed by good experience, have acknowledged; Lord, I was even at the point of cleane forgetting my ſelfe, and ſo ſtraying from my right mind: but thy rod hath beene my reformer; it hath beene good for me, even as much as my ſoule is worth, that I have beene with ſorrow troubled: if the bleſſed Apoſtle did need the corroſive of ſharpe and bitter ſtrokes, leſt his heart ſhould ſwell with too great abundance of heavenly Revelations, ſurely, upon us whatſoever God in this world doth, or ſhall inflict, it cannot ſeem more than our pride doth exact, not only by way of revenge, but of remedie. So hard it is to cure a ſore of ſuch quality as pride is, in as much as that which rooteth out other vices, cauſeth this, and (which is even above all conceit) if wee were cleane from all ſpot and blemiſh,

both

both of other faults of pride; the fall of Angels doth make it almoſt a queſtion whether we might not need a preſervative ſtill, leſt we ſhould haply waxe proud that we are not proud. What is Vertue, but a medicine; and Vice, but a wound? Yet we have ſo often deeply wounded our ſelves with medicine, that God hath beene faine to make wounds medicinable, to cure by Vice where Vertue hath ſtricken, to ſuffer the juſt man to fall, that being raiſed, he may be taught what power it was which upheld him ſtanding. I am not afraid to affirme it boldly with S. *Auguſtine*, that men puffed up through a proud opinion of their owne ſanctitie and holineſſe, receive a benefit at the hands of God, and are aſſiſted with his grace, when with his grace they are not aſſiſted, but permitted, and that grievouſly to tranſgreſſe, whereby as they were in over-great liking of themſelves ſupplanted, ſo the diſlike of that which did ſupplant them, may eſtabliſh them afterwards the ſurer. Aske the very ſoule of *Peter*, and it ſhall undoubtedly make you it ſelfe this anſwer; My eager proteſtations made in the glory of my ghoſtly ſtrength, I am aſhamed of, but thoſe Chryſtall teares wherewith my ſinne and weakeneſſe was bewayled, have procured my endleſſe joy; my ſtrength hath beene my ruine, and my fall my ſtay.

FINIS.



A REMEDIE AGAINST SORROVV AND FEARE, Delivered in a Funerall SERMON.

IOHN 14. 27.

Let not your hearts be troubled, nor feare.

THE holy Apoſtles having gathered themſelves together by the ſpeciall appointment of Chriſt, and being in expectation to receive from him ſuch inſtructions as they had beene accuſtomed with, were told that which they leaſt looked for; namely, That the time of his departure out of the world, was now come. Whereupon they fell into conſideration, firſt, of the manifold benefits which his abſence ſhould bereave them of, and ſecondly of the ſundry evils which themſelves ſhould bee ſubject unto, being once bereaved of ſo gracious a Maſter and Patron. The one conſideration over-whelmed their ſoules with heavineſſe: The other with feare. Their Lord and Saviour, whoſe words had caſt downe their hearts, raiſeth them preſently againe with choſen ſentences of ſweet encouragement. My deare, it is for your owne ſakes that I leave the World. I know the affections of your hearts are tender, but if your love were directed with that adviſed and ſtaid judgement which ſhould be in you, my ſpeech of leaving the world, and going unto my Father, would not a little augment your joy. Deſolate and comfortleſſe I will not leave you; in Spirit I am with you to the worlds end; whether I be preſent or abſent, nothing ſhall ever take you out of theſe hands: my going is to take poſſeſſion of that, in your names, which is not onely for me, but alſo for you prepared; where I am, you ſhal be. In the meane while, *My peace I give, not as the world giveth, give I unto you: Let not your hearts be troubled, nor feare.* The former part of which ſentence having otherwhere already beene ſpoken of, this unacceptable occaſion to open the latter part thereof here, I did not looke for. But ſo God diſpoſeth the wayes of men. Him I heartily beſeech, that the thing which he hath thus ordered by his providence, may through his gracious goodneſſe turne unto your comfort.

Our

Our nature coveteth preſervation from things hurtfull. Hurtfull things being preſent, doe breed heavineſſe, being future, doe cauſe feare. Our Saviour to abate the one, ſpeaketh thus unto his Diſciples: *Let not your hearts be troubled*, and to moderate the other, addeth *Feare not*. Griefe and heavineſſe in the preſence of ſenſible evils cannot but trouble the minds of men. It may therefore ſeem that Chriſt required a thing impoſſible. Be not troubled. Why, how could they chooſe? But we muſt note this being naturall and therefore ſimply not reproveable, is in us good or bad according to the cauſes for which we are grieved, or the meaſure of our griefe. It is not my meaning to ſpeake ſo largely of this affection, as to goe over all particulars whereby men doe one way or other offend in it, but to teach it ſo far onely as it may cauſe the very Apoſtles equals to ſwerve. Our griefe and heavineſs therfore is reproveable, ſometime in reſpect of the cauſe from whence, ſometime in regard of the meaſure whereunto it groweth.

When Chriſt the life of the world was led unto cruell death, there followed a number of people and women, which women bewayled much his heavy caſe. It was a naturall compaſſion which cauſed them, where they ſaw undeſerved miſeries, there to poure forth unreſtrained teares. Nor was this reproved. But in ſuch readineſſe to lament where they leſſe needed, their blindneſſe in not diſcerning that for which they ought much rather to have mourned, this our Saviour a little toucheth, putting them in mind that the teares which were waſted for him, might better have beene ſpent upon themſelves. *Daughters of Ieruſalem, weepe not for me, weepe for your ſelves and for your children.* It is not as the Stoicks have imagined, a thing unſeemely for a wiſe man to bee touched with griefe of mind; but to bee ſorrowfull when wee leaſt ſhould, and where wee ſhould lament, there to laugh, this argueth our ſmall wiſdome. Againe, when the Prophet *David* confeſſeth thus of himſelfe, *I grieved to ſee the great proſperity of godleſſe men how they flouriſh and goe untouchт*, *Pſal.* 73. Himſelfe hereby openeth both our common and his peculiar imperfection, whom this cauſe ſhould not have made ſo penſive. To grieve at this, is to grieve where wee ſhould not, becauſe this griefe doth riſe from errour. Wee erre when wee grieve at wicked mens impunity and proſperity, becauſe their eſtate being rightly diſcerned, they neither proſper nor goe unpuniſhed. It may ſeeme a paradoxe, it is truth, that no wicked mans eſtate is proſperous, fortunate, or happy. For what though they bleſſe themſelves and thinke their happineſſe great? Have not franticke perſons many times a great opinion of their owne wiſdome? It may bee that ſuch as they thinke themſelves, others alſo doe account them. But what others? Surely ſuch as themſelves are. Truth and reaſon diſcerneth farre otherwiſe of them. Vnto whom the Jewes wiſh all proſperity, unto them the phraſe of their ſpeech is to wiſh peace. Seeing then the name of peace containeth in it all parts of true happineſſe, when the Prophet ſaith plainly that the wicked have no peace, how can we thinke them to have any part of other than vainely imagined felicity? What wiſe man did ever account fooles happy? If wicked men were wiſe, they would ceaſe to be wicked. Their iniquity therefore proving their folly, how can we ſtand in doubt of their miſery? They abound in thoſe things which all men

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deſire. A poor happineſſe to have good things in poſſeſſion, *A man to whom God hath given riches, and treaſures and honour, ſo that he wanteth nothing for his ſoule of all that it deſireth, but yet God giveth him not the power to eat thereof*; ſuch a felicity *Salomon* eſteemeth but as a vanity, a thing of nothing. If ſuch things add nothing to mens happineſſe where they are not uſed, ſurely wicked men that uſe them ill, the more they have, the more wretched. Of their proſperity therefore, we ſee what we are to think. Touching their impunity, the ſame is likewiſe but ſuppoſed. They are oftner plagued than wee are aware of. The pangs they feele are not alwayes written in their fore-head. Though wickedneſſe be Sugar in their mouthes, and wantonneſſe as Oyle to make them look with a cheerfull countenance, nevertheleſſe if their hearts were diſcloſed, perhaps their glittering ſtate would not greatly be envied. The voyces that have broken out from ſome of them, *Oh that God had given me a heart ſenſeleſſe like the flint in the rocks of ſtone!* which as it can taſte no pleaſure, ſo it feeleth no woe; theſe and the like ſpeeches are ſurely tokens of the curſe which *Zophar* in the Booke of *Iob* powreth upon the head of the impious man, *He ſhall ſuck the gall of Aſps, and the Vipers tongue ſhall ſlay him*. If this ſeem light, becauſe it is ſecret, ſhall we think they goe unpuniſhed, becauſe no apparant plague is preſently ſeen upon them? The judgements of God doe not alwayes follow crimes as Thunder doth Lightning, but ſometimes the ſpace of many Ages comming between. When the Sun hath ſhined faire the ſpace of ſix daies upon their Tabernacle, wee know not what Clouds the ſeventh may bring. And when their puniſhment doth come, let them make their account, in the greatneſſe of their ſufferings to pay the intereſt of that reſpite which hath been given them. Or if they chance to eſcape cleerly in this World, which they ſeldome doe, in the Day when the Heavens ſhall ſhrivell as a ſcrowl, and the Mountains move as frighted men out of their places, what Cave ſhall receive them? what Mountain or Rock ſhall they get by intreaty to fall upon them? what covert to hide them from that wrath which they ſhal neither be able to abide nor avoyd? No mans miſery therefore being greater than theirs whoſe impiety is moſt fortunate; much more cauſe there is for them to bewaile their owne infelicity, than for others to be troubled with their proſperous and happie eſtate, as if the hand of the Almightie did not or would not touch them. For theſe cauſes and the like unto theſe, therefore be not troubled. Eccleſ. 6. 2.

Now, though the cauſe of our heavineſſe be juſt, yet may not our affections herein be yeelded unto with too much indulgencie and favour. The griefe of compaſſion, whereby wee are touched with the feeling of other mens woes, is of all other leaſt dangerous. Yet this is a let unto ſundry duties, by this we are to ſpare ſometimes where we ought to ſtrike. The grief which our own ſufferings doe bring, what temptations have not riſen from it? What great advantage Satan hath taken even by the godly griefe of hearty contrition for ſins committed againſt God, the neer approaching of ſo many afflicted ſoules, whom the conſcience of ſin hath brought unto the very brinke of extreme deſpaire, doth but too abundantly ſhew. Theſe things, whereſoever they fall, cannot but trouble and moleſt the mind. Whether wee bee therefore moved vainly with that which ſeemeth hurtfull and is not; or have juſt cauſe of griefe, being preſſed indeed with

thoſe things which are grievous, our Saviours leſſon is, touching the one, Be not troubled, nor over-troubled for the other. For though to have no feeling of that which meerely concerneth us, were ſtupiditie, nevertheleſſe, ſeeing that as the Author of our Salvation was himſelfe conſecrated by affliction, ſo the way which we are to follow him by, is not ſtrewed with ruſhes, but ſet with thornes; be it never ſo hard to learn, we muſt learne to ſuffer with patience, even that which ſeemeth almoſt impoſſible to be ſuffered, that in the houre when God ſhall call us unto our triall, and turn this honey of peace and pleaſure wherewith we ſwell, into that gall and bitterneſſe which fleſh doth ſhrinke to taſte of, nothing may cauſe us in the troubles of our ſoules to ſtorme and grudge and repine at God, but every heart be inabled with divinely inſpired courage to inculcate unto it ſelfe, *Bee not troubled*, and in thoſe laſt and greateſt conflicts to remember it, that nothing may be ſo ſharpe and bitter to be ſuffered, but that ſtill we our ſelves may give our ſelves this encouragement, *Even learne alſo patience, O my ſoule:*

Naming patience, I name that vertue which onely hath power to ſtay our ſoules from being over-exceſſively troubled: a vertue, wherein if ever any, ſurely that ſoule had good experience, which extremitie of paines having chaſed out of the Tabernacle of this fleſh, Angels, I nothing doubt, have carried into the boſome of her father *Abraham*. The death of the Saints of God is precious in his ſight. And ſhall it ſeeme unto us ſuperfluous at ſuch times as theſe are, to heare in what manner they have ended their lives? The Lord himſelfe hath not diſdained ſo exactly to regiſter in the Booke of life, after what ſort his Servants have cloſed up their dayes on earth, that hee deſcendeth even to their very meaneſt actions, what meat they have longed for in their ſickneſſe, what they have ſpoken unto their Children, Kinsfolks and Friends, where they have willed their dead Carkaſſes to bee laid, how they have framed their Wils and Teſtaments; yea, the very turning of their faces to this ſide or that, the ſetting of their eyes, the degrees whereby their naturall heat hath departed from them, their cryes, their groanes, their pantings, breathings, and laſt gaſpings hee hath moſt ſolemnly commended unto the memory of all Generations. The care of the living both to live and to die well muſt needs bee ſomewhat increaſed, when they know that their departure ſhall not be folded up in ſilence, but the eares of many bee made acquainted with it. Againe, when they heare how mercifully God hath dealt with others in the houre of their laſt need, beſides the praiſe which they give to God, and the joy which they have or ſhould have by reaſon of their fellowſhip and communion of Saints, is not their hope alſo much confirmed againſt the day of their owne diſſolution? Finally, the ſound of theſe things doth not ſo paſſe the eares of them that are moſt looſe and diſſolute of life, but it cauſeth them ſometime or other to wiſh in their hearts, *Oh, that we might dye the death of the righteous, and that our end might be like his!* Howbeit, becauſe to ſpend herein many words, would bee to ſtrike even as many wounds into their minds whom I rather wiſh to comfort, therefore concerning this vertuous Gentlewoman, only this little I ſpeak, and that of knowledge, *Shee lived a Dove, and dyed a Lambe.* And if amongſt

mongſt ſo many vertues, heartie devotion towards God, towards Povertie tender compaſſion, motherly affection towards ſervants, towards friends even ſerviceable kindneſſe, milde behaviour, and harmeleſſe meaning towards all; if where ſo many vertues were eminent, any be worthy of ſpeciall mention, I wiſh her deareſt friends of that ſexe to be her neareſt followers in two things: *Silence*, ſaving only where dutie did exact ſpeech, and *Patience*, even then when extremity of paines did enforce greife. *Bleſſed are they that dye in the Lord.* And concerning the dead which are bleſſed let not the hearts of any living bee over-charged with greife, or over-troubled.

Touching the latter affection of feare which reſpecteth evill to come, as the other which we have ſpoken of doth preſent evils; firſt, in the nature thereof it is plaine, that we are not of every future evill afraid. Perceive we not how they, whoſe tenderneſſe ſhrinketh at the leaſt raſe of a Needleſſe Point, doe kiſſe the ſword that pierceth their Souls quite thorow? If every evill did cauſe feare, ſinne, becauſe it is ſinne, would be feared; whereas properly ſinne is not feared as ſinne, but onely as having ſome kind of harme annexed. To teach men to avoyd ſinne, it had been ſufficient for the Apoſtle to ſay, Flie it. But to make them afraid of committing ſin, becauſe the naming of ſinne ſufficed not, therefore he addeth further, that it is as a *Serpent which ſtingeth the ſoule*. Againe, be it that ſome nocive or hurtfull things bee towards us, muſt feare of neceſſitie follow hereupon? Not, except that hurtfull things doe threaten us either with deſtruction or vexation, and that ſuch as we, have neither a conceit of abilitie to reſiſt, nor of utter impoſſibilitie to avoyde. That which we know our ſelves able to withſtand, wee feare not, and that which wee know we are unable to deferre or diminiſh, or any way avoyd, we ceaſe to feare, we give our ſelves over to bear and ſuſtaine it. The evill therefore which is feared, muſt be in our perſwaſion unable to be reſiſted when it commeth, yet not utterly impoſſible for a time in whole or in part to be ſhunned. Neither do we much fear ſuch evils, except they be imminent and neere at hand, nor if they be neere, except we have an opinion, that they be ſo. When we have once conceived an opinion, or apprehended an imagination of ſuch evils preſt and ready to invade us, becauſe they are hurtfull unto our nature, we feele in our ſelves a kind of abhorring; becauſe they are thought neer, yet not preſent, our nature ſeeketh forthwith how to ſhift and provide for it ſelfe; becauſe they are evils which cannot be reſiſted, therefore ſhe doth not provide to withſtand, but to ſhun & avoyd. Hence it is, that in extreme fear the Mother of life contracting her ſelfe, avoyding as much as may be the reach of evil, & drawing the heat together with the ſpirits of the body to her, leaveth the outward parts cold, pale, weake, feeble, unapt to performe the functions of life, as we ſee in the fear of *Balthaſar* King of *Babel*. By this it appeareth, that fear is nothing elſe but a perturbation of the mind through an opinion of ſome imminent evil, threatning the deſtruction or great annoyance of our nature, which to ſhun, it doth contract and deject it ſelfe.

Now becauſe not in this place onely, but other where often we hear it repeated *Feare not*, it is by ſome made a queſtion, *whether a man may feare deſtruction or vexation, without ſinning?* Firſt, the reproofe wherewith Chriſt

checketh his Diſciples more than once, *O men of little faith, wherefore are yee afraid?* Secondly, the puniſhment threatned in the twentie one of the *Revelation*, to wit, the Lake, and fire, and brimſtone, not only to Murtherers, uncleane perſons, Sorcerers, Idolaters, Lyers, but alſo to the feareſull and faint-hearted; this ſeemeth to argue that fearefulneſſe cannot but be ſinne. On the contrarie ſide we ſee, that He which never felt motion unto ſinne, had of this affection more than a ſlight feeling. How cleere is the evidence of the Spirit, that *in the dayes of his fleſh he offered up Prayers and Supplications with ſtrong cries and teares unto him that was able to ſave him from death, and was alſo heard in that which he feared? Heb.* 5.7. Whereupon it followeth, that feare in it ſelfe is a thing not ſinfull. For is not feare a thing naturall, and for mens preſervation neceſſary, implanted in us by the provident and moſt gracious Giver of all good things, to the end that we might not runne head-long upon thoſe miſchiefes wherewith we are not able to encounter, but uſe the remedy of ſhunning thoſe evils which we have not ability to withſtand? Let that people therefore which receive a benefit by the length of their Princes dayes, the Father or Mother that rejoyceth to ſee the Offſpring of their fleſh grow like green & pleaſant Plants, let thoſe children that would have their Parents, thoſe men that would gladly have their friends and brethrens dayes prolonged on earth, (as there is no natural-hearted man but gladly would) let them bleſſe the Father of lights as in other things, ſo even in this, that he hath given man a feareſull heart, and ſetled naturally that affection in him, which is a preſervation againſt ſo many wayes of death. Feare then in it ſelfe being meere nature, cannot in it ſelfe be ſin, which ſin is not nature, but thereof an acceſſary deprivation.

But in the matter of feare we may ſinne, and doe, two wayes. If any mans danger be great, their greateſt, that have put the feare of danger fartheſt from them. Is there any eſtate more feareſull than that Babylonian Strumpets, that ſitteth upon the tops of ſeven hils, glorying and vaunting, *I am a Queene &c.? Reve.* 18.7. How much better and happier they, whoſe eſtate hath beene alwayes as his who ſpeaketh after this ſort of himſelfe, *Lord, from my youth have I borne thy yoke?* They which ſit at continuall eaſe, and are ſetled in the lees of their ſecuritie, looke upon them, view their countenance, their ſpeech, their geſture, their deeds; put them in feare, O God, ſaith the prophet, that ſo they may know themſelves to be but men, Wormes of the Earth, duſt and aſhes, fraile, corruptible, feeble things. To ſhake off ſecuritie therefore, and to breed feare in the hearts of mortall men, ſo many admonitions are uſed concerning the power of evils which beſet them, ſo many threatnings of calamities, ſo many deſcriptions of things threatned, and thoſe ſo lively, to the end they may leave behind them a deepe impreſſion of ſuch as have force to keepe the heart continually waking. All which doe ſhew, that we are to ſtand in feare of no thing more than the extremitie of not fearing.

When fear hath delivered us from that pit, wherein they are ſunk that have put far from them the evil day; that have made a league with death, and have ſaid, *Tuſh, we ſhall feel no harme*; it ſtandeth us upon to take heed it caſt us not into that, wherein ſouls deſtitute of all hope are plunged. For our direction, to avoide, as much as maybe, both extremities, that we may know as a

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Shipmaſter by his Card, how far we are wide, either on the one ſide or on the other; we muſt note that in a Chriſtian man there is firſt, Nature; Secondly, Corruption perverting Nature; Thirdly, Grace correcting and amending Corruption. In fear all theſe have their ſeverall operations; Nature teacheth ſimply, to wiſh preſervation and avoydance of things dreadfull, for which cauſe our Saviour himſelfe prayeth, and that often; Father, if it be *poſſible*. In which caſes, corrupt natures ſuggeſtions are, for the ſafety of temporall life, not to ſtick at things excluding from eternall: wherein how far even the beſt may be led, the chiefeſt Apoſtles frailty teacheth. Were it not therefore for ſuch cogitations, as on the contrary ſide grace and faith miniſtreth, ſuch as that of *Iob*, *Though God kill mee*; that of *Paul*, *Scio cui credidi*, I know him on whom I doe rely; ſmall evils would ſoone be able to overthrow even the beſt of us. *A wiſe man*, ſaith *Salomon*, *doth ſee a plague comming, and hideth himſelfe*. It is *nature* which teacheth a wiſe man, in fear to *hide* himſelfe, but *grace* and *faith* doth teach him *where*. Fools care not where they hide their heads: but where ſhall a wiſe man hide himſelf when hee feareth a plague comming? Where ſhould the frighted Child hide his head, but in the boſome of his loving Father? Where a Chriſtian, but under the ſhadow of the wings of Chriſt his Saviour? *Come my people*, ſaith God in the Prophet, *enter into thy Chamber, hide thy ſelfe, &c. Eſay* 26. But becauſe we are in danger, like chaſed Birds, like Doves that ſeeke and cannot ſee the reſting holes that are right before them; therefore our Saviour giveth his Diſciples theſe encouragements before-hand, that fear might never ſo amaze them, but that alwayes they might remember that whatſoever evils at any time did beſet them, to him they ſhould ſtill repaire for comfort, counſell and ſuccour. For their aſſurance whereof, his *Peace* he *gave them*, his *Peace* hee *left unto them, not ſuch a peace as the world* offereth, by whom his name is never ſo much pretended, as when deepeſt treachery is meant; but *Peace which paſſeth all underſtanding*, *Peace* that bringeth with it all happineſſe, *Peace* that continueth for ever and ever with them that have it. This *Peace* God the Father grant, for his Sons ſake, unto whom with the Holy Ghoſt, three Perſons, one Eternall and Everliving God, be all honour, and glory and praiſe now and for ever,

Amen.

FINIS.

A LEARNED AND COMFORTABLE SERMON OF THE CERTAINTY AND PERPETUITY OF FAITH in the Elect; especially of the Prophet HABAKKUKS Faith.

HABAK. 1. 4.

whether the Prophet Habakkuk, *by admitting this cogitation into his mind,* The Law doth faile, *did thereby shew himselfe an unbeleever?*

WEE have seene in the opening of this clause, which concerneth the weaknesse of the Prophets faith; first, what things they are whereunto the faith of sound beleevers doth assent: secondly, wherefore all men assent not thereunto: and thirdly, why they that do, do it many times with small assurance. Now because nothing can be so truly spoken, but through mis-understanding it may be depraved; therefore to prevent, if it be possible, all misconstruction in this cause, where a small errour cannot rise but with great danger, it is perhaps needfull ere we come to the fourth point, that something bee added to that which hath been already spoken concerning the third.

That meer naturall men do neither know nor acknowledge the things of God, we do not marvell, because they are spiritually to be discerned: but they in whose hearts the light of grace doth shine, they that are taught of God, why are they so weak in faith? Why is their assenting to the Law so scrupulous, so much mingled with feare and wavering? It seemeth strange that ever they should imagine the Law to faile. It cannot seeme strange if we weigh the reason. If the things which wee beleeve be considered in themselves, it may truly be said, that faith is more certain than any Science. That which we know either by sense, or by infallible demonstration is not so certain as the principles, articles and conclusions of Christian faith. Concerning which wee must note, that there is a *certaintie* of *evidence*, and a *certaintie* of *adherence*. *Certaintie* of *evidence* we call that, when the mind doth assent unto this or that, not because it is true in it selfe, but because the truth is cleer, because it is manifest to us. Of things in themselves most certain, except they be also most evident, our perswasion is not so assured, as it is of things more evident, although in themselves they bee lesse certain. It is as sure, if not surer, that there be spirits as that there be men: but we be more assured of these than of them, because these are more evident. The truth of some things is so evident, that no man which heareth them, can doubt of them: as when we hear that *a part of any thing is lesse than the whole*, the mind is constrained to say, This is true. If it were so in matters of faith, then, as all men have equall certainty of this, so no beleever should be more scrupulous and doubtfull than another. But we find the contrarie

contrarie. The Angels and Spirits of the righteous in heaven, have certaintie moſt evident of things ſpirituall: but this they have by the light of glorie. That which we ſee by the light of grace, though it be indeed more certaine, yet is it not to us ſo evidently certaine, as that which ſence or the light of nature will not ſuffer a man to doubt of. Proofs are vaine and frivolous, except they be more certaine than is the thing proved: and do we not ſee how the Spirit every where in the Scripture proveth matters of faith laboureth to confirme us in the thing which we beleeve, by things where, of we have ſenſible knowledge? I conclude therefore that we have leſſe *certaintie* of *evidene* concerning things beleeved, than concerning ſenſible or naturally perceived. Of theſe who doth doubt at any time? Of them at ſomtime who doubteth not? I wil not here alledge the ſundry confeſſions of the perfecteſt, that have lived upon earth, concerning their great imperfections this way; which if I did, I ſhould dwell too long upon a matter ſuffciently knowne by every faithfull man that doth know himſelfe.

The other which we call the *certaintie* of *adherence*, is when the heart doth cleave and ſticke unto that which it doth beleeve. This certaintie is greater in us than the other. The reaſon is this. The faith of a Chriſtian doth apprehend the words of the Law, the promiſes of God, not onely as true, but alſo as good: and therefore even then when the evidence which he hath of the truth, is ſo ſmall, that it greiveth him to feele his weakneſſe in aſſenting thereto; yet is there in him ſuch a ſure adherence unto that which he doth but faintly and fearefully beleeve, that his ſpirit having once truly taſted the heavenly ſweetneſſe thereof, all the world is not able quite and cleane to remove him from it: but he ſtriveth with himſelfe to hope againſt all reaſon of beleeving, being ſetled with *Iob* upon this unmoveable reſolution, *Though God kill me, I will not give over truſting in him.* For why? This leſſon remaineth for ever imprinted in him, *It is good for me to cleave unto God, Pſal.* 37.

Now the minds of all men being ſo darkned, as they are with the foggie dampe of originall corruption, it cannot be that any mans heart living ſhould be either ſo inlightned in the knowledge, or ſo eſtabliſhed in the love of that wherein his ſalvation ſtandeth, as to be perfect, neither doubting nor ſhrinking at all. If any ſuch were, what doth let why that man ſhould not be juſtified by his owne inherent righteouſneſſe? For righteouſneſſe inherent, being perfect, will juſtifie. And perfect faith is a part of perfect righteouſneſſe inherent; yea a Principall part, the roote and the mother of all the reſt: ſo that if the fruit of every tree be ſuch as the roote is, faith being perfect, as it is if it be not at all mingled with diſtruſt and feare, what is there to exclude other Chriſtian vertues from the like perfections? And then what need we the righteouſneſſe of Chriſt? His garment is ſuperfluous? we may be honourably clothed with our owne robes, if it be thus. But let them beware who challenge to themſelves a ſtrength which they have not, leſt they loſe the comfortable ſupport of that weakeneſſe which indeed they have.

Some ſhew, although no ſoundneſſe of ground, there is, which may be alledged for defence of this ſuppoſed perfection in certaintie touching matters of our faith: as firſt that *Abraham* did beleeve & doubted not: ſecondly, that the ſpirit wch God hath given us to no other end, but only to aſſure us that

that we are the ſons of God; to embolden us to call upon him as our Father, to open our eyes, and to make the truth of things beleeved evident unto our minds, is much mightier in operation than the common light of nature, whereby wee diſcerne ſenſible things: wherefore wee muſt needs bee more ſure of that we beleeve, than of that we ſee; wee muſt needs be more certain of the mercies of God in Chriſt Jeſus, than we are of the light of the Sun when it ſhineth upon our faces. To that of *Abraham, Hee did not doubt*, I anſwer, that this *negation* doth not exclude all fear, all doubting; but only that which cannot ſtand with true faith. It freeth *Abraham* from doubting through *infidelity*, not from doubting through *infirmity*; from the doubting of *unbeleevers*, not of *weak beleevers*; from ſuch a doubting as that whereof the Prince of Samaria is attainted, who hearing the promiſe of ſudden plenty in the midſt of extreme dearth, anſwered, *Though the Lord would make windowes in heaven, were it poſſible ſo to come to paſſe?* But that *Abraham* was not void of all doubting, what need we any other proofe than the plain evidence of his own words? *Gen.* 17. *v.* 17. The reaſon which is taken from the power of the Spirit were effectuall, if God did work like a naturall Agent, as the fire doth enflame, and the Sun enlighten, according to the uttermoſt ability which they have to bring forth their effects. But the incomprehenſible wiſdome of God doth limit the effects of his power, to ſuch a meaſure as ſeemeth beſt unto himſelfe. Wherefore he worketh that certainty in all, which ſufficeth abundantly to their ſalvation in the life to come; but in none ſo great as attaineth in this life unto perfection. Even ſo, O Lord, it hath pleaſed thee, even ſo it is beſt & fitteſt for us, that feeling ſtill our own infirmities, we may no longer breath, than pray, *Adjuva Domine, Help Lord our incredulity.* Of the third queſtion, this, I hope, will ſuffice, being added unto that which hath been thereof already ſpoken. The fourth queſtion reſteth, and ſo an end of this point. 1 King. 7. 2.

That which commeth laſt of all in this firſt branch, to be conſidered concerning the weakneſſe of the Prophets faith, is, *whether hee did by this very thought*, The Law doth faile, *quench the ſpirit, fall from faith, and ſhew himſelfe an unbeleever or no?* The queſtion is of moment, the repoſe and tranquillity of infinite ſouls doth depend upon it. The Prophets caſe is the caſe of many; which way ſoever we caſt for him, the ſame way it paſſeth for all others. If in him this cogitation did extinguiſh grace; why the like thoughts in us ſhould not take the like effect, there is no cauſe. For aſmuch therefore as the matter is weighty, deare and precious, which wee have in hand, it behoveth us with ſo much the greater charineſſe, to wade through it, taking ſpeciall heed both what we build, and whereon wee build, that if our building be pearle, our foundation be not ſtubble; if the doctrine wee teach be full of comfort and conſolation, the ground whereupon we gather it, be ſure: otherwiſe we ſhall not ſave, but deceive both our ſelves and others. In this we know wee are not deceived, neither can wee deceive you, when wee teach that the faith whereby yee are ſanctified, cannot faile; it did not in the Prophet, it ſhall not in you. If it be ſo, let the difference be ſhewed between the condition of unbeleevers and his, in this or in the like imbecillitie and weakneſſe. There was in *Habakkuk*, that which St. *Iohn* doth call the *ſeed of God*, meaning thereby, the *firſt grace* which God powreth into the hearts of them that bee incorporated into Chriſt, which having

ving received, if becauſe it is an adverſarie to ſinne, we doe therefore think we ſinne not both otherwiſe, and alſo by diſtruſtfull and doubtfull apprehending of that, which we ought ſtedfaſtly to beleeve, ſurely, we doe but deceive our ſelves. Yet they which are of God, doe not ſinne either in this, or in any thing any ſuch ſinne as doth quite extinguiſh grace, cleane cut them off from Chriſt Ieſus: becauſe the *ſeed of God* abideth in them, and doth ſhield them from receiving any irremediable wound. Their faith when it is at ſtrongeſt is but weake; yet even then when it is at the weakeſt, ſo ſtrong, that utterly it never faileth, it never periſheth altogether, no not in them who thinke it extinguiſhed in themſelves. There are, for whoſe ſakes I dare not deale ſlightly in this cauſe, ſparing that labour which muſt bee beſtowed to make it plaine. Men in like agonies unto this of the Prophet *Habakkuks*, are through extremitie of grief many times in judgement ſo confounded, that they find not themſelves in themſelves. For that which dwelleth in their hearts they ſeek, they make diligent ſearch and enquire. It abideth, it worketh in them, yet ſtil they aske where? Stil they lament as for a thing which is paſt finding: they mourn as *Rachel*, and refuſe to be comforted, as if that were not, which in deed is; and as if that which is not, were; as if they did not beleeve when they doe; and as if they did deſpaire when they doe not. Which in ſome, I grant, is but a melancholly paſſion proceeding only from that dejection of mind, the cauſe whereof is in the body, and by bodily means can be taken away. But where there is no ſuch bodily cauſe, the mind is not lightly in this mood, but by ſome of theſe three occaſions. One, that judging by compariſon either with other men or with themſelves, at ſome other time more ſtrong, they thinke imperfection to be plaine deprivation, weakneſſe to bee utter want of faith. Another cauſe is; they often miſtake one thing for another. Saint *Paul* wiſhing well to the Church of Rome, prayeth for them after this ſort: *The God of hope fill you with all joy of beleeving*. Hence an errour groweth, when men in heavineſſe of ſpirit, ſuppoſe they lacke faith, becauſe they find not the ſuggered joy and delight which indeed doth accompany faith, but ſo as a ſeparable accident, as a thing that may be removed from it; yea, there is a cauſe why it ſhould be removed. The light would never be ſo acceptable, were it not for that uſuall intercourſe of darkneſſe. Too much hony doth turn to gall, and too much joy even ſpiritually would make us wantons. Happier a great deal is that mans caſe, whoſe ſoul by inward deſolation is humbled, than he whoſe heart is through abundance of ſpirituall delight lifted up, and exalted above meaſure. Better it is ſometimes to go downe into the pit with him, who beholding darkneſſe, and bewailing the loſſe of inward joy and conſolation, cryeth from the bottome of the loweſt hell, *My God, my God, why haſt thou haſt forſaken mee?* than continually to walke arme in arme with Angels, to ſit, as it were, in *Abrahams* boſome, and to have no thought, no cogitation, but, *I thank my God, it is not with me as it is with other men*. No; God will have them that ſhall walke in light, to feele now and then what it is to ſit in the ſhadow of death. A grieved ſpirit therefore is no argument of a faithleſſe mind. A third occaſion of mens miſ-judging themſelves, as if they were faithleſſe when they are not, is; They faſten their cogitations upon the diſtruſtful ſuggeſtions of the fleſh, whereof finding great abundance in themſelves, they gather thereby, ſurely,

Surely, unbeliefe hath full dominion, it hath taken plenarie poſſeſſion of me; if I were faithfull it could not be thus. Not marking the motions of the Spirit and of Faith, becauſe they lye buried and over-whelmed with the contrary: when notwithſtanding as the bleſſed Apoſtle doth acknowledge, that the *Spirit groaneth*, and that God heareth when we do not; ſo there is no doubt, but that our faith may have, and hath her privie operations ſecret to us, yet knowne to him by whom they are. Tell this to a man that hath a minde deceived by too hard an opinion of himſelfe, and it doth but augment his griefe: he hath his anſwer ready; Will you make me thinke otherwiſe than I find, than I feele in my ſelfe? I have throughly conſidered and exquiſitely ſifted all the corners of my heart, and I ſee what there is: never ſeek to perſwade me againſt my knowledge, *I doe not, I know I doe not beleeve.* Well to favour them a little in their weakneſſe: let that be granted which they doe imagine; be it that they are faithleſſe and without beliefe. But are they not grieved for their unbeleife? They are. Doe they not wiſh it might, and alſo ſtrive that it may be otherwiſe? We know they doe. Whence commeth this, but from a ſecret love and liking which they have of thoſe things that are beleived? No man can love things which in his owne opinion are not. And if they thinke thoſe things to be, which they ſhew that they love when they deſire to beleeve them; then muſt it needs be, that by deſiring to beleeve, they prove themſelves true beleevers. For without faith, no man thinketh that things beleeved are. Which argument all the ſubtiltie of infernall powers will never be able to diſſolve. The Faith therefore of true Beleevers, though it have many and grievous down-fals, yet doth it ſtill continue invincible; it conquereth and recovereth it ſelfe in the end. The dangerous conflicts whereunto it is ſubject, are not able to prevaile againſt it. The Prophet *Habbakuk* remained faithfull in weakneſſe, though weake in faith. It is true, ſuch is our weak and wavering nature, we have no ſooner received grace, but we are ready to fall from it: we have no ſooner given our aſſent to the Law that it cannot faile, but the next conceit which we are ready to imbrace, is, that it may, and that it doth faile. Though we find in our ſelves a moſt willing heart to cleave unſeperably unto God, even ſo farre as to thinke unfainedly with Peter, *Lord, I am ready to goe with thee into Priſon and to death:* yet how ſoone and how eaſily, upon how ſmall occaſions are we changed, if we be but a while let alone and left unto our ſelves? The Galatians to day, for their ſakes which teach them the truth in Chriſt, are content if need were to pluck out their own eies, & the next day ready to pluck out theirs which taught them. The love of the Angel to the Church of Epheſus, how greatly enflamed, and how quickly ſlacked? The higher wee flow, the neerer we are unto an ebb, if men be reſpected as meere men, according to the wonted courſe of their alterable inclination, without the heavenly ſupport of the Spirit. Againe, the deſire of our ghoſtly enimie is ſo incredible, and his meanes ſo forcible to over-throw our faith, that whom the bleſſed Apoſtle knew betrothed and made hand-faſt unto Chriſt, to them he could not write but with great trembling: *I am jealous over you with a Godly jealouſie, for I have prepared you to one Husband, to preſent you a pure Virgin unto Chriſt: but I fear, leſt as the Serpent beguiled Eve through his ſubtiltie; ſo your minds ſhould be corrupted from the ſimplicity which is in Chriſt.*

The

The ſimplicity of faith which is in Chriſt, taketh the naked promiſe of God, his bare Word, and on that it reſteth. This ſimplicity the Serpent laboureth continually to pervert, corrupting the mind with many imaginations of repugnancy and contrariety between the promiſe of God, and thoſe things which ſenſe or experience, or ſome other fore-conceived perſwaſion hath imprinted. The word of the promiſe of God unto his people, is, *I will not leave thee, nor forſake thee*: upon this the ſimplicity of faith reſteth, and it is not afraid of famine. But mark how the ſubtiltie of Satan did corrupt the minds of that rebellious generation, whoſe Spirits were not faithfull unto God. They beheld the deſolate ſtate of the Deſart in which they were, and by the wiſdome of their ſenſe concluded the promiſe of God to be but folly: *Can God prepare a Table in the Wilderneſſe?* The word of the promiſe to *Sarah*, was, *Thou ſhalt bear a ſon.* Faith is ſimple, and doubteth not of it: but Satan, to corrupt this ſimplicity of faith, entangleth the mind of the Woman with an argument, drawne from common experience to the contrary: *A woman that is old*; Sarah, *now to be acquainted again with forgotten paſſions of youth!* The word of the promiſe of God by *Moſes* and the Prophets, made the Saviour of the World ſo apparant unto *Philip*, that his ſimplicity could conceive no other Meſſias than *Ieſus* of Nazareth the Sonne of *Ioſeph*. But to ſtay *Nathaniel*, leſt being invited to come and ſee, he ſhould alſo beleeve, and ſo bee ſaved: the ſubtilty of Satan caſteth a miſt before his eyes, putteth in his head againſt this, the common conceived perſwaſion of all men concerning Nazareth; *Is it poſsible that a good thing ſhould come from thence?* This ſtratagem he doth uſe with ſo great dexterity, the minds of all men are ſo ſtrangely bewitched with it, that it bereaveth them for the time of all perceivance of that which ſhould relieve them and be their comfort; yea, it taketh all remembrance from them, even of things wherewith they are moſt familiarly acquainted. The people of Iſrael could not be ignorant, that he which led them through the Sea, was able to feed them in the Deſart: but this was obliterated and put out by the ſenſe of their preſent want. Feeling the hand of God againſt them in their food, they remembred not his hand in the day that he delivered them from the hand of the Oppreſſour. *Sarah* was not then to learn, that *with God all things were poſsible.* Had *Nathaniel* never noted how *God doth chuſe the baſe things of this world, to diſgrace them that are moſt honourably eſteemed?* The Prophet *Habakkuk* knew that the promiſes of grace, protection and favour which God in the Law doth make unto his people, doe not grant them any ſuch immunity as can free and exempt them from all chaſtiſements; he knew, that as God ſaid, *I will continue my mercy for ever towards them*; ſo hee likewiſe ſaid, *Their tranſgreſsions I will puniſh with a rod*: hee knew that it cannot ſtand with any reaſon, we ſhould ſet the meaſure of our own puniſhments, and preſcribe unto God how great or how long our ſufferings ſhall be: he knew that we were blind, and altogether ignorant what is beſt for us; that we ſue for many things very unwiſely againſt our ſelves, thinking wee aske Fiſh, when indeed wee crave a Serpent: hee knew that when the thing we aske is good, and yet God ſeemeth ſlow to grant it, he doth not deny, but defer our petitions, to the end we might learn to deſire great things greatly: all this he knew. But beholding the Land which God had ſevered for his owne people; and ſeeing it abandoned unto Heathen Nations;

Nations; viewing how reproachfully they did tread it down, and wholly make havock of it at their pleasure; beholding the Lords own Royal Seat made an heap of stones, his Temple defiled, the carkasses of his servants cast out for the fowles of the ayr to devour, and the flesh of his meek ones for the beasts of the field to feed upon; being conscious to himself how long and how earnestly he had cryed, *Succour us, O God of our welfare, for the glory of thine owne Name*; and feeling that their sore was still increased: the conceit of repugnancy between this which was objected to his eyes, and that which faith upon promise of the Law did look for, made so deep an impression and so strong, that he disputeth not the matter, but without any further inquirie or search, inferreth as we see: *The Law doth faile.*

Of us, who is here which cannot very soberly advise his brother; Sir, you must learn to strengthen your faith by that experience which heretofore you have had of Gods great goodnesse towards you, *per ea quæ agnoscas præstita, discas sperare promissa:* By those things which you have known performed, learn to hope for those things which are promised. Do you acknowledge to have received much? Let that make you certaine to receive more; *Habenti dabitur, To him that hath, more shall be given.* When you doubt what you shall have, search what you have had at Gods hands. Make this reckning, that the benefits which he hath bestowed, are Bils obligatory, and sufficient Sureties that he will bestow further. His present mercy is still a warrant of his future love, because *whom hee loveth, he loveth unto the end.* Is it not thus? Yet if we could reckon up as many evident, cleer, undoubted signes of Gods reconciled love towards us, as there are years, yea dayes, yea houres past over our heads; all these set together have no such force to confirme our faith, as the losse, and sometimes the only fear of losing a little transitory goods, credit, honour or favour of men, a small calamity, a matter of nothing, to breed a conceit, and such a conceit as is not easily again removed, that we are clean crost out of Gods book, that he regards us not, that he looketh upon others, but passeth by us, like a stranger to whom we are not known. Then we think, looking upon others, and comparing them with our selves; their Tables are furnished day by day; earth and ashes are our bread: They sing to the Lute, and they see their children dance before them; our hearts are heavie in our bodies as lead, our sighes beat as thick as a swift Pulse, our teares do wash the beds wherein we lye: The Sun shineth fair upon their foreheads; we are hanged up like Bottles in the smoke, cast into corners like the sherds of a broken Pot: Tel not us of the promises of Gods favour, tell such as do reap the fruit of them; they belong not to us, they are made to others. The Lord bee mercifull to our weaknesse; but thus it is. Well, let the frailty of our nature, the subtilty of Satan, the force of our deceiveable imaginations be, as we cannot deny but they are, things that threaten every moment the utter subversion of our faith; faith notwithstanding is not hazarded by these things. That which one sometimes told the Senators of Rome, *Ego sic existimabam, P. C. ut patrem sæpe meum prædicantem audiveram, qui vestram amicitiam diligenter colerent, eos multum laborem suscipere, ceterum ex omnibus maximè tutos esse:* As I have often heard my Father acknowledge, so I my selfe did ever think, that the friends and favourers of this State charged themselves with great

labour,but no mans condition ſo ſafe as theirs: the ſame we may ſay a great deal more juſtly in this caſe: our Fathers and Prophets,our Lord and Maſter hath full often ſpoken, by long experience we have found it true; as many as have entred their names in the myſticall book of Liſe, *eos maximum laborem ſuſcipere*,they have taken upon them a labourſome,a toilſome, a painfull Profeſſion; *ſed omnium maximè tutos eſſe*, but no mans ſecuritie like to theirs. *Simon,Simon,Satan hath deſired to winnow thee as wheat*; here is our toyl: *but I have prayed for thee,that thy faith fail not*; this is our ſafety. No mans condition ſo ſure as ours: the Prayer of Chriſt is more than ſufficient both to ſtrengthen us,be we never ſo weak; and to overthrow all adverſary power, bee it never ſo ſtrong and potent. His Prayer muſt not exclude our labour: their thoughts are vain,who think that their watching can preſerve the Citie which God himſelfe is not willing to keep. And are not theirs as vain, who think that God will keep the Citie for which they themſelves are not careful to watch? the Husband-man may not therefore burn his Plough, nor the Merchant forſake his Trade, becauſe God hath promiſed, *I will not forſake thee*. And doe the promiſes of God concerning our ſtability,think you, make it a matter indifferent for us to uſe, or not to uſe the means whereby to attend or not to attend to reading,to pray or not to pray that we fall not into temptation? Surely if we look to ſtand in the faith of the Sons of God,we muſt hourly,continually be providing and ſetting our ſelves to ſtrive. It was not the meaning of our Lord and Saviour in ſaying, *Father,keep them in thy name*,that we ſhould be careleſſe to keep our ſelves. To our own ſafety,our own ſedulity is required. And then bleſſed for ever and ever be that Mothers child,whoſe faith hath made him the child of God. The earth may ſhake,the pillers of the world may tremble under us,the countenance of the Heaven may be appalled,the Sun may loſe his light,the Moon her beauty,the Stars their glory: but concerning the man that truſteth in God, if the fire have proclaimed it ſelfe unable as much as to findge a haire of his head; if Lyons,Beaſts ravenous by nature,and keen with hunger,being ſet to devoure, have as it were religiouſly ador'd the very fleſh of the faithfull man,what is there in the world that ſhall change his heart,overthrow his faith,alter his affection towards God,or the affection of God to him? If I be of this note,who ſhall make a ſeparation between mee and my God? Shall tribulation, or anguiſh, or perſecution, or famine, or nakedneſſe,or perill, or ſword? No; I am perſwaded that neither tribulation,nor anguiſh, nor perſecution, nor famine, nor nakedneſſe,nor perill,nor ſword,nor death,nor life,nor Angels,nor principalities,nor powers, nor things preſent,nor things to come, nor height, nor depth,nor any other creature ſhall ever prevaile ſo far over me. I know in whom I have beleeved; I am not ignorant whoſe precious bloud hath been ſhed for me; I have a Shepheard full of kindneſſe,full of care,and full of power; unto him I commit my ſelfe; his own finger hath engraven this ſentence in the Tables of my heart; *Satan hath deſired to winnow thee as wheat,but I have prayed that thy faith fail not*. Therefore the aſſurance of my hope I will labour to keep as a Jewell unto the end;and by labour,through the gracious mediation of his Prayer,I ſhall keep it.

FINIS.

TWO SERMONS UPON PART OF S. JUDE'S EPISTLE.

By

RICHARD HOOKER,
Sometimes fellow of CORPUS CHRISTI *Colledge in* OXFORD.

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1639.

TO THE WORSHIPFULL M. GEORGE SUMMASTER, Principall of *Broad-Gates Hall* in *Oxford*, HENRY JACKSON wiſheth all happineſſe.

SIR,

YOur kind acceptance of a former teſtification of that reſpect I owe you, hath made me venture to ſhew the World theſe godly Sermons under your name. In which, as every point is worth obſervation, ſo ſome eſpecially are to bee noted. The firſt, that, as the Spirit of Prophecie is from God himſelfe, who doth inwardly heat and enlighten the hearts and minds of his holy Pen-men, (which if ſome would diligently conſider, they would not puzzle themſelves with the contentions of SCOT, *and* THOMAS, Whether God only, or his miniſtring Spirits, do infuſe into mens minds Propheticall Revelations, *per ſpecies intelligibiles*) *ſo God framed their words alſo. Whence the holy Father* [a] *Saint* Auguſtine *religiouſly obſerveth, That all thoſe which underſtand the ſacred Writers, will alſo perceive, that they ought not to uſe other words, than they did, in expreſſing thoſe heavenly Myſteries which their hearts* conceived, *as the* Bleſſed Virgin *did our Saviour*, By the holy Ghoſt. *The greater is* Caſtellio *his offence, who hath laboured to teach the Prophets to ſpeake otherwiſe, than they have already. Much like to that impious King of Spaine,* Alphonſus *the tenth, who found fault with Gods Workes,* [b] Si, *inquit* creationi affuiſſem, mundum meliùs ordinaſſem, *If hee had beene with God at the Creation of the World, the World had gone better, than now it doth. As this man found fault with Gods workes, ſo did the other with Gods Words. But becauſe wee have a* [c] *moſt ſure word of the* Prophets, *to which we muſt* take heed, *I will let his words paſſe with*

[a] *Lib. 4. cap. 6. de doct. Chr.*

[b] *Rob. Tolet. lib. 4. cap. 5.*

[c] *2 Pet. 1.*

d Præf in Orat. D. Reinold.

the wind, having [d] *elſewhere ſpoken to you more largely of his Errours, whom notwithſtanding, for his other excellent parts, I much reſpect.*

You ſhall moreover from hence underſtand, how Chriſtianity conſiſts not in formall and ſeeming puritie (*under which, who knowes not notorious villanie to maske?*) *but in the heart roote. Whence the Author truly teacheth, that* Mockers, *which uſe Religion as a Cloake, to put off and on, as the weather ſerveth, are worſe than Pagans and Infidels. Where I cannot omit to ſhew, how juſtly this kind of men hath beene reproved by that renowned Martyr of Ieſus Chriſt,* B. Latimer, *both becauſe it will be appoſite to this purpoſe, and alſo free that Chriſtian* Worthie *from the ſlanderous reproches of* * *him, who was, if ever any, a* Mocker *of God, Religion, and all good men. But firſt I muſt deſire you, and in you all Readers, not to thinke lightly of that excellent man, for uſing this and the like witty Similitudes in his Sermon. For whoſoever will call to mind, with what* riff-raff *Gods people were fedde in thoſe dayes, when their Prieſts,* [e] *whoſe lips ſhould have preſerved* knowledg, *preached nothing elſe but Dreams, and falſe Miracles of counterfeit Saints, enrolled in that* [f] *ſottiſh* Legend, *coyned and amplified by a drouſie head, betweene ſleeping and waking. He that will conſider this, and alſo how the people were delighted with ſuch toyes (God ſending them ſtrong Deluſions, that they ſhould beleeve lyes) and how hard it would have beene for any man, wholly, and upon the ſuddaine, to draw their minds to another bent; will eaſily perceive, both how neceſſary it was to uſe Symbolicall Diſcourſe, & how wiſely and moderatly it was applyed by the Religious Father, to the end he might lead their underſtanding ſo farre, till it were ſo convinced, informed and ſetled, that it might forget the meanes and way, by which it was led, and thinke onely of that it had acquired. For in all ſuch myſticall ſpeeches, who knowes not, that the end for which they are uſed, is onely to be thought upon?*

* Parſons in 3. Converſ.

e Malac. 2. 7.

f Genus locor. lib. 11. cap. 6. Vives, lib. 2. de corrupt. art. Hard. lib. 4.

This then being firſt conſidered, let us heare the Story, as it is related by [g] *Maſter* Fox: *Maſter* Latimer (*ſaith he*) in his Sermon gave the people certaine Cards out of the fift, ſixt, and ſeventh Chapter of Saint *Matthew*. For the chiefe Triumph in the Cards, he limitted the Heart, as the principall thing that they ſhould ſerve God withall, whereby he quite overthrew all hypocriticall and externall Ceremonies, not tending to the neceſſary furtherance of Gods holy Word and Sacraments. *By this* he exhorted all men to ſerve the Lord with inward heart and true affection, and not with outward Ceremonies; adding moreover to the praiſe of that Triumph,

g Pag. 1903. edit. 1570.

umph, that though it were never ſo ſmall, yet it would take up the beſt Coat-Card beſide in the Bunch, yea, though it were the King of Clubbes, &c. meaning thereby, how the Lord would be worſhipped and ſerved in ſimplicity of the heart, and verity, wherein conſiſteth true Chriſtian Religion, &c. *Thus Maſter* Fox.

By which it appeares, that the holy mans intention was to lift up the peoples hearts to God, and not that hee made a Sermon of playing at Cards, and taught them how to play at Triumph, and played (*himſelfe*) at Cards in the Pulpit, *as that baſe Companion* [h] Parſons *reports the matter, in his wonted ſcurrilous veine of Rayling, whence he calleth it a* [i] Chriſtmaſſe Sermon. *Now hee that will thinke ill of ſuch Alluſions, may out of the abundance of his folly, jeſt at* Demoſthenes, *for his ſtorie of the* [k] *Sheepe, Wolves, and Dogges, and* [l] Menenius, *for his fiction of the Belly. But,* hinc illæ lacrymæ, *The good Biſhop meant, that the Romiſh Religion came not from the* heart, *but conſiſted in outward Ceremonies: Which ſorely grieved* Parſons, *who never had the leaſt warmth or ſparke of honeſty. Whether Biſhop* Latimer *compared the Biſhops to the* Knaves *of* Clubbes *as the fellow interprets him, I know not: I am ſure* Parſons, *of all others, deſerved thoſe Colours; and ſo I leave him.*

h In the third part of 3. converſions of England: in the Examin. of *Foxes* Saints *cap.* 14. §. 53. 54. *p.* 215. i *Sect.* 55. k *Plut. in Demoſthen.* l *Liv. Dec.* 1. *lib.* 2. *an. V. C.* 60.

We ſee then, what inward puritie *is required of all Chriſtians, which if they have, then in* prayer, *and all other Chriſtian duties, they ſhall lift up* pure *hands, as the* [m] *Apoſtle ſpeakes, not as* [n] Baronius *would have it,* waſhed from ſinnes with holy water, *but* pure, *this is* holy, *free from the pollutions of ſin, as the Greek word* ὁσίας *doth ſignifie.*

m 1 Tim. 2. 8. n *Annal to.* 1. *An.* 57. *n.* 109. 110. & *to.* 2. *An.* 132. *num.*

You may alſo ſee here refuted thoſe Calumnies of the Papiſts, that wee abandon all religious Rites, *and godly Duties, as alſo the confirmation of our Doctrine touching certainty of Faith (and ſo of Salvation) which is ſo ſtrongly denied by ſome of that Faction, that they have told the World,* [o] *S. Paul* himſelfe was uncertaine of his owne ſalvation. *What then ſhall we ſay, but pronounce a* woe *to the moſt ſtrict obſeruers of Saint* Francis *rule, and his Canonicall Diſcipline (though they make him euen* [p] *equall with Chriſt) and the moſt meritorious Monke that euer was regiſtred in their Kalender of Saints? But we for our comfort are otherwiſe taught out of the holy Scripture, and therefore exhorted to* build *our ſelues in our moſt* holy faith, *that ſo, when our* [q] earthly houſe of this Tabernacle *ſhall be* deſtroyed, *wee may haue a* building given of

o S. Paulus de ſua ſalute incertus. *Kicheom. Ieſuit. l.* 2. *c.* 12. *Idolat. Huguenot. pag* 119. *in marg. edit. lac. Mogunt.* 113. *interpret. Marcel. Bomper. Ieſuit.* p *Witneſſe the verſes of* Horatius *a Ieſuite, recited by Poſſe. Biblioth. Select. part.* 2. *l* 17. *c.* 19. Exue Franciſcum tunicâ laceroque cucullo, Qui Franciſcus erat, jam tibi Chriſtus erit. Franciſci exuviis (ſi quâ licet) indue Chriſtum, Iam Franciſcus erit, qui modo Chriſtus erat. *The like hath* Bencius *another Ieſuite.*

q 2 Cor. 5. 1.

God,

God, a houſe not made with hands, but eternall in the Heavens.

This is that, which is moſt piouſly and feelingly taught in theſe few leaues, ſo that you ſhall read nothing here, but what I perſwade my ſelfe, you haue long practiſed in the conſtant courſe of your life. It remaineth onely, that you accept of theſe Labours tendered to you by him, who wiſheth you the long joyes of this world, and the eternall of that which is to come.

Oxon. from Corp. Chriſti Colledge,
this 13. of Ianuary, 1613.

TWO SERMONS VPON PART OF S. JUDES EPISTLE.

THE FIRST SERMON.

EPIST. JUDE, VERS. 17,18,19,20,21.

But yee beloved, remember the words which were ſpoken before of the Apoſtles of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt,

How that they told you, that there ſhould be mockers in the laſt time, which ſhould walke after their owne ungodly luſts.

Theſe are makers of Sects, fleſhly, having not the Spirit.

But yee, beloved, edifie your ſelves in your moſt holy faith, praying in the holy Ghoſt.

And keepe your ſelves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, unto eternall life.

THE occaſions whereupon; together with the end wherefore, this Epiſtle was written, is opened in the front and entrie of the ſame. There were then, as there are now, many evill and wickedly diſpoſed perſons, not of the myſticall bodie, yet within the viſible bounds of the Church, men which were of old ordained to condemnation, ungodly men, which turned the grace of our God into wantonneſſe, and denied the Lord Jeſus. For this cauſe the Spirit of the Lord is in the hand of *Iude*, the ſervant of Jeſus, and brother of *Iames*, to exhort them that are called, and ſanctified of God the Father, that they would earneſtly contend to maintaine the faith, which was once delivered unto the Saints. Which faith becauſe we cannot maintaine, except we know perfectly, firſt, againſt whom, ſecondly, in what ſort it muſt be maintained; therefore in the former three verſes of that parcell of Scripture which I have read, the enemies of the Croſſe of Chriſt are plainely deſcribed; and in the latter two, they that love the Lord Jeſus, have a ſweet Leſſon given them, how to ſtrengthen and ſtabliſh themſelves in the faith. Let us firſt therefore examine the deſcription of theſe reprobates, concerning faith

faith; and afterwards come to the words of the exhortation; wherein Christians are taught how to rest their hearts on Gods eternall and everlasting Truth. The description of these godlesse persons is two-fold, *Generall* and *Speciall*. The *generall* doth point them out, and shew what manner of men they should be. The *particular* pointeth at them, & saith plainly; These are they. In the *generall* description we have to consider of these things. *First*, when they were described, *they were told of before*. *Secondly*, the men by whom they were described, *They were spoken of by the Apostles of our Lord Iesus Christ*. *Thirdly*, the daies when they should be manifested unto the world, they told you they *should be in the last time*. *Fourthly*, their dispositiō and whole demeanure, *mockers and walkers after their owne ungodly lusts*.

2. In the third to the Philippians, the Apostle describeth certaine. *They are men* (saith he) *of whom I have told you often, and now with teares I tell you of them, their God is their belly, their glorying and rejoycing is in their owne shame, they mind earthly things*.

These were enemies of the crosse of Christ, enemies whom he saw, and his eyes gusht out with teares to behold them. But wee are taught in this place how the Apostles spake also of enemies, whom as yet they had not seene, described a family of men as yet unheard of, a generation reserved for the end of the world, and for the last time, they had not onely declared what they heard and saw in the dayes wherein they lived, but they have prophesied also of men in time to come. And *you doe well* (saith S. *Peter*) *in that yee take heed to the words of Prophesie, so that ye first know this, that no Prophesie in the Scripture cometh of any mans owne resolution*. No prophecie in Scripture commeth of any mans owne resolution. For all prophecie, which is in Scripture, came by the secret inspiration of God. But there are prophecies which are no Scripture; yea, there are prophecies against the Scripture: my brethren, beware of such prophecies, and take heed you heed them not. Remember the things that were spoken of before; but spoken of before by the Apostles of our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ. Take heed to prophecies, but to prophecies which are in Scripture: For both the manner and matter of those prophesies do shew plainly, that they are of God.

Of the spirit of Prophecie received from God himselfe.

3. Touching the manner, how men by the spirit of prophecie in holy Scripture have spoken and written of things to come, wee must understand, that as the knowledge of that they spake, so likewise the utterance of that they knew, came not by these usuall and ordinary meanes, whereby wee are brought to understand the mysteries of our salvation, and are wont to instruct others in the same. For whatsoever we know, we have it by the hands and ministerie of men, which lead us along like children, from a letter to a syllable, from a syllable to a word, from a word to a line, from a line to a sentence, from a sentence to a side, and so turne over. But God himselfe was their instructor, hee himselfe taught them, partly by Dreames and visions in the night, partly by Revelations in the day, taking them aside from amongst their brethren, and talking with them, as a man would talke with his neighbour in the way. Thus they became acquainted even with the secret and hidden counsels of God. They saw things, which themselves were not able

able to utter, they beheld that whereat men and Angels are aſtoniſhed. They underſtood in the beginning, what ſhould come to paſſe in the laſt daies.

4. God, which lightned thus the eyes of their underſtanding, giving them knowledge by unuſuall and extraordinary means, did alſo miraculouſly himſelfe frame & faſhion their words and writings, in ſomuch that a greater difference there ſeemeth not to be between the manner of their knowledge, than there is between the manner of their ſpeech and ours. When we have conceived a thing in our hearts, and throughly underſtand it, as we think within our ſelves, ere we can utter in ſuch ſort that our brethren may receive inſtruction or comfort at our mouthes, how great, how long, how earneſt meditation we are forced to uſe? And after much travell, and much paines, when wee open our lips to ſpeak of the wonderfull works of God, our tongues do faulter within our mouthes, yea, many times wee diſgrace the dreadfull myſteries of our faith, and grieve the ſpirit of our hearers by words unſavory, and unſeemly ſpeeches. *Shall a wiſe man fill his belly with the Eaſtern wind*, ſaith *Eliphaz*, *ſhall a wiſeman diſpute with words not comely, or with talke that is not profitable?* Yet behold, even they that are wiſeſt among us living, compared with the Prophets, ſeem no otherwiſe to talke of God, than as if the children which are carried in armes, ſhould ſpeak of the greateſt matters of ſtate. They whoſe words do moſt ſhew forth their wiſe underſtanding, and whoſe lips doe utter the pureſt knowledge, ſo long as they underſtand and ſpeak as men, are they not faine ſundrie wayes to excuſe themſelves? Sometimes acknowledging with the wiſe man, *Hardly can wee diſcern the things that are on earth, and with great labour find we out the things that are before us; who can then ſeek out the things that are in heaven?* Sometimes confeſſing with *Iob* the righteous, in treating of things too wonderfull for us, we have ſpoken we wiſt not what. Sometimes ending their talk as doth the Hiſtory of the Machabees, If we have done well, and as the cauſe required, it is that wee deſire: if we have ſpoken ſlenderly and barely, we have done what we could. But *God hath made my mouth like a ſword*, ſaith *Eſay*. And, *we have received*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *not the ſpirit of the world, but the ſpirit which is of God, that wee might know the things which are given to us of God, which things alſo wee ſpeak, not in words which mans wiſdome teacheth, but which the holy Ghoſt doth teach*. This is that which the Prophets meane by thoſe Bookes written full within, and without; which Books were ſo often delivered them to eate, not becauſe God fed them with inke and paper, but to teach us, that ſo oft as hee imployed them in this heavenly work, they neither ſpake nor wrote any word of their owne, but uttered ſyllable by ſyllable as the Spirit put it into their mouthes, no otherwiſe than the Harp or the Lute doth give a ſound according to the diſcretion of his hands that holdeth and ſtriketh it with skill. The difference is onely this: An Inſtrument, whether it bee a Pipe or Harpe, maketh a diſtinction in the Times and Sounds, which diſtinction is well perceived of the hearer: the Inſtrument it ſelfe underſtanding not what is piped or harped. The Prophets and holy men of God not ſo. *I opened my mouth*, ſaith *Ezechiel*, and *God reached mee a ſcroule, ſaying, Sonne of man, cauſe thy belly to eat, and fill thy bowels with this I give thee. I ate, and it was ſweet in my mouth as hony*, ſaith

Of the Prophets manner of ſpeech.

Iob 15. 2, 3.

Wiſd. 9. 16.

Eſay 49. 2.

Ezechiel 3.

ſaith the Prophet. Yea ſweeter, I am perſwaded, than either hony or the hony-combe. For herein they were not like Harps or Lutes, but they felt, they felt the power and ſtrength of their own words. When they ſpake of our peace, every corner of their hearts was filled with joy. When they propheſied of mournings, lamentations and woes to fall upon us, they wept in the bitterneſſe and indignation of ſpirit, the arm of the Lord being mighty and ſtrong upon them.

5. On this manner were all the Propheſies of holy Scripture. Which Propheſies, although they containe nothing which is not profitable for our inſtruction, yet as one Starre differeth from another in glory, ſo every word of Propheſie hath a treaſure of matter in it, but all matters are not of like importance, as all treaſures are not of equall price. The chiefe and principall matter of Propheſie is the promiſe of righteouſneſſe, peace, holineſſe, glory, victory, immortality unto every Soule which beleeveth that Jeſus is Chriſt, of the *Iew* firſt, and of the *Gentile*. Now becauſe the doctrine of ſalvation to be looked for by faith in Him, who was in outward appearance as it had been a man forſaken of God; in Him who was numbred, judged, and condemned with the wicked; in Him whom men did ſee buffetted on the face, ſcoft at by Souldiers, ſcourged by tormentors, hanged on the Croſſe, pierced to the heart; in Him whom the eyes of many witneſſes did behold, when the anguiſh of his ſoule enforced him to roare, as if his heart had rent in ſunder, *O my God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me*? I ſay, becauſe the doctrine of ſalvation by Him, is a thing improbable to a naturall man, that whether we preach it to the *Gentile*, or to the *Iew*, the one condemneth our faith as madneſſe, the other as blaſphemie; therefore to eſtabliſh and confirme the certaintie of this ſaving Truth in the hearts of men; the Lord, together with their preachings, whom he ſent immediately from himſelfe, to reveale theſe things unto the world, mingled Propheſies of things both Civill and Eccleſiaſticall, which were to come in every age, from time to time, till the very laſt of the latter dayes, that by thoſe things wherein wee ſee daily their words fulfilled and done, wee might have ſtrong conſolation in the hope of things which are not ſeen, becauſe they have revealed as well the one as the other. For when many things are ſpoken of before in Scripture, whereof wee ſee firſt one thing accompliſhed, and then another, and ſo a third; perceive we not plainly that God doth nothing elſe but lead us along by the hand, till hee have ſetled us upon the rock of an aſſured hope that not one jot or tittle of his Word ſhall paſſe till all bee fulfilled? It is not therefore ſaid in vaine, that theſe godleſſe wicked ones *were ſpoken of before*.

6. But by whom? By them whoſe words, if men or Angels from heaven gainſay, they are accurſed; by them, whom whoſoever deſpiſeth, deſpiſeth not them, but me, ſaith Chriſt. If any man therefore doth love the Lord Jeſus (and wo worth him that loveth not the Lord Jeſus!) hereby we may know that he loveth him indeed, if he deſpiſe not the things that are ſpoken of by his Apoſtles; whom many have deſpiſed even for the baſeneſſe and ſimpleneſs of their perſons. For it is the property of fleſhly & carnall men, to honour and diſhonour, credit and diſcredit the words & deeds of every

A naturall man perceiveth not heavenly things.

one

man according to that he wanteth or hath without. If a man with gorgeous apparell come amongſt us, although he be a Thiefe or a Murtherer (for there are Theeves and Murtherers in gorgeous apparell) be his heart whatſoever, if his Coat be of Purple, or Velvet, or Tiſſue, every one riſeth up, and all the reverent Solemnities we can uſe, are too little. But the man that ſerveth God, is contemned and deſpiſed amongſt us for his poverty. *Herod* ſpeaketh in Judgement, and the people cry out, *The voyce of God, and not of man.* *Paul* preacheth Chriſt, they terme him a trifler. Hearken, beloved; hath not God choſen the poore of this World, that they ſhould be rich in faith? Hath he not choſen the refuſe of the World to be heires of his Kingdome, which he hath promiſed to them that love him? Hath he not choſen the off-ſcowrings of men to be the Lights of the World, and the Apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt? Men unlearned, yet how fully repleniſhed with underſtanding? few in number, yet how great in power? contemptible in ſhew, yet in Spirit how ſtrong? how wonderfull? *I would faine learne the myſtery of the eternall generation of the Son of God,* ſaith *Hilary*. Whom ſhall I ſeeke? Shall I get me to the Schooles of the *Gracians?* Why? I have read, *Vbi ſapiens? vbi Scriba? ubi conquiſitor hujus ſeculi?* Theſe wiſe men in the world muſt needs be dumbe in this, becauſe they have rejected the wiſedome of God. Shall I beſeech the Scribes and interpreters of the Law, to become my Teachers? how can they know this, ſith they are offended at the Croſſe of Chriſt? It is death for me to be ignorant of the unſearchable myſtery of the Son of God: of which myſtery notwithſtanding I ſhould have been ignorant, but that a poore Fiſherman, unknowne, unlearned, new come from his boat with his clothes wringing wet hath opened his mouth and taught me, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.* Theſe poore ſilly creatures have made us rich in the knowledge of the myſteries of Chriſt.

Iam. 2.

Acts 12.

Acts 17.

7. Remember therefore that which is ſpoken of by the Apoſtles. Whoſe words if the Children of this World doe not regard, is it any marvaile? They are the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus; not of their Lord, but of our. It is true which one hath ſaid in a certaine place, *Apoſtolicam fidem ſeculi homo non capit*, A man ſworne to the World, is not capable of that Faith which the Apoſtles doe teach. What mean the Children of this World then to tread in the courts of our God? What ſhould your bodies doe at *Bethel*, whoſe hearts are at *Bethaven?* The god of this World, whom ye ſerve, hath provided apoſtles and teachers for you, *Chaldeans*, *Wizards*, *Sooth-ſayers*, *Aſtrologers*, and ſuch like: Heare them. Tell not us that ye will ſacrifice to the Lord our God, if we will ſacrifice to *Aſhtaroth* or *Melcom*; that ye will reade our Scriptures, if we will liſten to your Traditions; that if ye may have a Maſſe by permiſſion, we ſhall have a Communion with good leave and liking; that ye will admit the things that are ſpoken of by the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus, if your Lord and Maſter may have his ordinances obſerved, and his Statutes kept. *Solomon* tooke it (as he well might) for an evident proofe, that ſhe did not beare a motherly affection to her Childe, which yeelded to have it cut in divers parts. Hee cannot love the Lord Jeſus with his heart, which lendeth one eare to his Apoſtles, and another to falſe apoſtles: which can brooke to ſee a mingle-

Wee muſt not halt betweene two opinions.

mangle of Religion and Superstition, Ministers and Massing Priests, Light and darkenesse, Truth and Error, Traditions, and Scriptures. No; we have no Lord but Jesus; no Doctrine but the Gospell; no Teachers, but his Apostles. Were it reason to require at the hand of an English Subiect, obedience to the Lawes and Edicts of the Spaniard? I doe marvell, that any man bearing the name of a Servant of the Servants of Jesus Christ, will goe about to draw us from our Allegeance. We are his sworne Subiects; it is not lawfull for us to heare the things that are not told us by his Apostles. They have told us, that in the last dayes there shall be Mockers; therefore we beleeve it; *Credimus quia legimus*, We are so perswaded, because we reade it must be so. If we did not reade it, we would not teach it: *Nam quæ libro Legis non continentur, ea nec nosse debemus*, saith *Hilary*: Those things that are not written in the Booke of the Law, we ought not so much as to be acquainted with them. *Remember the words which were spoken of before of the Apostles of our Lord Iesus Christ.*

8. The third thing to be considered in the description of these men of whom we speak, is the time, wherein they should be manifested to the World. They told you, there should be mockers in the last time. *Noah* at the commandement of God, built an Arke, and there were in it beasts of all sorts, cleane and uncleane. A Husbandman planteth a Vineyard, and looketh for Grapes, but when they come to the gathering, behold, together with Grapes there are found also wild Grapes. A rich man prepareth a great Supper, and biddeth many, but when he sitteth him downe, he findeth amongst his friends here and there a man whom he knoweth not. This hath beene the state of the Church sithence the beginning. God alwayes hath mingled his Saints with faithlesse and godlesse persons; as it were the cleane with the uncleane, Grapes with sowre Grapes, his friends and children with aliens and strangers. Marvell not then, if in the last dayes also ye see the men, with whom you live and walke arme in arme, laugh at your Religion, and blaspheme that glorious Name, whereof you are called. Thus it was in the dayes of the Patriarkes and Prophets; and are we better than our Fathers? Albeit we suppose, that the blessed Apostles, in foreshewing what manner of men were set out for the last dayes, meant to note a calamity speciall and peculiar to the Ages and Generations which were to come. As if he should have said, As God hath appointed a time of Seed for the Sower, and a time of Harvest for him that reapeth, as he hath given unto every herb and every tree his own fruit, and his own season, not the season nor the fruit of another (for no man looketh to gather figges in the winter, because the Summer is the season for them; nor Grapes of Thistles, because Grapes are the fruit of the Vine) so the same God hath appointed sundry for every Generation of them, other men for other times, and for the last times the worst men, as may appeare by their properties, which is the fourth point to be considered of in this description.

Mockers in the last time.

9 They told you, that there should be *mockers*. He meaneth men that shall use Religion as a cloak, to put off, and on, as the weather serveth; such as shal with *Herod* hear the preaching of *Iohn Baptist* to day, and to morrow condescend to have him beheaded; or with the other *Herod* say, they will worship Christ, when they purpose a massacre in their hearts; kisse Christ with *Iudas*, and

Mockers.

and betray Christ with *Iudas*. These are Mockers. For *Ishmael* the sonne of *Hagar* laughed at *Isaac*, which was heire of the promise; so shall these men laugh at you as the maddest people under the Sun, if ye be like *Moses*, choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season. And why? God hath not given them eyes to see, nor hearts to conceive that exceeding recompence of your reward. The promises of salvation made to you are matters wherein they can take no pleasure, even as *Ishmael* tooke no pleasure in that promise, wherein God had said unto *Abraham, in Isaak shall thy seed be called*; because the promise concerned not him, but *Isaac*. They are termed for their impiety towards God, *mockers*, and for the impurity of their life and conversation, *walkers after their owne ungodly lusts*. S. *Peter* in his second Epistle and third Chapter, soundeth the very depth of their impiety: shewing *first*, how they shall not shame at the length to professe themselves prophane, and irreligious, by flat denying the Gospell of Jesus Christ, and deriding the sweet and comfortable promises of his appearing: *secondly*, that they shall not be only deriders of all religion, but also disputers against God, using Truth to subvert the truth; yea Scriptures themselves to disprove Scriptures. Being in this sort *mockers*, they must needs be also followers of *their owne ungodly lusts*. Being Atheists in perswasion, can they choose but bee beasts in conversation? For why remove they quite from them the feare of God? Why take they such paines to abandon and put out from their hearts all sense, all taste, all feeling of Religion? but only to this end and purpose, that they may without inward remorse and grudging of conscience give over themselves to all uncleanesse. Surely the state of these men is more lamentable, then is the condition of Pagans and Turks. For at the bare beholding of Heaven and Earth, the Infidels heart by and by doth give him, that there is an eternall, infinite, immortall, and ever-living God; whose hands have fashioned and framed the World; he knoweth that every house is builded of some man, though he see not the man which built the house, and he considereth, that it must be God, which hath built and created all things; although because the number of his dayes be few, he could not see when God disposed his works of old, when he caused the light of his clouds first to shine, when he laid the corner stone of the earth, and swadled it with bands of water and darkenesse; when he caused the morning star to know his place, and made barres and doores to shut up the Sea within his house, saying, *Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further*: he hath no eye-witnesse of these things. Yet the light of naturall reason hath put this wisedome in his reines, and hath given his heart thus much understanding. Bring a Pagan to the Schooles of the Prophets of God; propheſie to an Infidell, rebuke him, lay the judgements of God before him, make the secret sinnes of his heart manifest, and he shall fall downe and worship God. They that crucified the Lord of Glory, were not so far past recovery, but that the preaching of the Apostles was able to move their hearts and to bring them to this, *Men and brethren, what shall we doe?* *Agrippa*, that sate in judgement against *Paul* for preaching, yeelded notwithstanding thus farre unto him, *Almost thou perswadest me to become a Christian*. Although the Jewes for want of knowledge have not submitted them-

Mockers worse than Pagans and Infidels.

selves to the righteousnesse of God; yet I beare them record, saith the Apostle; *that they have a Zeale.* The *Athenians*, a people having neither Zeale, nor knowledge, yet of them also the same Apostle beareth witnesse, *Ye men of Athens, I perceive ye are* δεισιδαιμονεστέρους, some way religious: but Mockers, walking after their owne ungodly lusts, they have smothered every sparke of that heavenly Light, they have stifled even their very naturall understanding. O Lord, thy mercy is over all thy workes, thou savest Man and Beast! yet a happy case it had beene for these men if they had never beene borne: and so I leave them.

Rom. 10.

10. S. *Iude* having his minde exercised in the doctrine of the Apostles of Jesus Christ, concerning things to come in the last time, became a man of a wise and staid Judgement. *Grieved* he was, to see the departure of many, and their falling away from the Faith, which before they did professe: *grieved*, but not *dismayed*. With the simpler and weaker sort it was otherwise: Their countenance began by and by to change, they were halfe in doubt they had deceived themselves in giving credit to the Gospell of Jesus Christ. S. *Iude*, to comfort and refresh these silly Lambes, taketh them up in his armes, and sheweth them the men at whom they were offended. Looke upon them that forsake this blessed Profession wherein you stand: They are now before your eyes; view them, marke them, are they not carnall? are they not like to noysome carrion cast out upon the earth? is there that Spirit in them which cryeth *Abba* Father in your bosomes? Why should any man be discomforted? Have you not heard that there should be *mockers* in the last time? These verily are they, that now doe separate themselves.

Iudas *vir sapiens et certi judicii.*

11. For your better understanding, what this severing and separating of themselves doth meane, we must know, that the multitude of them which truly beleeve (howsoever they be dispersed farre and wide each from other) is all *one body*, whereof the Head is Christ; *one building*, whereof he is the corner Stone, in whom they as the members of the body being knit, and as the stones of the building, being coupled, grow up to a man of perfect stature, and rise to an holy Temple in the Lord. That which linketh Christ to us, is his meere mercy and love towards us. That which tyeth us to him, is our faith in the promised salvation revealed in the Word of truth. That which uniteth and joyneth us amongst our selves, in such sort that we are now as if we had but one heart and one soule, is our love. Who be inwardly in heart the lively members of this body, and the polished stones of this building, coupled and joyned to Christ, as flesh of his flesh, and bones of his bones, by the mutuall bond of his unspeakable love towards them, and their unfained faith in him, thus linked and fastned each to other by a spirituall, sincere, and hearty affection of love, without any manner of simulation, who be Jewes within, and what their names be, none can tell, save he whose eyes doe behold the secret disposition of all mens hearts. We, whose eyes are too dimme to behold the inward man, must leave the secret judgement of every servant to his owne Lord, accounting and using all men as brethren both neare and deare unto us, supposing Christ to love them tenderly, so as they keepe the profession of the Gospell, and joyne in the outward communion of Saints. Whereof the one doth

doth warrantize unto us their faith, the other their love, till they fall away, and forsake eyther the one, or the other, or both; and then it is no injury to terme them as they are. When they separate themselves, they are ἀνυπεύθυνοι not judged by us, but by their owne doings. Men doe separate themselves eyther by Heresie, Schisme, or Apostasie. If they loose the bond of faith, which then they are justly supposed to doe, when they frowardly oppugne any principall point of Christian doctrine, this is to separate themselves by *Heresie*. If they breake the bond of unity, whereby the body of the Church is coupled and knit in one, as they doe which wilfully forsake all externall communion with Saints in holy exercises purely and orderly established in the Church, this is to separate themselves by *Schisme*. If they willingly cast off, and utterly forsake both profession of Christ, and communion with Christians, taking their leave of all Religion, this is to separate themselves by plaine *Apostasie*. And Saint *Iude*, to expresse the manner of their departure, which by *Apostasie* fell away from the Faith of Christ, saith, they separated themselves: noting thereby, that it was not constraint of others, which forced them to depart, it was not infirmity and weakenesse in themselves, it was not feare of persecution to come upon them, whereat their hearts did faile; it was not griefe of torment, whereof they had tasted, and were not able any longer to endure them. No, they voluntarily did separate themselves with a fully setled and altogether determined purpose never to name the Lord Jesus any more, nor to have any fellowship with his Saints, but to bend all their counsell and all their strength to raze out their memoriall from amongst men.

Three-fold Separation: 1. Heresie. 2. Schisme. 3. Apostasie.

12. Now because that by such examples, not onely the hearts of Infidels were hardned against the Truth, but the mindes of weake Brethren also much troubled, the holy Ghost hath given sentence of these backsliders, that they were carnall men, and had not the Spirit of Christ Jesus, lest any man having an over-weening of their persons, should be over-much amazed and offended at their fall. For simple men not able to discerne their spirits, were brought by their Apostasie thus to reason with themselves. If Christ be the Sonne of the living God, if he have the words of eternall life, if he be able to bring salvation to all men that come unto him, what meaneth this Apostasie, and unconstrained departure? Why doe his servants so willingly forsake him? Babes be not deceived, his Servants forsake him not. They that separate themselves, were amongst his servants, but if they had beene of his Servants, they had not separated themselves. They were amongst us, not of us, saith S. *Iohn*: and S. *Iude* proveth it because they were carnall and had not the Spirit. Will you judge of wheat by chaffe which the wind hath scattered from amongst it? Have the children no bread because the dogs have not tasted it? Are Christians deceived of that salvation they looke for, because they were denied the joyes of the life to come which were no christians? What if they seemed to be Pillars and principall upholders of our faith? What is that to us, which know that Angels have fallen from heaven? Although if these men had been of us indeed, (O the blessednes of a Christian mans estate!) they had stood surer then the angels that had never departed from their place. Whereas now we marvell not at their departure at all, neither are we prejudiced by their falling away;

becauſe they were not of us, ſith they are fleſhly, and have not the Spirit. Children abide in the houſe for ever; they are bond-men and bond-women which are caſt out.

13. It behoveth you therefore greatly every man to examine his owne eſtate, and to try whether you be bond or free, children or no children. I have told you already that we muſt beware we preſume not to ſit as Gods in judgement upon others, and raſhly, as our conceit and fancy doth lead us ſo to determine of this man, he is ſincere, or of that man, He is an hypocrite, except by their falling away they make it manifeſt and knowne that they are. For who art thou that takeſt upon thee to judge another before the time? Judge thy ſelfe. God hath left us infallible evidence, whereby we may at any time give true and righteous ſentence upon our ſelves. We cannot examine the hearts of other men, we may our owne. That we have paſſed from death to life we know it, ſaith Saint *Iohn*, becauſe we love our Brethren: and know ye not your owne ſelves how that Jeſus Chriſt is in you, except ye be Reprobates? I truſt, beloved, we know that we are not Reprobates becauſe our Spirit doth beare us record, that the Faith of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is in us.

Infallible evidence in the faithfull, that they are Gods Children.

14 It is as eaſie a matter for the Spirit within you to tell whoſe ye are, as for the eies of your body to judge where you ſit, or in what place you ſtand. For what ſaith the Scripture? Yee, which were in times paſt ſtrangers and enemies, becauſe your mindes were ſet on evill works, Chriſt hath now reconciled in the body of his fleſh through death, to make you holy, and unblameable, and without fault in his ſight: if you continue grounded and eſtabliſhed in the faith, and be not moved away from the hope of the Goſpell, *Coloſſ.* 1. And in the third to the *Coloſsians*. Ye know, that of the Lord yee ſhall receive the reward of that Inheritance, for yee ſerve the Lord Chriſt. If we can make this account with our ſelves; I was in times paſt dead in treſpaſſes and ſinnes, I walked after the Prince that ruleth in the Ayre, and after the Spirit that worketh in the children of diſobedience; but God, who is rich in mercy, through his great love, wherewith he loved me, even when I was dead, hath quickned me in Chriſt. I was fierce, heady, proud, high-minded; but God hath made me like the childe that is newly weined: I loved pleaſures more then God, I followed greedily the joyes of this preſent World; I eſteemed him, that erected a Stage or Theatre, more then *Solomon* which built a Temple to the Lord; The Harp, Violl, Timbrell, and pipe, men ſingers and women ſingers were at my feaſt; it was my felicity to ſee my children dance before me. I ſaid of every kind of vanity, O how ſweet art thou in my ſoule! All which things now are crucified to me, and I to them: now I hate the pride of life, and pomp of this world; now I take as great delight in the way of thy teſtimonies, O Lord, as in all riches; now I find more joy of heart in my Lord and Saviour, then the worldly-minded man, when his Wheate and Oyle doe much abound: now I taſte nothing ſweet, but the Bread that came downe from Heaven, to give life unto the world: now mine eyes ſee nothing, but Jeſus riſing from the dead: now my eare refuſeth all kinde of melody to heare the Song of them that have gotten victory of the Beaſt, and of his Image, and of his marke, and of the number of his Name, that ſtand

on

on the Sea of Glaſſe, having the Harpes of God, and ſinging the Song of *Moſes* the ſervant of God, & the ſong of the Lambe, ſaying, Great and marvelous are thy Workes, Lord God Almighty, juſt and true are thy wayes, O King of Saints. Surely, if the Spirit have beene thus effectuall in the ſecret worke of our Regeneration unto newneſſe of life; if wee endevour thus to frame our ſelves anew, then wee may ſay boldly with the bleſſed Apoſtle in the tenth to the Hebrewes, *We are not of them which withdraw our ſelves to perdition, but which follow faith to the conſervation of the ſoule.* For they that fall away from the grace of God, and ſeparate themſelves unto perdition, they are fleſhly and carnall, they have not Gods holy Spirit. But unto you, becauſe ye are ſonnes, God hath ſent forth the Spirit of his Sonne into your hearts, to the end ye might know, that Chriſt hath built you upon a Rocke unmoveable; that he hath regiſtred your names in the Booke of life; that he hath bound himſelfe in a ſure and everlaſting Covenant, to be your God, and the God of your children after you, that he hath ſuffered as much, groned as oft, prayed as heartily for you, as for *Peter: O Father, keepe them in thy Name! O righteous Father, the world hath not knowne thee, but I have knowne thee, and theſe have knowne that thou haſt ſent me, I have declared thy name unto them, and will declare it, that the love wherewith thou haſt loved me, may be in them, and I in them.* The Lord of his infinite mercy give us hearts plentifully fraught with the treaſure of this bleſſed aſſurance of faith unto the end.

14. Here I muſt advertiſe all men, that have the teſtimonie of Gods holy feare within their breſts, to conſider how unkindly and injuriouſly our own country-men and brethren have dealt with us by the ſpace of foure and twenty yeares, from time to time, as if we were the men of whom S. *Iude* here ſpeaketh: never ceaſing to charge us, ſome with Schiſme, ſome with Hereſie, ſome with plaine and manifeſt Apoſtaſie, as if we had cleane ſeparated our ſelves from Chriſt, utterly forſaken God, quite abjured Heaven, and trampled all Truth and all Religion under our feet. Againſt this third ſort, God himſelfe ſhall plead our Cauſe, in that day, when they ſhall anſwer us for theſe words, not we them. To others, by whom wee are accuſed for Schiſme and Hereſie, we have often made our reaſonable, and in the ſight of God, I truſt, allowable anſwers. For in the way which they call *Hereſie*, wee worſhip the God of our Fathers, beleeving all things which are written in the Law and the Prophets. That which they call *Schiſme*, we know to be our reaſonable ſervice unto God, and obedience to his voice, which crieth ſhrill in our eares, *Get out of Babylon, my people, that you be not partakers of her ſins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.* And therefore when they riſe up againſt us, having no quarrell but this, wee need not to ſeeke any further for our Apologie, than the words of *Ahiah* to *Ieroboam* and his Armie, 2 *Chron.* 13. O Ieroboam, and *Iſrael*, heare you me, ought you not to know, that the Lord God of Iſrael hath given the Kingdome over Iſrael to David, for ever, even to him and to his ſonnes, by a Covenant of Salt? that is to ſay, an everlaſting Covenant. Jeſuits and Papiſts, heare ye me, ought you not to know, that the Father hath given all power unto the Sonne, and hath made him the only Head over his Church, wherein he dwelleth as an Husband-man in the midſt of his Vineyard, manuring it with the ſweat of his

The Papiſts falſely accuſe us of Hereſie and Apoſtaſie.

Acts 25.

Apoc. 18.

his owne browes, not letting it forth to others? For as it is in the Canticles, *Solomon* had a Vineyard in *Baalhamon*, he gave the Vineyard unto Keepers, every one bringing for the fruit thereof a thousand pieces of Silver; but my Vineyard, which is mine, is before me, saith Christ. It is true, this is meant of the mysticall Head set over the body, which is not seene. But as he hath reserved the mysticall administration of the Church invisible unto himselfe, so he hath commited the mysticall government of Congregations visible to the sonnes of *David*, by the same Covenant; whose sonnes they are, in the governing of the Flocke of Christ, whomsoever the Holy Ghost hath set over them, to goe before them, and to lead them in severall Pastures, one in this Congregation, another in that: as it is written. *Take heed unto your selves, and to all the Flocke, whereof the Holy Ghost hath made you Overseers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his owne bloud.* Neither will ever any Pope or Papist, under the Cope of Heaven, be able to prove the Romish Bishops usurped Supremacy over all Churches, by any one word of the Covenant of Salt, which is the Scripture. For the children in our streets do now laugh them to scorne, when they force, *Thou art* PETER, to this purpose. The Pope hath no more reason to draw the Charter of his universall Authority from hence, then the Brethren had to gather by the words of Christ, in the last of S. *Iohn*, that the Disciple, whom Jesus loved, should not die. *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* saith Christ. Straightwaies a report was raised amongst the Brethren, that this Disciple should not die. Yet Iesus said not to him. He shall not die; but, *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* Christ hath said in the sixteenth of S. *Matthewes* Gospell, to *Simon* the Sonne of *Ionas*; *I say to thee, thou art* Peter. Hence an opinion is held in the world, That the Pope is universall Head of All Churches. Yet Jesus said not, The Pope is universall Head of all Churches; but, *Tu es Petrus*, Thou art *Peter*. Howbeit, as *Ieroboam*, the son of *Nebat*, the servant of *Salomon*, rose up and rebelled against his Lord, and there were gathered unto him vaine men and wicked, which made themselves strong against *Roboam*, the sonne of *Solomon*, because *Roboam* was but a child, and tender-hearted, and could not resist them: So the Sonne of Perdition, and Man of Sinne, being not able to brooke the words of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which forbad his Disciples to be like Princes of Nations, *They beare Rule that are Called Gracious, it shall not be so with you*, hath risen up and rebelled against his Lord, and to strengthen his arme, he hath crept into the houses almost of all the Noblest Families round about him, and taken their children from the Cradle, to be his Cardinals. He hath fawned upon the Kings and Princes of the Earth, and by Spirituall Coozenage hath made them sell their lawfull Authority and Jurisdiction, for Titles of *Catholicus*, *Christianissimus*, *Defensor fidei*, and such like: he hath proclaimed sale of Pardons, to inveagle the ignorant; built Seminaries, to allure young men, desirous of Learning; erected Stewes, to gather the dissolute unto him. This is the rocke whereupon his Church is built. Hereby the man is growne huge and strong, like the Cedars, which are not shaken with the wind, because Princes have beene as children, over-tender-hearted, and could not resist.

Cant. 8. 11.

Act. 20.

The Popes usurped Supremacie.

Concil. de Lector. Cardin. Laurent Surius Com. de reb. gest. a Pio. 5. Francisc. Sansovin de gubernat. Rerum pub. l. 11. cap. de Iud. Mareschal. et Soldan.

Hereby

Hereby it is come to paſſe, as you ſee this day, that the man of Sin doth warre againſt us, not by men of a Language which wee cannot underſtand, but he commeth as *Ieroboam* againſt *Iuda*, and bringeth the fruit of our own bodies to eat us up, that the bowels of the child may be made the mothers grave, that hath cauſed no ſmall number of our Brethren to forſake their Native Country, and with all diſloyaltie to caſt off the yoke of their Allegeance to our dread Soveraigne, whom God in mercy hath ſet over them; for whole ſafegard, if they carried not the hearts of Tygers in the boſomes of men, they would thinke the deareſt blood in their bodies well ſpent. But now, ſaith *Abiah* to *Ieroboam*, yee thinke yee be able to reſiſt the Kingdome of the Lord, which is in the hands of the Sonnes of *David*. Yee be a great multitude, the golden Calves are with you, which *Ieroboam* made you for gods: Have ye not driven away the Prieſts of the Lord, the ſonnes of *Aaron*, and the Levites, and have made you Prieſts like the people of Nations? Whoſoever commeth with a young Bullocke, and ſeven Rams, the ſame may be a Prieſt of them that are no gods. If I ſhould follow the Compariſon, and here uncover the Cup of thoſe deadly and ougly Abominations wherewith this Jeroboam, of whom we ſpeake, hath made the Earth ſo drunke, that it hath reeled under us, I know, your godly hearts would loath to ſee them. For my owne part, I delight not to take in ſuch filth, I had rather take a garment upon my ſhoulders and goe with my face from them, to cover them. The Lord open their eyes, and cauſe them, if it be poſſible, at the length to ſee, how they are wretched, and miſerable, and poore, and blind, and naked! Put it, O Lord in their hearts, to ſeeke white Rayment, and to cover themſelves, that their filthy nakedneſſe may no longer appeare! For, beloved in Chriſt, we bow our knees, and lift up our hands to Heaven in our Chambers ſecretly, & openly in our Churches we pray heartily and hourely, even for them alſo: though the Pope hath given out as a Judge, in a ſolemne declaratorie Sentence of *Excommunication* againſt this Land, That our gracious Lady hath quite aboliſhed *Prayers* within her Realme; and his Schollers, whom hee hath taken from the midſt of us, have in their publiſhed Writings charged us not onely not to have any holy Aſſemblies unto the Lord for Prayer, but to hold a common Schoole of Sinne and Flatterie; to hold Sacriledge to be Gods ſervice; Vnfaithfulneſſe, and breach of promiſe to God, to give it to a ſtrumpet, to bee a vertue; to abandon Faſting; to abhorre Confeſſion; to miſlike with Penance; to like well of Vſurie; to charge none with Reſtitution; to finde no good before God in ſingle life, nor in no well-working; that all men, as they fall to us, are much worſed, and more, than afore, corrupted. I doe not adde one word, or ſyllable, unto that which Mr. *Briſtow*, a man both borne and ſworne amongſt us, hath taught his hand to deliver to the view of all. I appeale to the conſcience of every ſoule, that hath been truly converted by us; Whether his heart were never raiſed up to God by our Preaching; whether the words of our exhortation never wrung any teare of a penitent heart from his eyes; whether his ſoule never reaped any joy, and comfort, any conſolation in Chriſt Jeſus, by our Sacraments, and Prayers, and Pſalmes, and Thankſgiving; whether he were never bettered, but alwaies worſed by us.

O mercifull God! If Heaven and Earth in this caſe do not witneſſe with us, and againſt them, let us be razed out from the Land of the living! Let the Earth on which wee ſtand, ſwallow us quicke, as it hath done *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*! But if we belong unto the Lord our God, and have not forſaken him; if our Prieſts, the ſonnes of *Aaron*, miniſter unto the Lord, and the Levites in their Office; if wee offer unto the Lord every morning and every evening the burnt Offerings, and ſweet Incenſe of
2 Chr. cap. 13. Prayers, and thankſ-givings; if the Bread bee ſet in order upon the pure Table, and the Candleſtick of Gold, with the Lampes thereof, burne every morning; that is to ſay, if amongſt us Gods bleſſed Sacraments be duely adminiſtred, his holy Word ſincerely and daily preached; if we keepe the Watch of the Lord our God, and if ye have forſaken him: then doubt ye not, this God is with us as a Captaine, his Prieſts with ſounding Trumpets
Verſ. 12. muſt crie alarme againſt you; *O yee children of Iſrael, fight not againſt the Lord God of your Fathers, for yee ſhall not proſper.*

THE

THE SECOND SERMON.

EPIST. JUDE, VERS. 17,18,19,20,21.

But yee, beloved, remember the words which were spoken before of the Apostles of our Lord Iesus Christ,

How that they told you, that there should be mockers in the last time, which should walke after their owne ungodly lusts.

These are makers of Sects, sensuall, having not the Spirit.

But yee, beloved, edifie your selves in your most holy faith, praying in the holy Ghost.

And keepe your selves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Iesus Christ, unto eternall life.

HAving otherwhere spoken of the words of Saint *Iude*, going next before, concerning *Mockers*, which should come in the last time, and backsliders, which even then fall away from the faith of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; I am now, by the aid of Almighty God, and through the assistance of his good Spirit, to lay before you the words of Exhortation, which I have read.

2. Wherein first of all, whosoever hath an eye to see, let him open it, and he shall well perceive, how carefull the Lord is for his children, how desirous to see them profit and grow up to a manly stature in Christ, how loth to have them any way mis-led, either by examples of the wicked, or by inticements of the World, and by provocation of the flesh, or by any other meanes forcible to deceive them, and likely to estrange their hearts from God. For God is not at that point with us, that he careth not whether we sinke or swimme. No hee hath written our names in the Palme of his hand, in the Signet upon his finger are we graven, in sentences not onely of Mercie, but of Judgement also, we are remembred. He never revealeth Judgements against the wicked, but he maketh some *proviso* for his children, as it were for some certaine privileged persons; *Touch not mine Anointed, do my Prophets no harme, hurt not the Earth, nor the Sea, nor the Trees, till we have sealed the servants of God in their foreheads.* Hee never speaketh of Godlesse men, but he adjoyneth words of comfort, or admonition, or exhortation, whereby we are moved to rest and settle our hearts on him. In the second to *Timothy*, the third Chapter, *Evill men* (saith the Apostle)

and

and deceivers ſhall waxe worſe and worſe, deceiving, and being deceived. But continue thou in the things which thou haſt learned. And in the firſt to *Timothy*, the ſixt Chapter, *Some men luſting after money, have erred from the faith, and pierced themſelves therewith many ſorrows. But thou, O man of God, flie theſe things, and follow after righteouſneſſe, godlineſs, faith, love, patience, meekneſſe.* In the ſecond to the Theſſalonians, the ſecond Chapter, *they have not received the love of the Truth, that they might be ſaved, God ſhall ſend them ſtrong deluſions, that they may beleeve lies. But we ought to give thanks alway to God for you, brethren, beloved of the Lord, becauſe God hath from the beginning choſen you to ſalvation, through ſanctification of the Spirit, and faith in the Truth.* And in this Epiſtle of S. *Iude*, *There ſhall come mockers in the laſt time, walking after their owne ungodly luſts. But, beloved, edifie ye your ſelves in your moſt holy faith.*

3. Theſe ſweet Exhortations, which God putteth every where in the mouthes of the Prophets and Apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt, are evident tokens, that God ſitteth not in Heaven careleſſe and unmindfull of our eſtate. Can a mother forget her child? Surely, a mother will hardly forget her child. But if a mother be haply found unnaturall, and do forget the fruit of her owne Wombe, yet Gods judgements ſhew plainly, that he cannot forget the man whoſe heart he hath framed and faſhioned anew, in ſimplicity and truth to ſerve and feare him. For when the wickedneſſe of man was ſo great, and the earth ſo filled with cruelties, that it could not ſtand with the righteouſneſſe of God any longer to forbeare, wrathfull ſentences brake out from him, like Wine from a veſſell that hath no vent: *My Spirit* (ſaith he) *can ſtruggle and ſtrive no longer, an end of all fleſh is come before me.* Yet then did *Noah* find grace in the eyes of the Lord, *I will eſtabliſh my Covenant with thee* (ſaith God) *thou ſhalt goe into the Arke, thou, and thy ſons, and thy wife, and thy ſonnes wives with thee.*

Gen. 6. 3. & 13.

Gen. 6. 8. & 18.

4. Do we not ſee what ſhift God doth make for *Lot*, and for his family, in the 19. of Geneſis, leſt the fiery deſtruction of the wicked ſhould overtake him? Over-night the Angels make enquirie, what ſonnes and daughters, or ſonnes in law, what wealth and ſubſtance he had. They charge him to cary out all, *Whatſoever thou haſt in the City, bring it out.* God ſeemeth to ſtand in a kind of feare, leſt ſome thing or other would be left behind. And his will was, that nothing of that which he had, not an hoofe of any beaſt, not a thred of any garment, ſhould be ſinged with that fire. In the morning the Angels faile not to call him up, and to haſten him forward, *Ariſe, take thy wife and thy daughters which are heere, that they bee not deſtroyed in the puniſhment of the City.* The Angels having ſpoken againe and againe, *Lot* for all this lingereth out the time ſtill, till at the length they were forced to take *both him, and his wife, and his daughters by the armes, (the Lord being mercifull unto him)* and to carry them forth, and ſet them without the City.

Gen. 19. 12.

Gen. 19. 15.

Verſe 16.

5. Was there ever any father thus carefull to ſave his child frō the flame? A man would think, that now being ſpoken unto to eſcape for his life, and not to look behind him, nor to tarry in the plain, but to haſten to the mountaine, and there to ſave himſelfe, he ſhould do it gladly. Yet behold, now he is ſo far off from a cheereful and willing heart to do whatſoever is cōmanded him for his own weale, that he beginneth to reaſō the matter, as if God had

had miſtaken one place for another, ſending him to the Hill, when ſalvation was in the Citie. *Not ſo, my Lord, I beſeech thee, Behold, thy ſervant hath found grace in thy ſight, and thou haſt magnified thy mercy which thou haſt ſhewed unto me in ſaving my life. I cannot eſcape in the mountaine, leſt ſome evill take me and I die. Here is a Citie hard by, a ſmall thing; O, let me eſcape thither, (is it not a ſmall thing?) and my ſoule ſhall live.* Well, God is contented to yeeld to any conditions, *Behold, I have received thy requeſt concerning this thing alſo, I will ſpare this Citie for which thou haſt ſpoken; haſte thee, ſave thee there, For I can do nothing till thou come thither.*

6. He could do nothing! Not becauſe of the weakneſſe of his ſtrength (for who is like unto the Lord in power?) but becauſe of the greatneſſe of his mercy, which would not ſuffer him to lift up his arme againſt that Citie, nor to poure out his wrath upon that place where his righteous ſervant had a fancie to remaine, and a deſire to dwell. O the depth of the riches of the mercie and love of God! God is afraid to offend us which are not afraid to diſpleaſe him! God can do nothing till he have ſaved us, which can find in our hearts rather to doe any thing than to ſerve him. It contenteth him not to exempt us, when the pit is digged for the wicked; to comfort us at every mention which is made of reprobates and godleſſe men; to ſave us as the apple of his own eye, when fire commeth down from heaven to conſume the inhabitants of the earth; except every Prophet, and every Apoſtle, and every ſervant whom he ſendeth forth, do come loaden with theſe and the like exhortations, *O beloved, edifie your ſelves in your moſt holy faith; Give your ſelves to prayer in the Spirit, keep your ſelves in the love of God; Look for the mercy of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt unto eternall life.*

7. *Edifie your ſelves.* The ſpeech is borrowed from materiall builders, and muſt be ſpiritually underſtood. It appeareth in the 6. of S. *Iohns* Goſpel by the Jewes, that their mouthes did water too much for bodily food, *Our Fathers*, ſay they, *did eat Manna in the Deſart, as it is writen, Hee gave them bread from Heaven to eat; Lord, evermore give us of this bread!* Our Saviour, to turne their appetite another way, maketh them this anſwer, *I am the bread of life; he that commeth to me, ſhall not hunger, and he that beleeveth in me, ſhall never thirſt.*

8. An uſuall practice it is of Sathan to caſt heapes of worldly baggage in our way, that whilſt wee deſire to heape up gold as duſt, wee may bee brought at length to eſteeme vilely that ſpirituall bliſſe. Chriſt, in the 6. of *Matthew*, to correct this evill affection, putteth us in mind to lay up treaſure for our ſelves in Heaven. The Apoſtle, 1 *Tim.* 3. *chapt.* miſliking the vanity of thoſe women which attired themſelves more coſtly than beſeemed the heavenly calling of ſuch as profeſſed the feare of God, willeth them to cloath themſelves with ſhamefaſtneſſe and modeſtie, and to put on the apparell of good works. *Taliter pigmentatæ, Deum habebitis amatorem*, ſaith *Tertullian*. Put on righteouſneſſe as a garment; in ſtead of Civit, have Faith, which may cauſe a ſavour of life to iſſue from you, and God ſhall be enamoured, he ſhall be raviſhed with your beauty. Theſe are the ornaments, and bracelets, and jewels which inflame the love of Chriſt, and ſet his heart on fire upon his Spouſe.

We ſee how he breaketh out in the Canticles at the beholding of this attire, How faire art thou, and how pleaſant art thou, O my Love, in theſe pleaſures!

9. And perhaps S. *Iude* exhorteth us here not to build our houſes, but our ſelves; foreſeeing by the Spirit of the Almighty, which was with him, that there ſhould bee men in the laſt dayes like to thoſe in the firſt, which ſhould encourage and ſtirre up each other to make Brick and to burn it in the fire, to build Houſes huge as Cities, and Towers as high as Heaven, thereby to get them a name upon Earth; men that ſhould turne out the poor, and the fatherleſſe and the Widow, to build places of reſt for Dogs and Swine in their roomes; men that ſhould lay Houſes of Prayer even with the ground, and make them ſtables where Gods people have worſhipped before the Lord. Surely this is a vanity of all vanities, and it is much amongſt men: a ſpeciall ſickneſſe of this age. What it ſhould mean, I know not, except God have ſet them on work to provide fewell againſt that day when the Lord Jeſus ſhall ſhew himſelfe from Heaven with his mightie Angels in flaming fire. What good commeth unto the owners of theſe things, ſaith *Salomon*, but onely the beholding thereof with their eyes? *Martha, Martha, thou buſieſt thy ſelfe about many things, One thing is neceſſary.* Ye are too buſie, my Brethren, with Timber and Brick; They have choſen the better part, they have taken a better courſe that build themſelves. Yee are the Temples of the living God, as God hath ſaid, I will dwell in them, and will walke in them, and they ſhall be my people, and I will be their God.

Eccle. 5.

10. Which of you will gladly remaine, or abide in a miſ-ſhapen, a ruinous or a broken houſe? And ſhall we ſuffer ſinne and vanity to drop in at our eyes and at our eares, at every corner of our bodies and of our ſoules, knowing that we are the Temples of the holy Ghoſt? Which of you receiveth a Gueſt whom hee honoureth, or whom hee loveth, and doth not ſweep his Chamber againſt his comming? And ſhall we ſuffer the Chamber of our hearts and conſciences to lye full of vomiting, full of filth, full of garbige, knowing that Chriſt hath ſaid, I and my Father will come, and dwell with you? Is it meet for your Oxen to lye in Parlours, and your ſelves to lodge in Cribs? Or is it ſeemly for your ſelves to dwell in your ſeiled Houſes, and the Houſe of the Almighty to lye waſt, whoſe Houſe ye are your ſelves? Doe not our eyes behold, how God every day overtaketh the wicked in their journeyes, how ſuddenly they popp downe into the Pit? how Gods judgements for their times come ſo ſwiftly upon them, that they have not the leaſure to crie Alas? how their life is cut off like a threed in a moment? how they paſſe like a ſhadow? how they open their mouthes to ſpeake, and God taketh them even in the midſt of a vaine or an idle word? And dare wee for all this lie downe, take our reſt, eate our meate ſecurely and careleſly in the midſt of ſo great and ſo many ruines? Bleſſed and praiſed for ever and ever bee his Name, who perceiving of how ſenſeleſſe and heavie metall wee are made, hath inſtituted in his Church a ſpirituall Supper, and an holy Communion to be celebrated often, that wee might thereby be occaſioned often to examine theſe buildings of ours, in what caſe they ſtand. For ſith God doth not dwell

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

dwell in Temples which are uncleane, ſith a Shrine cannot be a Sanctuarie unto him; and this Supper is received as a ſeale unto us, that we are his Houſe and his Sanctuarie; that his Chriſt is as truely united to mee, and I to him, as my arme is united and knit unto my ſhoulder; that He dwelleth in me as verily, as the elements of Bread and Wine abide within me; which perſwaſion, by receiving theſe dreadfull myſteries, we profeſſe our ſelves to have a due comfort, if truly; and if in hyprocriſie, then woe worth us. Therefore ere we put forth our hands to take this bleſſed Sacrament, we are charged to examine and to trie our hearts, whether God be in us of a truth, or no: and if by faith and love unfained we be found the Temples of the holy Ghoſt, then to iudge, whether we have had ſuch regard every one to our building, that the Spirit which dwelleth in us hath no way bin vexed, moleſted, and greived: or if it have, as no doubt ſometimes it hath by incredulitie, ſometimes by breach of charity, ſometimes by want of zeal, ſometimes by ſpots of life, even in the beſt and moſt perfect amongſt us (for who can ſay, his heart is cleane?) O then, to flye unto God by unfained repentance, to fall downe before him in the humilitie of our ſoules, begging of him whatſoever is needfull to repaire our decayes, before we fall into that deſolation whereof the Prophet ſpeaketh, ſaying, *Thy breach is great like the Sea, who can heale thee?* *Lam.2.13.*

11. Receiving the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord after this ſort, (you that are Spirituall, judge what I ſpeake) is not all other Wine like the Water of *Marah*, being compared to the Cup, which we bleſſe? Is not *Manna* like to gall, and our bread like to *Manna*? Is there not a taſt, a taſt of Chriſt Jeſus, in the heart of him that eateth? Doth not he which drinketh, behold plainly in this Cup, that his ſoule is bathed in the bloud of the Lambe? O beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, if yee will taſt how ſweet the Lord is, if yee will receive the King of Glorie, *Build your ſelves.*

12. *Young men*, I ſpeak this to you; for ye are his Houſe becauſe by faith ye are Conquerours over *Satan*, and have overcome that evill. *Fathers*, I ſpeake it alſo to you; ye are his Houſe, becauſe ye have knowne him, which is from the beginning. Sweet *Babes*, I ſpeake it even to you alſo; ye are his Houſe, becauſe your ſinnes are forgiven you for his Names ſake. *Matrons* and *Siſters*, I may not hold it from you; ye are alſo the Lords building, and, as S. *Peter* ſpeaketh, heires of the grace of life as well as we. Though it be forbidden you to open your mouthes in publicke Aſſemblies, yet ye muſt be inquiſitive in things concerning this building, which is of God, with your husbands and friends at home; not as *Dalilah* with *Sampſon*, but as *Sara* with *Abraham*, whoſe daughters ye are, whilſt ye do well, and build your ſelves.

13 Having ſpoken thus farre of the Exhortation, as whereby we are called upon to edifie and build our ſelves; it remaineth now, that we conſider the thing preſcribed, namely, where in we muſt be built. This preſcription ſtandeth alſo upon two Points, the *thing* preſcribed, and the *adjuncts* of the *thing*. And that is our moſt pure and *holy faith*.

14. The thing preſcribed is *Faith*. For as in a chaine, which is made of many links, if you pul the firſt, you draw the reſt; and as in a Ladder of many

ſtaves, if you take away the loweſt, all hope of aſcending to the higheſt will be remooved: So, becauſe all the Precepts and Promiſes in the Law and in the Goſpell do hang upon this, *Beleeve*; and becauſe the laſt of the graces of God doth ſo follow the firſt, that he glorifyeth none, but whom hee hath juſtified, nor juſtifyeth any, but whom he hath called to a true, effectuall, and lively faith in Chriſt Jeſus; therefore S. *Iude* exhorting us to *build our ſelves*, mentioneth here expreſly only faith, as the thing wherein we muſt be edified, for that faith is the ground and the glorie of all the wel-fare of this building.

15. *Ye are not ſtrangers and forainers, but Citizens with the Saints, and of the houſhold of God* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *and are built upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles, Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe being the chiefe corner Stone, in whom all the building being coupled together, groweth unto an holy Temple in the Lord, in whom ye alſo are built together to be the habitation of God by the Spirit.* And we are the habitation of God by the Spirit, if we beleeve. For it is written, Whoſoever confeſſeth, that Jeſus is the ſonne of God, in him God dwelleth, and he in God. The ſtrength of this habitation is great; it prevaileth againſt Sathan; it conquereth Sin; it hath Death in deriſion; neither Principalities nor Powers can throw it downe; it leadeth the World captive, and bringeth every enimie, that riſeth up againſt it, to confuſion and ſhame, and all by faith; for this is the victorie that overcommeth the World, even our faith. Who is it that overcommeth the World, but he which beleeveth, that Jeſus is the Sonne of God?

Ephes. 2.

16. The ſtrength of every Building, which is of God, ſtandeth not in any mans armes, or legges; it is onely in our faith, as the valour of *Samſon* lay onely in his haire. This is the reaſon, why we are ſo earneſtly called upon to *edifie our ſelves in faith*. Not as if this bare action of our minds, whereby we beleeve the Goſpel of Chriſt, were able in it ſelfe, as of it ſelfe, to make us unconquerable, and invincible, like ſtones, which abide in the building for ever, and fall not out. No, it is not the worthineſſe of our beleeving, it is the vertue of him in whom we beleeve by which we ſtand ſure, as houſes that are builded upon a Rocke. He is a wiſe man which hath builded his houſe upon a Rock; for he hath choſen a good foundation, & no doubt his houſe wil ſtand; But how ſhall it ſtand? Verily, by the ſtrength of the Rock which beareth it, and by nothing elſe. Our fathers, whom God delivered out of the Land of Ægypt, were a people that had no Peers amongſt the Nations of the Earth, becauſe they were built by faith upon the Rocke, which Rock is Chriſt. *And the Rock* (ſaith the Apoſtle in the firſt to the Corinthians, the tenth Chapter) *did follow them*. Whereby we learne not onely this, that being built by faith on Chriſt as on a Rock, and grafted into him as in a Olive, we receive all our ſtrength and fatneſſe from him; but alſo, that this ſtrength and fatneſſe of ours ought to be no cauſe why we ſhould be high-minded, and not worke out our ſalvation with a reverent trembling, and holy feare. For if thou boaſteſt thy ſelfe of thy faith, know this, That Chriſt choſe his Apoſtles, his Apoſtles choſe not him; that Iſrael followed not the Rock, but the Rock followed Iſrael; and that thou beareſt not the Root, but the Root thee. So that every heart muſt thus thinke, and every tongue muſt thus ſpeake, *Not unto us O Lord, not unto us,*

1. Iohn 4.
1. Iohn 5.

Mat. 7.

Rom. 11.

us, nor unto any thing which is within us, but unto thy Name only, only to thy Name belongeth all the praiſe of all the Treaſures and Riches of every Temple which is of God. This excludeth all boaſting and vaunting of our faith.

17. But this muſt not make us careleſſe to edifie our ſelves in faith. It is the Lord that delivereth mens ſoules from death, but not except they put their truſt in his mercie. It is God that hath given us eternall life, but no otherwiſe than thus, If we beleeve in the Name of the Sonne of God; for he that hath not the Sonne of God, hath not life. It was the Spirit of the Lord which came upon *Sampſon*, and made him ſtrong to teare a Lyon as a man would rend a Kid: but his ſtrength forſook him, and he became like other men when the Razor had touched his head. It is the power of God whereby the faithfull have ſubdued Kingdomes, wrought righteouſneſſe, obtained the promiſes, ſtopped the mouthes of Lyons, quenched the violence of fire, eſcaped the edge of the ſword: But take away their faith, and doth not their ſtrength forſake them? are they not like unto other men? 1 Iohn 5.

18. If yee deſire yet farther to know how neceſſary and needfull it is that we edifie and build up our ſelves in faith, mark the words of the bleſſed Apoſtles, *without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God*. If I offer unto God all the Sheep and Oxen that are in the world, if all the Temples that were builded ſince the dayes of *Adam* till this houre, were of my foundation, if I break my very heart with calling upon God, and weare out my tongue with Preaching, if I ſacrifice my body and my ſoule unto him, *and have no faith*, all this availeth nothing. *without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God*. Our Lord and Saviour therefore being asked in the ſixt of S. *Iohns* Goſpel, *What ſhall we do that we might work the works of God?* maketh anſwer, *This is the work of God, that ye beleeve in him whom he hath ſent*. No pleaſing of God without faith.

19. That no work of ours, no building of our ſelves in any thing can be available or profitable unto us, except we be edified and built in faith; what need wee to ſeek about for long proofe? Looke upon Iſrael, once the very choſen and peculiar of God, to whom the adoption of the faithfull, and the glory of Cherubins, and the covenants of mercy, and the law of *Moſes*, and the ſervice of God, and the promiſes of Chriſt were made impropriate, who not only were the off-ſpring of *Abraham*, father unto all them which doe beleeve, but Chriſt their off-ſpring, which is God to be bleſſed for evermore.

20. Conſider this people, and learne what it is to *build your ſelves in faith*. They were the Lords Vine: he brought it out of Egypt, hee threw out the Heathen from their places, that it might bee planted; hee made roome for it, and cauſed it to take root, till it had filled the earth; the mountains were covered with the ſhadow of it, and the boughes thereof were as the goodly Cedars; ſhee ſtretched out her branches unto the ſea, and her boughs unto the river. But when God having ſent both his Servants and his Sonne to viſite this Vine, they neither ſpared the one, nor received the other, but ſtoned the Prophets, and crucified the Lord of glory which came unto them; then began the curſe of God to come upon them, even the curſe whereof the Prophet *David* hath ſpoken, ſaying, *Let*

Pſal.69. Rom.11. *their table bee made a ſnare, and a net, and a ſtumbling block, even for a recompence unto them, let their eyes be darkned, that they doe not ſee, bow downe their backs for ever*, keep them down. And ſithence the houre that the meaſure of their infidelity was firſt made up, they have been ſpoyled with warres, eaten up with plagues, ſpent with hunger and famine; they wander from place to place, and are become the moſt baſe and contemptible people that are under the Sun. *Ephraim*, which before was a terrour unto Nations, and they trembled at his voice, is now by infidelity ſo vile, that he ſeemeth as a thing caſt out to be trampled under mens feet. In the midſt of theſe Pſal.18.14. deſolations they cry, *Returne, we beſeech thee, O God of hoſts, look downe from heaven, behold and viſit this Vine:* but their very prayers are turned into ſin, and their cryes are no better than the lowing of beaſts before him. *Well*, Rom.11.20. ſaith the Apoſtle, *by their unbeliefe they are broken off, and thou doſt ſtand by thy faith. Behold therefore the bountifulneſſe, and ſeverity of God; towards them* Verſe 22. *ſeverity, becauſe they have falne; bountifulneſſe towards thee, if thou continue in his bountifulneſſe, or elſe thou ſhalt bee cut off.* If they forſake their unbeleefe, and be grafted in againe, and we at any time for the hardneſſe of our hearts bee broken off, it will bee at ſuch a judgement as will amaze all the powers and principalities which are above. Who hath ſearched the counſell of God concerning this ſecret? and who doth not ſee that *infidelitie* doth threaten *Lo-ammi* unto the Gentiles, as it hath brought *Lo-ruchama* upon the Jewes? It may be that theſe words ſeem dark unto you. But the words of the Apoſtle in the eleventh to the *Romans*, are plain enough, *If God have not ſpared the naturall branches, take heed*, take heed *leſt he ſpare not thee*. Build thy ſelfe in faith. Thus much of the thing which is preſcribed, and wherein wee are exhorted to edifie our ſelves. Now conſider the *conditions* and *properties* which are in this place annexed unto faith. The former of them (for there are but two) is this, *Edifie your ſelves in your faith.*

Hoſ.1.9. not my people. Ver.6. not obtaining mercy.

21. A ſtrange, and a ſtrong deluſion it is wherewith the *man of ſin* hath bewitched the world; a forcible ſpirit of errour it muſt needs be which hath brought men to ſuch a ſenſeleſſe and unreaſonable perſwaſion as this is, not only that men cloathed with mortality and ſinne, as we our ſelves are, can do God ſo much ſervice as ſhall bee able to make a full and a perfect ſatisfaction before the Tribunall ſeat of God for their owne ſins; yea, a great deale more than is ſufficient for themſelves: but alſo that a man at the hands of a Biſhop or a Pope, for ſuch or ſuch a price, may buy the *over-plus* of other mens merits, purchaſe the fruits of other mens labours, and build his ſoule by another mans faith. Is not this man drowned in the gall of bitterneſſe? Is his heart right in the ſight of God? Can hee have any part or fellowſhip with *Peter*, and with the *Succeſſors of Peter*, which thinketh ſo vilely of building the precious Temples of the holy Ghoſt? Let his money periſh with him, and he with it, becauſe he judgeth that the gift of God may be ſold for money.

22. But, Beloved in the Lord, deceive not your ſelves, neither ſuffer yee your ſelves to bee deceived: ye can receive no more eaſe nor comfort for your ſoules by another mans faith, than warmth for your bodies by another mans clothes, or ſuſtenance by the bread which another doth

eat.

eat. The juſt ſhall live by his *owne faith*. *Let a Saint, yea a Martyr content himſelfe, that he hath cleanſed himſelfe of his owne ſinnes*, ſaith *Tertullian*. No *Saint* or *Martyr* can cleanſe himſelfe of his owne ſinnes. But if ſo bee a *Saint* or a *Martyr* can cleanſe himſelfe of his owne ſinnes, it is ſufficient that hee can doe it for himſelfe. Did ever any man by his death deliver another man from death, except onely the Sonne of God? He indeed was able to *Safe-conduct* a Thiefe from the Croſſe to Paradiſe: for to this end he came, that being himſelfe pure from ſinne, hee might obey for ſinners. Thou which thinkeſt to doe the like, and ſuppoſeſt that thou canſt juſtifie another by thy righteouſneſſe, if thou be without ſinne, then lay down thy life for thy brother; die for me. But if thou bea ſinner, even as I am a ſinner, how can the Oyle of thy Lampe be ſufficient both for thee and for me? *Virgins* that are wiſe, get yee Oyle, while yee have day, into your owne Lamps. For out of all peradventure, others, though they would, can neither give nor ſell. Edifie your ſelves in your *owne* moſt holy faith. And let this be obſerved for the firſt *propertie* of that wherein wee ought to edifie our ſelves.

23. Our faith being ſuch, is that indeed which S. *Iude* doth here term *Faith*; namely, a thing moſt *holy*. The reaſon is this, Wee are juſtified by *Faith*. For *Abraham* beleeved, and this was imputed unto him for righteouſneſſe. Being juſtified, all our iniquities are covered; God beholdeth us in the righteouſneſſe which is imputed, and not in the ſins which wee have committed.

24. It is true, we are full of ſin, both *originall* and *actuall*; whoſoever denyeth it, is a double ſinner, for he is both a *ſinner* and a *lyer*. To deny ſinne, is moſt plainly and cleerly to prove it, becauſe hee that ſaith hee hath no ſinne, lyeth, and by lying proveth that he hath ſinne.

25. But *imputation* of righteouſneſſe hath covered the ſinnes of every ſoule which beleeveth; God by pardoning our ſin, hath taken it away: So that now, although our tranſgreſſions bee multiplyed above the haires of our heads, yet being juſtified, we are as free, and as cleere, as if there were no one ſpot or ſtain of any uncleanneſſe in us. For it is God that juſtifieth; and who ſhall lay any thing to the charge of Gods choſen? ſaith the Apoſtle in the eighth chapter to the *Romans*.

26. Now ſin being taken away, wee are made the righteouſneſſe of God in Chriſt. For *David* ſpeaking of this righteouſneſſe, ſaith, *Bleſſed is the man whoſe iniquities are forgiven*. No man is bleſſed but in the righteouſneſſe of God. Every man whoſe ſin is taken away, is bleſſed. Therefore every man whoſe ſin is covered, is made the righteouſneſſe of God in Chriſt. This righteouſneſſe doth make us to appear moſt holy, moſt pure, moſt unblameable before him.

27. This then is the ſumme of that which I ſay: Faith doth juſtifie; Juſtification waſheth away ſinne; Sinne removed, wee are cloathed with the righteouſneſſe which is of God; the righteouſneſſe of God maketh us moſt holy. Every of theſe I have proved by the teſtimony of Gods own mouth. Therefore I conclude, that faith is that which maketh us moſt holy; in conſideration whereof, it is called in this place, *Our moſt holy Faith*.

28. To

28. To make a wicked and a ſinfull man moſt holy through his beleeving, is more than to create a World of nothing. Our faith moſt holy! Surely, *Salomon* could not ſhew the Queen of *Saba* ſo much treaſure in all his Kingdome, as is lapt up in theſe words. O that our hearts were ſtretched out like tents, and that the eyes of our underſtanding were as bright as the Sun, that we might throughly know the riches of the glorious inheritance of the Saints, and what is the exceeding greatneſſe of his power towards us, whom he accepteth for pure, and moſt holy through our beleeving. O that the Spirit of the Lord would give this doctrine entrance into the ſtony and brazen heart of the Jew, which followeth the Law of Righteouſneſſe, but cannot attaine unto the righteouſneſſe of the Law! Wherefore? ſaith the Apoſtle; They ſeek righteouſneſſe, and not by faith; Wherefore they ſtumble at Chriſt, they are bruiſed, ſhivered to peeces as a Ship that hath runne her ſelfe upon a Rock. O that God would caſt down the eyes of the proud, and humble the ſoules of the high-minded! that they might at the length abhorre the garments of their owne fleſh, which cannot hide their nakedneſſe, and put on the faith of Chriſt Jeſus, as hee did put it on which hath ſaid; *Doubtleſſe I think all things but loſſe, for the excellent knowledge ſake of Chriſt Ieſus my Lord, for whom I have counted all things loſſe, and doe judge them to be dung, that I might winne Chriſt, and might be found in him, not having mine own righteouſneſſe which is of the Law, but that which is through the faith of Chriſt, even the righteouſneſſe which is of God through faith.* O that God would open the Arke of mercie, wherein this doctrine lyeth, and ſet it wide before the eyes of poor afflicted conſciences, which flye up and down upon the water of their afflictions, and can ſee nothing but onely the gulfe and deluge of their ſinnes, wherein there is no place for them to reſt their feet. The God of pitie and compaſſion give you all ſtrength and courage, every day, and every houre, and every moment, to build and edifie your ſelves in this moſt pure and holy faith. And thus much both of the thing preſcribed in this Exhortation, and alſo of the properties of the thing, *Build your ſelves in your moſt holy faith.* I would come to the next branch, which is of *Prayer*, but I cannot lay this matter out of my hands till I have added ſomewhat for the applying of it both to others and to our ſelves.

29. For your better underſtanding of matters contained in this Exhortation, *Build your ſelves*, you muſt note, that every Church and Congregation doth conſiſt of a multitude of Beleevers, as every houſe is built of many ſtones. And although the nature of the myſticall body of the Church be ſuch, that it ſuffereth no diſtinction in the inviſible members, but whether it bee *Paul* or *Apollos*, Prince or Prophet, hee that is taught or hee that teacheth, all are equally Chriſts, and Chriſt is equally theirs: yet in the externall adminiſtration of the Church of God, becauſe God is not the author of confuſion, but of peace, it is neceſſary that in every Congregation there bee a diſtinction, if not of inward dignitie, yet of outward degree; ſo that all are Saints, or ſeeme to bee Saints, and ſhould be as they ſeeme; But are all Apoſtles? If the whole bodie were an eye, where were then the hearing? God therefore hath given ſome to bee Apoſtles, and ſome to be Paſtours, &c. for the edification of the bodie of Chriſt,

Christ. In which work, we are Gods labourers (saith the Apostle) and ye are Gods husbandry, and Gods building.

30. The Church respected with reference unto administration Ecclesiasticall, doth generally consist but of two sorts of men, the *Labourers*, and the *Building*; they which are ministred unto, and they to whom the work of the Ministery is committed; *Pastours*, and the *Flock* over whom the holy Ghost hath made them Overseers. If the *Guide* of a Congregation, be his name or his degree whatsoever, be diligent in his vocation, feed the flock of God which dependeth upon him, caring for it, not by constraint, but willingly, not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind, not as though he would tyrannize over Gods heritage, but as a patterne unto the flock, wisely guiding them: if the people in their degree doe yeeld themselves frameable to the truth, not like rough stone or flint, refusing to be smoothed & squared for the building: if the Magistrate do carefully and diligently survey the whole order of the work, providing by statutes and lawes, and bodily punishments, if need require, that all things may be done according to the rule which cannot deceive, even as *Moses* provided that all things might be done according to the pattern which he saw in the Mount; there the words of this exhortation are truly and effectually heard. Of such a Congregation every man will say, *Behold a people that are wise, a people that walke in the Statutes and Ordinances of their God, a people full of knowledge and understanding, a people that have skill in building themselves.* Where it is otherwise, there, *as by slothfulnesse the roofe doth decay*; and as *by idlenesse of hands the house droppeth thorow*, as it is in the 10. of Ecclesiastes, ver. 18. so first one piece, and then another of their building shall fall away, till there be not a stone left upon a stone.

31. We see how fruitlesse this exhortation hath beene to such as bend all their travell only to build and manage a *Papacie* upon earth, without any care in the world of building themselves in their most holy faith. Gods people have enquired at their mouthes, *What shall we do to have eternall life?* Wherein shall wee build and edifie our selves? And they have departed home from their Prophets, and from their Priests, laden with doctrines which are precepts of men; they have been taught to tyre out themselves with bodily exercise; those things are injoyned them which God did never require at their hands, and the things he doth require are kept from them; their eyes are fed with pictures, and their ears filled with melodie, but their soules doe wither, and starve, and pine away; they cry for bread, and behold, stones are offered them; they aske for fish, and see, they have Scorpions in their hands. Thou seest, O Lord, that they build themselves, but not in faith; they feed their children, but not with food; Their Rulers say with shame, Bring, and not build. But God is righteous; their drunkennesse stinketh, their abominations are known, their madnesse is manifest, the wind hath bound them up in her wings, and they shall bee ashamed of their doings. *Ephraim*, saith the Prophet, is joyned to Idols, let him alone. I will turne me therefore from the Priests which doe minister unto Idols, and apply this exhortation to them, whom God hath appointed to feed his chosen in Israel.

32. If there be any feeling of Christ, any drop of heavenly dew, or any sparke

ſparke of Gods good Spirit within you, ſtirre it up, be carefull to build and edifie, firſt your ſelves, and then your flockes in this moſt holy faith.

* Careleſſe.

33. I ſay, *firſt your ſelves*; For, he which will ſet the hearts of other men on fire, with the love of Chriſt, muſt himſelfe burne with love. It is want of faith in our ſelves, my Brethren, which maketh us * wretchleſſe in building others: We forſake the Lords inheritance, and feed it not. What is the reaſon of this? Our owne deſires are ſettled where they ſhould not be. We our ſelves are like thoſe women which have a longing to eate coales, and lime, and filth; we are fed, ſome with honour, ſome with eaſe, ſome with wealth; the Goſpell waxeth lothſome and unpleaſant in our taſte; how ſhould we then have a care to feed others with that, which we cannot fancie our ſelves! If *faith* waxe cold and ſlender, in the *heart* of the *Prophet*, it will ſoone periſh from the eares of the people. The Prophet *Amos* ſpeaketh of a famine, ſaying, *I will ſend a famine in the Land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirſt of water, but of hearing the Word of the Lord. Men ſhall wander from ſea to ſea, and from the North unto the Eaſt ſhall they runne to and fro, to ſeeke the Word of the Lord; and ſhall not finde it. Iudgement muſt beginne at the houſe of God*, ſaith *Peter*. Yea, I ſay, at the Sanctuarie of God, this judgement muſt beginne. This famine muſt beginne at the heart of the Prophet. He muſt have darkneſſe for a viſion, he muſt ſtumble at noone dayes, as at the twi-light, and then truth ſhall fall in the middeſt of the ſtreets, then ſhall the people wander from ſea to ſea, and from the North, unto the Eaſt ſhall they runne to and fro, to ſeeke the Word of the Lord.

Amos 8. 11.

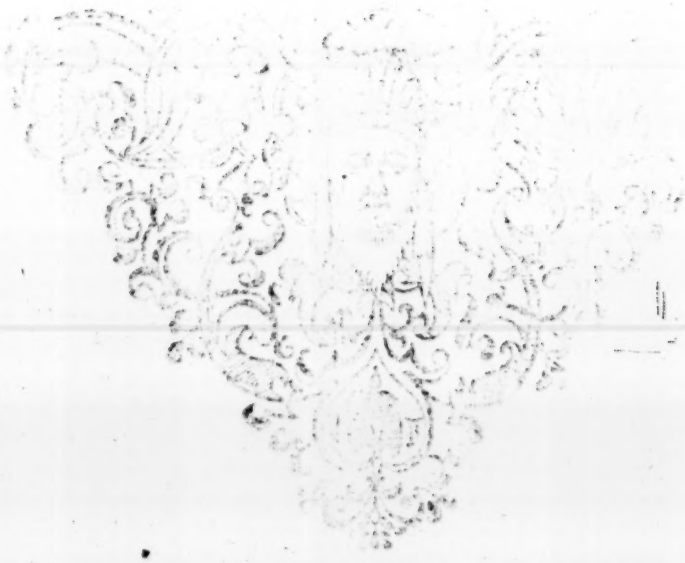
Verſ. 12.

1. *Pet.* 4. 17.

34 In the ſecond of *Haggai*, *Speake now*, ſaith God to his Prophet, *Speake now to* Zerubbabel, *the ſonne of* Shealtiel, *Prince of Iudah, and to* Jehoſhua, *the ſonne of* Jehozadak *the high Prieſt, and to the reſidue of the people, ſaying, Who is left among you, that ſaw this houſe in her firſt glorie, and how doe you ſee it now? Is not this houſe in your eies, in compariſon of it, as nothing?* The Prophet would have all mens eies turned to the view of themſelves, every ſort brought to the conſideration of their preſent ſtate. This is no place to ſhew what duty *Zerubbabel* or *Ieſhoſhua* doth owe unto God in this reſpect. They have, I doubt not, ſuch as put them here of in remembrance. Iaske of you, which are a part of the reſidue of Gods Elect and choſen people: who is there amongſt you, that hath taken a ſurvey of the Houſe of God, as it was in the dayes of the bleſſed Apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt? Who is there amongſt you, that hath ſeene and conſidered this holy Temple in her firſt glorie? And how doe you ſee it now? Is it not in compariſon of the other, almoſt as nothing? when ye looke upon them that have undertaken the charge of your ſoules, and know how farre theſe are for the moſt part growne out of kind, how few there be that treade the ſteps of their ancient Predeceſſors, ye are eaſily filled with indignation, eaſily drawne unto theſe complaints, wherein the difference of preſent, from former times, is bewailed; eaſily perſwaded to thinke of them that lived to enjoy the dayes which now are gone, ſurely they were happy in compariſon of us that have ſucceeded them: were not their Biſhops men unreproveable, wiſe, righteous, holy, temperate, well reported of, even of thoſe which were without? were not their Paſtors, Guides, and Teachers, able and willing

willing to exhort with wholſome doctrine,& to improve thoſe which gainſaid the Truth? had they Prieſts made of the refuſe of the people? were men,like to the children which were in *Niniveh*,unable to diſcern between the right hand and the left, preſented to the charge of their Congregation? did their Teachers leave their flocks over which the holy Ghoſt had made them overſeers? did their Prophets enter upon holy things as ſpoils, without a reverend calling? were their Leaders ſo unkindly affected towards them,that they could find in their hearts to ſell them as ſheep or oxen, not caring how they made them away? But, Beloved, deceive not your ſelves. Doe the faults of your Guides and Paſtors offend you? It is your fault if they be thus faultie. *Nullus qui malum Rectorem patitur, eum accuſet, quia ſui fuit meriti perverſi Paſtoris ſubjaceri ditioni*, ſaith S. *Gregory*, whoſoever thou art whom the inconvenience of an evill Governour doth preſſe,accuſe thy ſelfe,and not him; His being ſuch,is thy deſerving. *O yee diſobedient children,turne againe*, ſaith the Lord, *and then will I give you Paſtors according to mine owne heart, which ſhall feed you with knowledge and underſtanding*. So that the onely way to repaire all ruines, breaches, and offenſive decaies in others, is to begin reformation at your ſelves. Which that we may all ſincerely, ſeriouſly, and ſpeedily doe; God the Father grant for his Son our Saviour Jeſus ſake,unto whom with the holy Ghoſt, three Perſons, one eternall and everlaſting God,bee honour, and glory, and praiſe for ever: *Amen*. Ier.3.14,15.

FINIS.



AN ALPHABETICALL TABLE, CONTAINING ALL THE PRINCIPALL MATTERS *HANDLED IN THE FIRST* FOURE BOOKES OF THE *ECCLESIASTICALL* POLITIE.

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